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THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1858.

No. I.

ARTICLE I.—*The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte.*

THE recent decease of Auguste Comte, founder of the Positive Philosophy, suggests a fit occasion for reviewing his labours as a declared reformer in science, politics, and religion. That he has left upon his age the impress of an original and acute mind, need not be questioned; but that his speculations should have excited so much attention and even apprehension in some quarters, is probably owing to certain attractive qualities which they present to the superficial thinker, rather than to much thorough examination of the system itself. The extraordinary pretensions it couches under a modest bearing, its imposing summation of the existing results of human research, the apparent scientific rigour of its method, together with its daring assault upon all preceding and contemporaneous systems of religion and philosophy, have conspired to give it a prominence in public regard, quite beyond its real merits. Certainly any candid and patient reasoner who will trace its principles to their legitimate conclusions, or indeed to the conclusions which Comte himself finally deduced, cannot but be surprised at the meagerness of its accomplishment as contrasted with the fulness of its promise. He will breathe more freely when he finds that

after all its loud pretence of eschewing idle metaphysics, and limiting itself to the slow, cautious, and safe method of induction, its whole portentous fabric is but a specious and dazzling generalization, without basis in reason or fact; and he will be at a loss to understand how such abhorrent deductions could ever have been drawn from premises he may have been so indisposed to question. It is not the first time, however, in the history of human speculation, that a little leaven of truth has availed to give apparent consistency to a formidable mass of error, nor will it, we believe, prove any exception to that retributive law by which falsehood has ever been made not only to refute itself, but in the end to serve as a foil to truth.

In the present strictures, it is our object simply to pursue an argument which, if not new, has by no means been exhausted, and may possibly reward us with some contrasted views of theological and natural science, that are both interesting and instructive.

But let it be premised, that we are not about to assail this system on mere *theological* grounds. Such an argument might indeed be constructed, and one that would prove both valid and conclusive. The Positive Philosophy is notoriously open to the charges of atheism and infidelity. It not only makes no provision for a supernatural religion, but avowedly regards Christianity as only a remnant of the mythological era of history. It merely accords to Catholicism the merit of having served as a provisional institute in the process of its own development; while for Protestantism it reserves a studied denunciation. It would certainly be easy to accumulate objections of a religious character against a system so opposed to all the holier instincts of our nature, and so reckless of the entire evidence of divine revelation. There have not been wanting dissents of the kind even from those who could be suspected of no special interest in the theological profession. But the reasoning, sound as it is, can have no effect upon the disciples of Positivism, or upon any inclined to adopt its fundamental principle. According to that principle, theology itself, considered as a science of revealed truth, has been inductively demonstrated to be an effete superstition, no more worthy of scientific regard than mythology, of which indeed it is to be taken as only the last

and highest development. Any argument, therefore, based upon strictly theological premises, would be due, in the estimation of the Positive philosopher, to mere partizan adherence to a waning interest, and coolly accepted by him as an unconscious tribute to his own intellectual superiority.

For a similar reason, we do not now venture upon *metaphysical* premises, as defined by this system. Metaphysics, we are assured, must share the fate of theology. It is the peculiar boast of the Positive Philosophy that it subsists by a refutation of all other philosophies on strictly scientific grounds. It professes to have assailed and overthrown them with the hard facts of universal history and human nature, and to be already leaving them far behind it, in the wake of progress, as mere brilliant dreams of the childhood of science. The great body of the philosophers are thus to find themselves in the same category with the theologians. It will be to no purpose that the spiritualist or the mystic should object to the materialistic and sceptical tendencies of the system, and demonstrate its utter incompetency to solve any of the great ontological problems of nature and humanity. The Positivist, in becoming a Positivist, has reasoned down all such inquiries as vain and puerile, and scorning to tread in any other path than that of solid facts, pretends to have mounted by the sure steps of induction to an eminence from whence he can proudly contemplate all the objections of reason and of faith, of religion and of philosophy, as mere vagaries of decaying superstition and prejudice.

In the present argument, therefore, we accept the only alternative which the disciples of this school seem disposed to leave us. We descend from the aerial regions of theology and metaphysics, upon the narrow arena of the Positive Philosophy itself, and take the weapons it would force into our hands. It need not be imagined that we are only about to exemplify those "theological and metaphysical prejudices," which its admirers complacently dream it is destined to supplant, nor even that the merit of originality must belong to any one who attempts its refutation. Our apprehension is rather, that if Positivism could be made its own judge, it would pronounce its own sentence. In a word, we believe it possible to show that it pro-

ceeds upon the abuse of a sound method, and that the little truth it has gathered up into itself will alone suffice to refute its remaining error.

But what is the Positive Philosophy? In the main, it is that which is familiarly known among us as the inductive philosophy. Comte himself frequently declares his system to be only the extension and completion of the Baconian method. His admirers are fond of styling him "the Bacon of the Nineteenth Century;" and in particular point with pride to his classification of the sciences as a second *Novum Organum*. We are not insensible either to the merits or to the defects of this portion of his labours. As a simple construction of the intellect, if not as a direct contribution to the philosophy of physical research, it has been pronounced by Morell "a masterpiece of scientific thinking." We cannot perceive, however, that what is true and valuable in it of necessity arises out of the accompanying speculations, or indeed that it constitutes the distinguishing feature of the system.

On the contrary, that distinguishing feature undoubtedly is, its attempted application of the inductive method to the phenomena of human intelligence, as displayed in history, with the view of discovering a law by means of which the natural process of science shall be ascertained and regulated. In other words, it aspires to be a philosophy of science based upon the history of science. It would apply the accumulated experience of the race to the great problem of determining what are the true limits, the method, and the goal of human knowledge. With this design, it enters upon a survey of the course of man's speculative or intellectual convictions throughout all time, the result of which is the announcement of a grand law of scientific development, which all the most advanced sciences are declared to have observed in their progress toward exact, real knowledge, and which all the remainder must therefore, sooner or later, illustrate.

Now, before proceeding any further, we might here raise an objection of no little consequence. This proposed "law of the intellectual evolution of humanity," Comte would constitute the summary law of universal history, by means of which all its complex phenomena are to be explained. The entire social

development, whether material, political, or religious, he would make to depend upon the development of science. He would thus not only render science the paramount interest, but actually involve every other interest, art, politics, and even religion, in the process of its evolution; so that, as Mr. Mill expresses it, "Speculation, intellectual activity, the pursuit of truth, is the main determining cause of the social progress."* But to this it might be objected, not simply that the speculative propensity is too inoperative, and restricted to too small a portion of mankind, to admit of such a predominance being assigned to it, but that, with all the potency which can be justly claimed for it, it is itself subordinate to other social agencies utterly beyond its control. In a word, we believe it could be shown, and that by strictly positive reasoning, that while the material progress of society does indeed depend upon its intellectual progress, yet its intellectual depends upon its religious progress, and its religious progress upon Providence. The effect of such an argument would be to conserve whatever of truth may be found embodied in Comte's "*law of the intellectual evolution*," and yet preclude the destructive errors which have resulted from his exaggerated estimate and perverse application of that law. To mention only a single example, religion, and in particular, revealed religion, would then be made to appear as itself "the main determining cause," and not a mere accompanying effect of civilization. Without venturing, however, upon such inquiries, we now return to the consideration of the law itself.

The human mind, according to this law, invariably adopts three successive modes of explaining phenomena; first, by referring them to supernatural agents; then, to metaphysical entities; and at last to mere natural laws. These three stages of intellectual development, in the order named, logically and practically ensue upon each other, both in the race and in the individual, and are to be termed respectively, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive stage. Let each be briefly characterized.

In the *theological* stage, it is the spontaneous tendency of

* Mill's *System of Logic*, p. 585, Harper's edition.

mankind to attribute all phenomena to the arbitrary wills of supernatural beings. Such is the necessary point of departure for the human intellect; and three phases mark its development. At first, external objects in nature are conceived of by the wondering savage as animated with a life analogous to his own, and having a mysterious power over him for good or evil. This is *fetichism*, which is the grossest form of the theological instinct, and is illustrated by such of the human tribes as are still but slightly removed from animality.* By degrees, however, through the generalizing and social faculties, these individual and domestic fetiches become grouped together under some more powerful fetich of the particular tribe, or department of nature to which they belong, and the mythical creature is endowed with attributes in keeping with the elements over which he is imagined to preside, or the interests he is supposed to subserve. This is the era of *polytheism*, when the woods are peopled with dryads, and the waters with naiads, and the heavens with the passions and graces, and all nature is alive with gods and goddesses. But at last the propensity to transfer human personality into outward objects, having mounted from one degree of generality to another with the increasing spirit of nationality and speculation, reaches its climax in *monotheism*, the doctrine of one supreme fetich or myth, by which all others are to be subordinated and rendered obsolete. The gods now disappear before the idea of Jehovah; the strife of contending powers in nature is harmonized in the notion of one absolute Will; and prayer aspires after the prize of universal control. This is the perfection of the theological spirit, and it is admitted to be an immense advance upon the gross materialistic pantheism in which it originated. Yet, with all its unity and consist-

* The author of the Positive Philosophy has broken down the standard definition, that "man is a religious animal," and by this means theoretically extended the sentiment of philanthropy into new spheres of activity. "Several species of animals afford clear evidence of speculative activity; and those which are endowed with it certainly attain a kind of gross fetichism as man does. The difference in the case is, that man has ability to raise himself out of this primitive darkness, and that the brutes have not; *except some few select animals, in which a beginning to polytheism may be observed, obtained no doubt by association with man.*" (Vol. ii. p. 187.) Alas! will not the disciples of M. Comte send his gospel to them, and convert them from their heathenism?

ency, it must be regarded as a mere system of speculative opinions, by which society is for a time held together in the process of unfolding its own intellective capacity, and no more destined to permanence than either of the preceding phases of the same tendency. The god, in whose single will all phenomena have thus been colligated, is a mere product of human speculation, spontaneously exercising and developing itself through long ages, and by a combination of innumerable minds, from its first feeble glimmerings in the half-animal savage, up to its most brilliant surmises in the cultured sage or saint. And now the very agencies concerned in the elaboration of this august Abstraction, which men have learned to adore and love, must turn against it and effect its dissolution. For, of necessity it soon begins to be discovered, at first by the speculative class, and then through them by the masses, that there are vast bodies of phenomena not under the regulation of a divine will, but simply of natural laws; and as this empire of natural laws is extended from one class of facts to another, that of a divine will, both in science and in practice, proportionably diminishes. Thus a new system of opinions is destined to gradually take the place of the old as the basis of a new social organization. But in the mean time, there must exist some scheme of provisional conceptions by means of which the transition shall be effected; and it is this which constitutes the intermediate or second great state of the intellectual evolution.

In the *metaphysical* stage, the primitive tendency to explain phenomena by supernatural agencies, is being supplanted by means of a tendency to explain them by metaphysical abstractions. Such a revolution is necessitated by the advance of speculation; and it involves the two-fold process of decomposing the old theological system, and preparing the elements of the new Positive system. Considered in its relations to the preceding and succeeding stage, it is, therefore, either a destructive or constructive agency. As a destructive agency, the metaphysical spirit exhibits three phases. At first, that freedom of individual inquiry, provoked and fostered by monotheism as distinguished from polytheism, gives rise to heresy and dissension, and the myth of a supreme Being is consequently espoused by rival claimants. This is *Protestantism*, by which theology

is driven to war with itself. Then, the critical spirit advances from heresy to infidelity, and for a divine person is now substituted a personification called Nature; for a divine will, the notion of a Providence submitting itself to rules; and for divine purposes in particular objects or events, the entities of causes, first and final. This is *deism*, by which theology is banished to the pulpit and the cloister. At last, a logical and systematic scepticism sweeps away all vestiges of supernaturalism, extirpates even the remaining abstraction of a great First Cause, reduces the notion of force or substance in phenomena to a mere scientific fiction, and leaves them wholly to the regulation of their own laws of co-existence and succession. This is *atheism*, by which theology is consigned to history as an extinct interest. As a constructive agency, the metaphysical spirit, while in the act of disorganizing the old theological regime, is providing for the new Positive regime, by liberating those various industrial and speculative movements essential to such a reorganization. Thus is at length opened the way for the third and final stage of the great development.

In the *Positive* stage, the tendency to refer phenomena to supernatural wills, having been supplanted by a tendency to refer them to metaphysical causes, is now succeeded by a tendency to refer them to natural laws. Such is the inevitable terminus of the whole evolution, and herein must be sought its legitimate consummation. As it is necessary for humanity to begin with a supernatural explanation of the facts with which it has to deal, and proceed by a metaphysical explanation, so must it at last end with a purely natural explanation, wherein it shall be concerned solely with the facts themselves, as spontaneously displayed under their laws, and for ever abandon all inquiry into their origin or causes as vain and puerile. But since the different kinds of facts vary in simplicity and generality, the different kinds of knowledge corresponding to them must proceed at unequal rates through the three stages, arriving at the final stage in the order of their relative freedom from complexity and specialness. Accordingly mathematics, having to deal with facts the most abstract and universal, and least exposed to theological or metaphysical perversion, was the first of the sciences to assume a character of Positivity. Astronomy,

in consequence of its mathematical simplicity and generality, was the next to reach the Positive stage, having groped through the two preceding stages in the form of astrolatry and astrology. Terrestrial physics, the simplest of the sciences after astronomy, is already emerging into a Positive form, though still hampered with some remnants of the earlier periods. Biology, however, being concerned with the more complex phenomena of organization, is as yet involved in metaphysical confusion, particularly in its psychological department; while sociology is totally enveloped in the primitive theological darkness; the most advanced thinkers still dreaming that the action of associated human beings is regulated by Providence or legislation rather than by natural laws. But the sciences scale the summit of truth in linked series, each being helped forward by its predecessor, and bringing with it the pledge of its successor. The day must therefore come when even sociology, the last of the train, shall be planted on the same Positive eminence with mathematics and astronomy, and so enable us to resolve political questions with the same certainty as problems in mechanics, or predict the career of societies, in given circumstances, with the same precision that we now describe the orbits of the heavenly bodies. This will be the millennium of the Positive philosopher, wherein science shall take the reins of politics, shall teach art to subjugate nature, and idealize the triumph in creations of more than classic glory, and shall even regenerate religion itself, by rendering it the intelligent worship of that Humanity, whose wondrous knowledge, power, and goodness, were once embodied in the myth of an *Etre Suprême*.

Such is an outline of Comte's law of the intellectual development of humanity, together with the tremendous conclusions pendent upon it. No one at all acquainted with it will deny that we have done it all the justice possible in so brief a statement. But, before we admit its scientific pretensions, what we have now a right to demand upon the grounds of Positivism itself is, that it be sustained by the "combined evidence of human history and human nature." These are the conditions of such a law, as prescribed by Mr. Mill, (one of the warmest English admirers of the system;)* they are, moreover, the con-

* Mill's System of Logic, p. 584.

ditions to which Comte himself submits;* and we see no particular reason to question their justness. Certainly if man does observe any such uniformity in his intellectual development as is supposed, it will not only be displayed by his actual history, but also appear to be involved in his very nature. Were either species of evidence wanting, the phenomena of his being could not be made the subject of Positive science. We might show, from the *history* of humanity, that it has always pursued a certain career; but will this be its career in the future? Or we might show, from the *nature* of humanity, that it is necessitated to pursue a certain career; but has this been its career in the past? Should there be, however, a convergence of these inductions to the same purport; could we demonstrate that human history has always been what might be expected from our survey of human nature, and that human nature actually is what might be expected from our survey of human history, we might then be in a fair way of attaining a true scientific law, by means of which to account for the past, and foresee the future career of society. Whether such a law actually obtains and is ascertainable, we do not now inquire, but simply proceed to show that Comte has fulfilled neither its empirical nor theoretical conditions.

Of the former class of proofs, the first and most accessible would be afforded by individual experience. We should expect to find the alleged law of intellection actually illustrated in the development of the most scientific minds. Comte distinctly asserts this to be the case. "The point of departure of the individual and of the race being the same, the phases of the mind of a man will correspond to the epochs of the race. Now, each of us is aware, if he looks back upon his own history, that he was a theologian in his childhood, a metaphysician in his youth, and a natural philosopher in his manhood. All men who are up to their age can verify this for themselves." p. 3, vol. i. The only proper answer to such an argument is obvious. The

* "From the study of the development of human intelligence, in all directions, and through all times, the discovery arises of a great fundamental law, to which it is necessarily subject, and which has a solid foundation of proof, both in the facts of our organization, and in our historical experience," p. 1. *Miss Martineau's Translation, London and New York, 1856.*

author of the Positive Philosophy may certainly be allowed to speak for himself, but not necessarily for the rest of mankind, nor even for the whole of that party who are unwilling to acknowledge themselves entirely behind the age. It is believed there are still extant many eminent persons, in whom the theological and metaphysical spirit has not only survived the period of adolescence, but even the most mature attacks of Positivism itself.

The next source of empirical proof would be that afforded by the experience of the race. To establish this law, it would be necessary to show that the three periods have been successively displayed in the actual history of humanity. The propriety of this test is recognized by Comte when he characterizes the ancient world as theological, the mediæval as metaphysical, and the modern as Positive. But it surely requires no great amount of historical erudition, to expose the fallacy of such a generalization. If we have reference either to quality or quantity, the theology and metaphysics of the present age will certainly compare with those of any primitive era. Who will pretend that the religious and philosophic instincts of humanity are on the decline, in presence of such gigantic systems as now prevail in modern Europe? On the contrary, it is indisputable that there never was a time when the speculative energies of the race were more absorbed in theological and metaphysical inquiries, or when theology and metaphysics were exalted to so high a rank in the scale of the sciences, or when they were so generally admitted to be among the legitimate pursuits of the human intellect. He must simply shut his eyes to the great mass of facts around him, who goes into history expecting to find it exhibiting this law of the three tendencies succeeding and exhausting each other. It is patent to the whole world that they all survive among us, and that their most violent collisions have not as yet resulted in the extinction of any one of the series.

How comes it then, that our modern Bacon should have run so blindly in the face of universal experience? Simply by culling the facts to suit his theory. There is no hypothesis which might not thus be established. The literature of historical science is replete with examples of such hasty and

unfounded generalization. This of Comte is simply the last and most imposing of the train. His historical review, in support of his law of the triple evolution, even if it could be pronounced accurate as far as it goes, actually proves nothing as to the chief points in controversy, but is open to a valid and unanswerable objection from each class of his opponents.

On the one hand, the theologian may fairly object to it, that it is restricted to that very series of nations whose career is alleged to have been determined by a divine revelation and a supernatural Providence. It is observable that Comte does not pretend to look for any full illustration of his great law of history beyond the boundaries of Christendom. The reason given for this limitation is, that oriental countries must be regarded as the seat of a kind of sporadic civilization, which, having been early detached from the more compact and continuous civilization of the West, was arrested in its development, and has ever since been left to run in the vicious circles of the primitive theological tendency. If we inquire how it happened that such a suspension of the law should have occurred only in heathen nations, while Christian nations have gone forward from the theological, through the metaphysical, toward the Positive state, we are answered with some imposing generalities about the effect of European climate and Caucasian organization on social development, together with a confession that the whole "question of the scene and agent of the chief progression of our race" is insolvable, because premature or radically inaccessible. But this, even if it could satisfy a strict Positivist, will not satisfy a theologian. What would be his explanation we are relieved by the terms of the present argument from inquiring. Yet, the simple fact that he professes to have his own explanation, obviously imposes upon his Positive antagonist the alternative of driving him from the field with some counter explanation, or himself retiring into less debatable territory for the historical evidence of his theory. If humanity, independent of divine revelation, obeys his pretended law of human development, let him leave "the little Jewish theocracy, derived in an accidental way from Egypt," and go out into the broad field of universal history and there gather up the facts to verify it. Let him take some other form of fetichism or polytheism

than that which came in contact with Christianity; for example, Asiatic or American mythology, and exhibit it to us as spontaneously developing into monotheism, and thence declining, through the metaphysical transit, into Positivism. Until this has been accomplished, the supernatural explanation must be allowed to hold precedence of the natural, and the whole argument from history, so far as theology is concerned, remain simply irrelevant.

Then, on the other hand, the metaphysician may pronounce it equally irrelevant as regards his position. It is to be remarked that Comte, not content with excluding all but Christian civilization from his estimate, also refuses to include in it any but physical subjects, or at least such as are in no sense metaphysical or supra-physical. His reason for this restriction of course is, that, according to his philosophy, the physical or inductive sciences alone are feasible. He maintains that no phenomena exist but such as can be subjected to the inductive method, and that no other method is legitimate. All supernatural or super-sensuous phenomena, such as would be displayed by a divine or human spirit, are fictitious; and all inquiry into the causes or essences of any phenomena, whether by revelation or intuition, is fatuitous, and to be stigmatized as mere infantine curiosity. Consequently the only sciences which can be allowed to enter into his review are those of mathematics, astronomy, physics, physiology, (including phrenology as the science of mind,) and sociology, (considered as the extension of physiology.) As for the various revealed and speculative sciences which have so long pretended to exist, they are to be accounted for by being ignored. In short, we are to look for nothing in all the history of human intelligence but the Positive sciences. This is certainly very convenient for the Positivist; but might not the metaphysician, if allowed thus to choose his facts, rebut the argument. It will be observed, that we are not now inquiring into the legitimacy or feasibility of any of the excised sciences, but are simply maintaining that, in view of their notorious existence in the most civilized nations, for anything that Comte's own argument could prove to the contrary, they may continue to exist, each in its own domain of facts, and with its own method of dealing with those facts.

And now, when we unite the two abatements which must thus be made of the historical evidence adduced in proof of this law, into what a meagre compass do we find its voluminous pretensions have shrunk? It is neither proved to be the law of the development of the whole human race, nor the law of the development of the whole human intelligence, since there are confessedly vast portions of mankind and various bodies of knowledge which have never to any extent exhibited its operation. The very utmost that could be conceded to it, would be that it is the law of the development of the Positive sciences, or to speak more accurately, of the natural sciences, since they alone can pretend to have become Positive, Comte himself admitting that what are commonly regarded as the mental and moral sciences "have nowhere risen to Positivity except in this book."

But even that meagre concession cannot be made. Even that last slender foothold must be contested. The theory is actually unable to maintain itself on the ground of its own chosen facts. We deny that the natural sciences themselves have ever properly observed this law. Their history does not show that they have emerged into the final stage only by extinguishing the two preceding stages. It is not a matter of fact that the Positive spirit, in those fields of research where it has most predominated, has actually extirpated the theological or metaphysical spirit. We may take for our example the most Positive of all the natural sciences. As it respects the phenomena of astronomy, will it be maintained, that the tendency to refer them to mechanical laws has ever generally and permanently supplanted the tendency to refer them also to a Divine will, or to second causes. Individual exceptions indeed there always are; but have astronomers, as a class, been atheists and materialists, or have their most mathematical predictions had the actual effect either in the scientific or the popular mind, of dissipating all religious belief in a Divine Maker of suns and systems, or suppressing all speculative inquiry into the mode of their production and development? Did Newton in the act of discovering the law of gravitation cease to be a theologian? Did Laplace in the act of propounding the nebular hypothesis cease to be a metaphysician? Or have theologians and meta-

physicians themselves actually surrendered astronomy to Positive science? Has not astronomy become the very poetry of religion and philosophy? We are not concerned as yet to account for the fact, but the fact itself, who will deny that even amid the rigid geometry and mechanics of the heavenly bodies, where inflexible laws reign supreme, theology as of old still comes to adore, and metaphysics to speculate?

And the argument only cumulates as we descend to the less Positive sciences of physics and physiology. However much such a result may have been apprehended, yet who will pretend it is actually the case that atheism and materialism have taken exclusive possession of the votaries of physical science? Have they not as a body set up the notion of nature as a kind of "Unknown God," whom they are willing that theology should declare unto them? And do they not proceed in their researches by methods and upon hypotheses, which they confess that metaphysics alone can furnish them? What are their various theories of heat, light, electricity, organization, and life, but the existing metaphysics of physical science? and what is their enthusiastic admiration of nature, but a kind of blind adoration of nature's God? We do not now explain this, but is it not the case, that there are often found among them as much practical religion and sound philosophy as among professional theologians or trained metaphysicians?

To all this may be added the conclusive fact, that in those nations and ages by which the Positive tendency has been most cultivated, the other two tendencies are still found flourishing unimpaired and unmolested. Where the natural sciences have reached the greatest perfection, there may also be seen, not simply in juxtaposition, but in logical combination with them, the theological and the metaphysical sciences. Is theology on the decline in inductive England and America? Are metaphysics in their decadence in Positive France? Do the Germans show themselves to be the least theological because the most metaphysical of modern nations? Or will it be asserted that because the present age is distinguishable for a predominance of the scientific spirit, it is also distinguishable for a decline of the religious and philosophic spirit? If it is remarkable for its marvels of physical research and material civilization, is it not

equally remarkable for its expanded schemes of Christian philanthropy, and the formidable grandeur of its metaphysical speculations? And were we to ascend into that community of thinkers, who are said to express the foremost mind of the race, might we not find, that so far from its being the paramount tendency of the human intellect to install Positive science as the sum of truth, it is rather in danger of careering off with the Phaëthon of transcendental metaphysics, toward the abysses of a kind of crude and all-involving theology? Must not even Comte admit rivals in Hegel and Cousin?

We need not, however, pursue these inquiries. It is already sufficiently apparent what is the value of the historical argument for the system. It miserably fails in the very societies where it should be most conspicuously established; it arbitrarily ignores the very sciences it proposes to supplant; and, thus retiring into a mere corner of the vast domain of truth, there falls impaled upon the very facts it had gathered for its support. If "the evidence of human history" shows anything in regard to the question, it shows that the three tendencies, instead of opposing and destroying one another, have actually proceeded together in their development, over every field of research they entered, and are now to be found harmoniously coexisting in the most advanced nations, and the most accomplished minds.

But as yet we have considered only one branch of the reasoning by which, according to the terms of Positivism, this law must be verified. Even if we had found that member of the argument irrefutable, it would of itself prove insufficient until corroborated by the other member. The law must be upheld by their mutual support, or fall as the keystone with the arch into ruin. Though it had been shown that humanity has hitherto, in some societies, and in some sciences, exhibited the great triple evolution, this would not prove that humanity will hereafter, in all other sciences, and in all other societies, pursue the same course, unless it could also be shown that such a course is necessitated by its very constitution, and involved in its very procedure. Theology and metaphysics might have become universally extinct, and Positivism universally predominant, yet it would still be a question whether those extinct tendencies would not revive, and either suspend, reverse, or radically

change the whole social evolution. Before the argument can be considered complete, it must be made to appear resultant from the actual principles of human nature, or from the actual process of human intelligence, that the three stages should successively arise, surmount and destroy each its predecessor. When "the facts of our organization" thus concur with "the facts of our historical experience," to show that it is the inevitable course of the race to proceed from a supernatural, by a metaphysical, toward a natural explanation of all phenomena, we may then regard the law as fully verified. But this concurrence is precisely what cannot be established. If we found the historical argument unsupported, we shall now find the theoretical or *a priori* argument a still more signal failure.

The position which must be maintained in such an argument is, that the three tendencies are antagonistic and irreconcilable. If the human intellect is necessitated to proceed from one to the other, it must be because they are mutually repulsive, and cannot in any form and to any extent be made to combine or coexist.

This position is taken by Comte when he defines them as "three methods of philosophizing, the character of which is essentially different, and even radically opposed;" and throughout his analysis, he represents them as involved in a threefold antagonism, intellectual, moral, and social, destined to issue in the utter extinction of theology, and the entire supremacy of Positivism, through the intervention of metaphysics.

Let us first consider the *intellectual* antagonism of theology and Positive science. This is alleged to arise out of the necessity for observing and explaining facts by means of theories, in order to attain real knowledge. During the infancy of reason and of society, mankind spontaneously resort to the hypothesis of a god, as a mode of accounting for all phenomena. But this hypothesis, so inevitable and useful for a time, ceases to be either necessary or tenable, when it is found that some phenomena can only be explained by means of natural laws which exclude the action of a divine will; and since other phenomena, still attributed to the divine will, may be presumed to observe similar laws yet to be ascertained, we are to conclude that the whole theory of a Deity and a supernatural world must ulti-

mately be abandoned and rendered obsolete, like any other crude hypothesis which science has outgrown and exploded.

But, if we should admit that the Baconian method is thus to be taken as the spontaneous procedure of the whole human intelligence, and the only source of real knowledge, what evidence have we that the theological theory of the universe, so to call it, either is or can be assailed by any amount of Positive science? Wherein consists the incompatibility of referring the very same phenomena both to natural laws and to the divine will? or of referring to the divine will, not the phenomena only, but the laws themselves? What are natural laws but mere uniformities which mark the action of the divine will? Because the Deity, in his voluntary determination of the coexistences and successions of certain phenomena, does not act capriciously but with an inflexible regularity, are we to conclude that such regularity inheres in the phenomena themselves by sheer chance or spontaneity, and that his continuous volition is not required for its maintenance? Or because we have ascertained that certain phenomena, once attributed to his direct agency, observe a fixed order in their occurrence, are we to infer that he has less to do with these than with others not thus orderly in their occurrence? Has he abdicated his empire wherever he has set up laws for its regulation? and must we take the existence of such laws to be demonstrative of his non-existence? The very contrary of this is demanded by our intellectual constitution. Natural laws cannot but be regarded as the most conspicuous evidences possible of the reality and presence of a divine will; and every advance of Positive science, so far from being an invasion of theology, is only a fresh demonstration of its validity; an additional proof that the intelligence displayed on the face of nature does not belong to nature itself, but shines through and from beyond it, out of that one Eternal Mind by which it is upheld and directed.

“Calm, He veils his will in everlasting laws,
Which, and not Him, the skeptic seeing, exclaims,
‘Wherefore a God? The world itself is God:’
And never did a Christian’s adoration
So praise Him as this skeptic’s blasphemy.”

The most Positive of the sciences may be cited in illustration.

Are astronomy and theology, as embraced in one view, logically inconsistent or repellent? That some exceptional minds might take the discovery of such a law as gravitation to be proof that the hypothesis of a God is no longer necessary, may be admitted; but that this is the natural, or rational inference, can be shown by nothing that appears in a sound mental organization. On the contrary, since every law presupposes an intelligent law-giver, we are obliged to conceive of gravitation itself as nothing less than the strenuous exertion of the Almighty will among the planetary masses, and the ultimate and simplest expression of eternal purpose in respect to their movements. Astronomy, so far from assailing theological convictions, actually upholds them with all the force of mathematical demonstration, by inviting us to reverently conceive of God himself as that sublime Mechanician, who, on the theatre of immensity, and in view of all intelligent creatures, is solving the most stupendous problems of motion and matter that could be imagined; and every new planet or star gathered within its expanding horizon, is but a fresh accession to the evidence whereby "the heavens declare the glory of God."

Nor would the argument be weakened should we imagine other more complex phenomena, such as even the phenomena of society, becoming, as predicted by Comte, the subject of Positive science. The laws of social development, supposing such laws to exist, might be so well ascertained and defined as to enable us to project the course of civilization, in given circumstances, with scientific accuracy; yet this would not invalidate the hypothesis of a divine will as the source and animus of those social laws. It would rather demonstrate its existence where as yet it is scarcely more than presumed. It would simply show that the course of human history is not at the mercy of caprice or necessity, but that in Providence as well as in nature, throughout the spiritual no less than the material universe, the Infinite Will is everywhere guided by the Infinite Reason.

In short, it may be taken as an axiom, that Positive science, to whatever limit extended, could never impair the validity of theology, but must ever only strengthen its foundations and enlarge its domain. Though the process of referring facts to laws had been carried to the extreme of some one summary law, by

means of which the entire aggregate of phenomena could be explained, a divine will would not even then have become hypothetically unnecessary, but remain as that scientific postulate or ultimate fact upon which the whole fabric of human knowledge reposes, and without which it could have neither rational basis nor consistency. Still would it be the instinctive tendency of the human intellect to look up to God as that Infinite Lawgiver, whose potent volition pervades and conducts the mighty mechanism of the universe, and but for whose immutable purpose it would fall into chaos, or vanish like a dream.

In like manner, it may be shown that there is no *moral* antagonism of the two tendencies. It is asserted, that the sentiments inspired by theology, partaking of its own illusory and transient nature, are repugnant to other more rational and permanent sentiments evoked by Positive science. While the hypothesis of a God prevails, man draws courage and consolation from imagined access to a divine will, and believes himself capable of modifying the universe by means of his prayers. But this hope, so inspiring and salutary in an infantile stage of his development, he readily relinquishes for the more animating and reasonable prospect of modifying the universe by means of his own personal resources. "We find ourselves able," says Comte, "to dispense with supernatural aid in our difficulties and sufferings, in proportion as we obtain a gradual control over nature by a knowledge of her laws." He even intimates that the devotional spirit already languishes in scientific minds; and it is not too much for him to anticipate a period when the throne of grace shall have become as mythical as the oracle or the augury.

The shortest answer to all this is, that such a state of the moral constitution of man is simply impracticable, if not inconceivable. We may give imagination the wildest license; we may suppose all science and art carried to their utmost perfection; yet what would be the result? Our astronomy could not remedy the planetary disturbance it might predict; our meteorology could not improve the weather it might prognosticate; our physiology could not avert the death it might explain; and even our sociology could not regenerate the civilization it might project. The acquisition of omniscience itself could not invest

mankind with absolute "control over nature," or destroy their instinctive dependence upon God, but, if left without adequate religious support, would either overwhelm them in helpless bewilderment, or leave them, as conscious children of fate, to yield to death and danger like dumb cattle or crushed machines.

We may go even a step further, and maintain, that the theological spirit, instead of being supplanted, is actually invigorated by the Positive spirit. Not only does it assert itself in presence of nature's most inflexible laws, as when the Atheist cries to God in shipwreck, or the Christian prays for his daily bread; but it may draw new courage from its knowledge of those laws, and from the spectacle of that human prowess acquired through such knowledge. When we behold what interventions in the fixed course of nature our weak, blind will can accomplish, shall we doubt that, in the event of an adequate spiritual emergency, any intervention would be too great for that Will which, not only itself lives in all natural laws, but is ever swayed by omnipotent and omniscient love? Shall we deem the possible with man impossible with God? Shall we not rather deem the possible with God impossible with man, and all the more readily believe, that the very "modifications of the universe," just declared impracticable to human science and art, were once actually effected by divine knowledge and power, when the sun and moon stood still in the vale of Ajalon; when it rained out of the brazen sky of Carmel; when death was dragged in triumph after the fiery chariot of Elijah; and when Messiah came to regenerate by his Church the whole social development of mankind? The limited power of man over the universe only helps us to conceive of the unlimited power of God, and may but impel us to resort to him in all the more confidence and joy. And though our spiritual exigencies do not require the miracles incident to less favoured eras, yet may we still aspire after whatsoever things are in accordance with his will, and into that lofty region where his spirit communes with ours, ascend out of the rigid mechanism of nature, for such assurances and conviction as shall enable us to return and triumphantly withstand her most appalling terrors, or placidly yield to her most inevitable disasters.

Not even the supposed laws of history could oppose any

barrier against such access of the finite to the Infinite Spirit. We may imagine the course of Providence, in the direction of individual or social development, to observe uniformities as inflexible as those of mechanics; yet this need not shake our faith in the freedom either of human or divine volition. It would only convince us that the law of holiness is at least as fixed as the law of gravitation, and that spiritual death as inevitably ensues upon the infraction of the one, as physical death upon the infraction of the other. We should but be the better able to conceive of that God, with whom we have to do, as not less uniform in his determination of moral than of material phenomena, and find in his promises and provisions all the more rational basis for our prayers and hopes, whether for individual or social regeneration.

As Positive science could never invalidate the ideas of theology, so it could never eradicate the instincts of piety. The spectacle of an entire universe under the regulation of laws, would not only be logically inconsistent, but morally appalling, without the notion of a Beneficent Lawgiver; and were it presented to the pious soul, instead of beholding in it a mere iron mechanism of fate, he would only regard it as an exquisite system of divine volitions, susceptible of being made to work together for his good, and of all its anomalies pronounce none so monstrous as would be that of a single legitimate prayer left unanswered, worse even than the skeptic's notion of a miracle, as appearing not simply a suspension of the laws of nature, but even of the will of God.

It would seem scarcely necessary now to argue that there can be no *social* antagonism of the two tendencies. This is admitted to be a mere consequence of their intellectual and moral antagonism. The war between them, in any society where it is waged, it is asserted, must issue in political revolution. So long as a theological theory prevails, and the consequent moral sentiments abound, the mass of individuals spontaneously concur upon a basis of common opinions with some degree of stability, order, and peace. But no sooner do these fundamental opinions begin to be assailed by heresy, infidelity, and schism, than ancient institutions become unsettled, and society is at the alternative of continuing in anarchy, or

assuming a new organization. According to Comte, the most civilized societies are now passing through this anarchical condition, consequent upon a decline of theological, and rise of Positive opinions, effected by the critical spirit of modern metaphysics; but it is his expectation that Positivism will ultimately so predominate over Monotheism, as to place Christianity on a par with Mohammedanism, and at length consign the Church to antiquity, as a mere worn chrysalis, out of which civilization shall have struggled forth into new life and glory.

An argument which begins in absurdity, can only accumulate absurdity. This notion of substituting Positive for theological opinions in the social organism, is even more chimerical than that of substituting the scientific for the devotional spirit in the moral constitution. As yet, Positive opinions do not exist in the form of any such received body of doctrine, as could afford a nucleus for social concurrence; and were such opinions ever to predominate, they would prove, if not utterly fatuitous, yet thoroughly disorganizing. The picture, which Comte elaborates, of a new social organization resulting from such opinions, and composed of a race of virtual atheists, absorbed in the worship of their own humanity as a deity, cannot exist even in imagination without instantly dissolving into anarchy, or relapsing to barbarism.

Indeed, so far from admitting that theological opinions could ever be extirpated from the social constitution by Positive science, we might rather maintain that it is ultimately destined to strengthen and extend them. Truth, from whatever source it emanates, must yet be found consistent with all other truth; and were human knowledge thoroughly consummated and diffused, it would but demonstrate the God of nature and of history to be the God of revelation, with such universal and conspicuous illustration that all should "know the Lord, from the least even unto the greatest."

The foregoing argument in respect to the relations of theology and Positive science has virtually secured that in respect to the relations of both to metaphysics. It is only on the supposition that the two extremes of the series are antagonistic, that the intermediate term could acquire any hostile bearing. That supposition having been disproved, we must regard the

abstractions of metaphysics as comparatively harmless and inoperative. The mere theoretical substitution of the entity of "Nature" for the Deity, of "phenomena" for divine manifestations, of "cause" or "force" for the divine will, and of "laws" for the uniformities of divine action, instead of marking the deterioration of theology, is only to be taken as the convenient technicality of science; and heresy, infidelity, and schism, so far from decomposing the theological system of society, are but so many purgative processes, by which it is being cleansed and perfected. While, as respects the relation of metaphysics to Positive science, it would not be difficult to show that the progress of the latter actually depends upon the progress of the former; and that were both completed, they could acquire rational support and consistency only by means of theology; or, in other words, that the normal order of the three pursuits is the exact reverse of the order alleged, and that science, in escaping from the pupilage of theology, and passing under the discipline of metaphysics, does not then recoil with parricidal and suicidal blow upon the parent that nurtured her, and the master by whom she is trained; but is rather destined to return, though after long estrangement, and by a circuitous route, under the guidance of a sound metaphysic, back to the feet of that ancient theology from whose loins she sprang, and there unite in rendering the knowledge of man coincident with the knowledge of God and the truth as it is in nature, everywhere congruous with "the truth as it is in Jesus."

Upon such profound inquiries, however, we need not venture. We have now sufficiently examined both species of testimony adduced in support of this supposed law of intellectual development. It fulfils neither of the prescribed conditions of such a law. It is as wholly unsustained by the evidence of human nature, as we found it to be by the evidence of human history. The facts of our mental, moral, and social constitution, concur with the facts of our historical experience, in showing that the three pursuits, instead of waging exterminating warfare, are but so many allied interests of truth, equally spontaneous, legitimate, and permanent.

And now, were any illustration needed to confirm such an argument, where could we find a better than this very system

itself? What is the "Positive Philosophy" but a product of the metaphysical tendency? What is the "Positive Religion" but a product of the theological tendency? And can we conceive of any abstractionism more wild than that which would construct the entire fabric of human knowledge out of an empty generalization of history? or of any fetichism more gross than that which, having studiously invested the notion of humanity with the attributes of Deity, would then invite mankind to love and serve it as their god? Thus, by a recoil of truth from beneath the foot of error, wherein something of the sublimity of retribution is joined to the rigour of demonstration, does this system not only fail on its own premises, but remain a conspicuous monument of the failure. Professing to deride theology and metaphysics, it stands forth as itself, in its own perverted sense of the words, the most metaphysical of all metaphysics, and the most theological of all theologies.

We ought not now to be charged with any undue theological or metaphysical prejudice in concluding these remarks with a single practical lesson to be learned by each of the two obnoxious professions from this system.

The metaphysician may find in it new evidence of the insufficiency of any one method of research as pursued to the exclusion of every other. If there is any one method, upon which it might seem safe to place such entire reliance, it is, perhaps, that inductive procedure which is the characteristic and the pride of the English mind. We have been wont to boast of the healthy appetite for facts, which it has fostered among us, and to congratulate ourselves on our consequent happy seclusion from the devastating career of foreign transcendentalism. All that was needed to undeceive us is a system like the one before us, avowedly proceeding on our own favourite Baconian method toward the very worst results of German speculation. The simple truth is, that while revelation, intuition, and induction, are equally legitimate, within their own appropriate spheres, yet, in the existing fragmentary and schismatic condition of human knowledge, neither can be pushed beyond the limits imposed upon it by the others, except at its own peril. Theology may not safely invade such a question as the antiquity of

the globe, since that is a legitimate problem of Positive science; and Positive science may not safely invade such a question as the regeneration of society, since that is a legitimate problem of theology; and neither may safely invade such questions as the modes or relations of matter and spirit, since those are legitimate problems of metaphysics. Only when they shall have together accomplished their respective missions will the world be in possession of one homogeneous body of truth.

The theologian, in like manner, may only find in this system a fresh illustration of the tendency of depraved reason to dispense with the idea of God. Such is the perversity of man's intellect, that if able to account for the creation on any other theory than that of a Creator, he will disregard even the evidence of intuition and revelation. Hence we have that glorious idea, without which history were a blank and the world a wreck, represented to us as a mere product of the speculative propensity, to be traced back to its origin in savage superstition, and even in a supposed nascent theologizing among "some select animals," and then, in its mature form, to be treated as a mere tentative hypothesis, which the race is already in haste to abandon. But we need not fear that any amount of science and art could ever enable man, either in theory or in practice, to do without a God. The Deity is not so meagre in his resources, nor has he constructed the existing universe on such a diminutive scale, that his creatures can ever get beyond the necessity of admitting their ignorance and helplessness. Science after science may push its adventurous way into the arcana of nature, but it will only be to return with tidings of still unexplored regions of truth which it has not dared to invade even with the footstep of a conjecture. Every earthly branch of knowledge might be carried to perfection, until the whole problem of the planet should be solved; but there would still remain innumerable other orbs, of whose genesis and apocalypse we could not form so much as a conception. Philosophy might have dived down toward the eldest secrets of creation, and mounted up toward a solution of its whole complex enigma; but there would still remain even then the Creator himself, capable of making and unmaking universe after universe to all eternity. Never, while man is man and God is God, shall mystery cease

to hover between them, as at once a stimulus to the curiosity, and a barrier to the pride of human reason. Before the Infinite Intelligence, the seraph, the sage, and the child, must together confess that "it is the glory of God to conceal a thing."

ART. II.—*The Friend of India.* Serampore, 1857.
The Mofussilite. Agra, 1857.

THE year 1857 will be henceforth known as the year of the Sepoy Revolt. It was the most striking event of the year in the eastern world, and no event of the year in any part of the world has been of deeper interest in the eyes of thoughtful men. This revolt, therefore, with its kindred topics, may well receive our consideration in this Review.

A detailed narrative of this remarkable mutiny will not be expected in our pages. The distressing particulars have filled our newspapers, and though presented in a fragmentary form, have doubtless conveyed a correct general idea of what has taken place. The journals whose titles are given above, may be consulted by those who wish to see how these events appeared to intelligent observers on the ground. *The Friend of India* will be found to contain a weekly record of these events, the more satisfactory, because this journal has the highest reputation for its spirited summaries of news, and its able discussions of all Indian questions.

The British have held their possessions in India by the power of four separate armies: the European, numbering some 30,000 soldiers, who are stationed in detachments in all parts of the country; the Madras army, and the Bombay army, composed of native soldiers under European officers from the ensign upwards, and occupying posts in the south and west of India, in the Presidencies or civil divisions of the country bearing the names respectively of these cities; and the Bengal army that was, having now almost melted away, not before the face of an

enemy, but in revolt from its too confiding friends. This army was composed of native soldiers and English officers, like the armies of Madras and Bombay, but enrolled as many men as both the others; all three numbering some 250,000. The Bengal army, though chiefly recruited from two districts, and from but a few classes, was stationed in regiments at many places, from Burmah to the borders of Afghanistan, thus occupying the immense country known as north and north-west India. A large portion of this army has risen in open revolt against their officers and the government; nearly as large a portion has been disarmed, through fear of their following the bad example of their comrades; leaving but a few regiments still on duty, and most of these were looked upon with distrust. So vast a revolt of well organized troops has not before occurred in any part of the world.

On the terrible deeds of the Sepoys—their treachery, their murder of their officers, their savage cruelty to helpless women and children, their brutal licentiousness, their setting free the inmates of the prisons—criminals of the deepest dye, their plundering of private property, both of Europeans and their own countrymen—on all this we have no heart to dwell. It makes one of the darkest pages in the history of our race. The mere reading of the details in the newspapers has made men sick at heart and chilled their blood. Alas! the agony of those who had to face this demon-like outbreak, and who fell before its wrath! The awful horrors of this revolt show us the real character of heathenism and Mohammedanism, when the restraints of Providence are taken off. These are the legitimate fruits of a religion, which ranks an unmentionable emblem of lust and a patroness of murder among the deities to be daily worshipped, and of a still fiercer religion which accounts the sword as the best argument.

Before proceeding to consider some of the causes of this revolt, we may advert to the conflicting opinions expressed by different writers concerning its origin and its extent. These opinions are often quite irreconcilable, and they are not seldom set forth with a positive tone that admits of but one reply. Writers, supposed from their position to be competent judges, are to be found on both sides of every question. Undoubtedly

this is owing in many cases to simple ignorance, and its presumption is astounding. In cases not a few, it is owing to a reliance being placed on a vague general idea, rather than on thorough study and knowledge of the subject. Let us cite two or three examples, taken from respectable publications. One of our leading daily journals of commerce, in an elaborate argument to prove that the British would have great difficulty in subduing the revolted soldiers, alleged that these soldiers were under the leadership of a commanding mind, and gave as a proof, their having taken possession of some places on the Jumna, in order to have the best advantages for the transmission of troops and military stores; which is about the same thing as to argue that General Jackson would have seized some towns on the Susquehannah for similar purposes, while a navigable river like the Hudson or the Ohio was equally or more within his reach. And a weekly "journal of civilization," published by one of our best known houses, gravely tells its readers of missionaries having bought up native children at two or three rupees apiece, as one of the causes of the insurrection; as if the benevolent labours of tract distributors in the Five Points, in providing homes for a few orphans, could stir up the soldiers on Governor's Island to murder their officers, and then march to Washington to demolish the government. The same journal contains a striking map of India, which places Cawnpore at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, and Calcutta on a grand island! Still graver mistakes might be pointed out in some of our religious journals, some of which will be corrected in the sequel of this article.

It is really a difficult matter to acquire a thorough knowledge of the internal state of any country, and especially of a country far distant and Asiatic. Patient and continued study is indispensable. Foreigners seldom learn to appreciate the real state of the case until after many years' observation. These truisms need to be remembered. How justly do we complain of the erroneous representations of many foreign writers concerning our own country, even when we cannot bring against them the charge of prejudice or misrepresentation. Concerning matters in India, as in our own country, there are unhappily too many writers who have published their opinions to the

world after a most superficial acquaintance with the subject. Others, especially in England, have expressed their opinions in the heat of party conflicts, or under the bias of personal prejudice. There have been Europeans in India who were wedded to some theory—very often to the idea, which these Sepoy outrages have for ever exploded, that the Hindus are a mild and nearly perfect people, whose gentle manners ought not to be disturbed by fanatical Christians, and whose venerable institutions ought not to be touched by the profane hand of European rulers. These “Old Indians” are often indignant at the oppression of the Hindus by the British; one of them, a judge of high grade, resigned the service and went home in disgust, because he was not allowed officially to patronize idolatrous processions and kindred abominations. Widely differing from this class is found a host of agitators, who declaim with equal warmth against the oppression of the poor Hindus, because they are not permitted to enjoy all the privileges of their fellow subjects in England, including, we suppose, the right of suffrage and of voting by ballot. Thus extremes ever meet. Some of the foreigners in India personally would in any community be called bad men, and their opinions are after their own image. Others still are weak men, incapable of forming a just or discriminating opinion on any subject; and yet because they have lived in the country, they feel called upon to express oracular opinions, like an old Bombay correspondent of the *Times*, who saw the missionaries at the bottom of all the Sepoy troubles. Letters have been written by others, which were penned under a degree of excitement little short of panic, and the worst side of every incident would naturally be seized by them as true. We can well sympathize with the gloomy feelings of men writing under the shadow of such colossal disasters. Leaving India and landing in England, we find party strife as violent and unscrupulous as in our own country; the misrule of India is a topic as much dwelt upon, and as little understood by many, as our own question of slavery. The *Outs* hope to succeed the *Ins*, by pathetic declamation about the wrongs of the Hindus. An Ellenborough can misuse his seat in Parliament, to do injury to the party in power, with as little scruple as he used his high office in India to show respect to Hinduism, and

to degrade his own religion. Religious newspapers, so called, are sometimes marked by the violence that characterizes political discussions; it is easy to prove from their columns that the government of India by the British has been all wrong and bad from the beginning, and that it never was worse than at the present time. Have we not the same thing nearer home? Who could speak with confidence, a year ago, of the state of things in Kansas? Taking some even of the religious newspapers as authorities, what must foreigners have thought of the character of our government, our people, or our Christianity? It would be an easy but thankless task to quote long columns of apparent facts and forcible arguments, to show that there never was such a misgoverned, oppression-inflicting and oppression-enduring people as ourselves—though we knew it not!

All this notwithstanding, there is ample testimony that is trustworthy concerning India and its vexed questions. Some of the questions in the relations between the Hindus and the British are of a profound nature, and deserve long and earnest study. The expediency of changing the tenure of real estate, so as to vest it in personal ownership, among a people who have from time beyond memory or history looked upon the government as the great proprietor; the collection of government revenue among a people skilful in all the arts of concealment and fraud; the administration of justice among a people radically corrupt, in a country where oaths are without virtue, and human life is of little value—these are subjects not to be disposed of in a few flippant paragraphs of a newspaper leader; and we shall certainly not venture to express an opinion concerning them in this place, though they require to be understood by those who would rightly appreciate the character of the British rule in India. There are other and numerous topics, however, which are directly connected with the Sepoy revolt, concerning which it is quite practicable to form a correct opinion; to some of these we shall now invite the attention of our readers.

We meet at the outset the theory of the Sepoy mutiny which regards its proportions as national and not military. It is a revolution, we have been told, or at the very least an insurrection which embraces large numbers of the people as well as of the soldiers. This opinion has been expressed by persons to

whose judgment, if formed in the view of all the facts, much weight should be given. Some of the missionaries in that country, and among them one of the most eminent, have spoken in this way.

The merits of this "national" theory of the revolt may be summarily tested. Suppose it to be true, how long could the few thousands of Europeans stand before all the millions of India? One of the missionaries has well remarked, that the people of India have but to throw their shoes on the foreigners, in order to bury them out of sight! But as this view of the revolt has been earnestly advocated by respectable men, it is entitled to receive a more extended examination.

The common proofs of this opinion, indeed the only proofs of much weight, are two—first, that the people of India have no affection for the British; and next, certain instances of hostile treatment of fugitive Europeans by the natives within the last few months. The latter we esteem as of but little importance. There are villagers enough in India, as in any heathen country, who would plunder defenceless travellers if they dared, and would kill them too, to prevent their telling tales. There are many bad men in most Hindu towns, as in our own large cities, who are ready to hail a time of disturbance as a harvest season to themselves. In the absence of the strong arm of government, the wonder is not that some outrages have been perpetrated by the common people; rather, we have been surprised that the essentially depraved nature of the Hindus has not been displayed in acts of violence more numerous and appalling. We account for the disorder and crime which have been committed by classes distinct from the Sepoys and their rabble followers, on the simple but broad ground of their heathenism.

The main question here concerns the general state of feeling among the natives of India towards their foreign rulers. It must be conceded, we believe, that there is little affection for the British among their eastern subjects. It seems to be impossible that there should be, until Christianity prevails. The difference of race, of social customs, and of religion, is nowhere more strongly marked than between the white and the coloured inhabitants of this country. The two peoples never meet as families, the tender sympathies of woman in social or pure domestic ties do not

bind them together. Not that any repugnance between them exists, as between the white and the coloured inhabitants of our own land; but the causes of separation are general, and such as are not likely to give way until the spirit of the Gospel fuses their hearts in a common mould. Then, we see no reason to suppose that the most intimate relations may not subsist between the native and the European, without loss of social position on either side. There has been, moreover, in far too many instances, an ill-considered, overbearing, and sometimes unmanly treatment of the natives, which has borne its legitimate fruit. There are, besides, certain families and their adherents, connected with former reigning houses, who cherish their "grievance," though they find little sympathy from the masses. And there is the Mohammedan element of the population, sighing for the restoration of Islamism. There are also many whose interests have been injured by serious errors in the legislative or the administrative measures of the government. And there are the poor villagers, who are at times wasted by the march of an army, or the progress of the Governor-General's camp, of whose sufferings Sir Charles Napier takes such just notice; though the cause of their sufferings is not the one which he leaves his correspondent to infer—the oppression of the English powers that be, but the iniquity of the native officials. These native agents refuse to pay over to the villager the price of his grass and barley without large reduction, and at the same time contrive to make it impossible for the poor man to carry his complaint to the "Sahib." This enumeration will nearly exhibit the strength of anti-British feeling in India. And it is worthy of note that in some of these cases, the natives themselves would not expect to gain anything by a change of rulers. The poor villager would fare worse than he does under the "Company Sahib," as to receiving a just compensation for his services.

On the other side, there are commanding reasons and facts to be considered. The Hindus are a shrewd, sagacious people in all things affecting their personal and pecuniary interests. They can very well appreciate the advantage of living under law, as compared with living under lawless despotism. They are keenly alive to the chances of accumulating property and

of its safe possession. It is said the Jews cannot compete with the bazar dealers of Calcutta, though here in Yankee-land they take possession of Chatham street. No people, moreover, are more sensitive than the Hindus to the honour of their families, keeping their females in the strictest seclusion. How could it be otherwise than that such a people would prefer a settled, and in the main an equitable government like that of the British, to the state of things which always exists under native or Musalman rulers? The last old king of the Punjab had in his harem hundreds of the most beautiful women in his country, and their number was increased by the forcible addition of every young woman of superior beauty within his reach. If one of his subjects, by industry, skill, or enterprise, acquired some property, he soon learned that his gains must be shared by his rulers, petty and great, until all that remained was not worth contending for. The illustrations are numberless. Now, law reigns in the Punjab, as elsewhere, to the infinite advantage of nine-tenths of the people. The law is imperfectly administered, indeed, and thereby many cases of oppression occur, and many criminals escape deserved punishment. Of this, the people bitterly complain, oftentimes; but they see, what English and American declaimers against the oppressions of the present government do not seem to be aware of, that these cases of abuse of power are nearly always to be laid to the charge of the native officials, or of the state of society where any number of witnesses can be hired in the next bazar for sixpence each, to swear the most solemn oaths. But law imperfectly administered is nevertheless to be preferred to no law, and this the Hindus well understand. We might easily infer, therefore, that if the Hindus do not like the British, they are at least far enough from hating them to such a degree as to wish for their expulsion from the country.

Signal examples can be given to show the true state of native feeling, one of which we will here relate. At one of the missionary stations of our Church in Upper India, a native chief was in power when the missionary first visited his city, which then contained a population of sixteen thousand souls. Soon afterwards the old chief died, and left no heirs. His principality, according to native usage, escheated to the British; if

his town had been on the other side of the Sutlej, it would have fallen in like manner to the miserable old king referred to above. British rule was set up, the reign of law commenced, people from neighbouring districts still under native rulers removed to this town, and in a few years its population was numbered at nearly eighty thousand souls. Facts like this confute whole pages of declamation. We shall not pursue the argument as to this matter, but may simply state our conviction, formed after carefully examining the accounts of the recent disturbances, that the Hindus generally have taken but little part in them. The farmers, mechanics, shopkeepers, the industrial classes generally, with Mohammedan exceptions, are not found in the train of the Sepoys. On the contrary, these classes have been plundered in many instances by the revolted troops; and in still more, their daily occupations, and especially the labours of the field, have been so much interrupted, that extreme suffering is to be apprehended as one of the results of the mutiny. It is sad to think that this will be a matter of indifference to these heathen and Mohammedan soldiers; they will care nothing at all for the distress which impending famine will bring on scores of thousands of their countrymen. We trust their Christian rulers may be able to devise some measures for their relief.

Adopting the theory which the foregoing remarks refute, some of the newspapers, both in Ireland and this country, have set the atrocities and brutalities of the revolted soldiers to the account of national hatred, repaying in kind the wrongs inflicted on the Hindus by their present rulers. The theory on which this atrocious charge is made having no truth to rest upon, the charge itself might be summarily dismissed from court. But it has been made too boldly, to be ignored. It will soon appear that we do not blindly approve of everything in the policy of the British government in the East; nor do we doubt that examples of personal iniquity and wrong-doing in the intercourse of Europeans with the Hindus can be brought forward. But if there is anything in the history of British proceedings in India that gives even a pretext for the allegation in question, it has altogether escaped our reading. Whatever individual cases of license or of violence may be cited—and it would be strange

indeed if none should occur among so many thousand Europeans, living in a country where moral restraints are few and weak; (have we not reason to blush for many such in our own land?) it is nevertheless true beyond question, that for nearly a generation past, the policy of the British government in India has been liberal and humane; while the character and conduct of its official agents, in the civil and military services, will bear a very favourable comparison with that of our own countrymen in the same walks of life. We have no sympathy with the tone of disparagement which some have chosen to employ towards a noble people in the time of their reverses; and we repudiate as groundless, nay, as violating one of the holy commandments, the allegation that the Hindus have been merely paying off their debts to the British in their own coin. This charge is in the first place false; and in the next, it is without reason. It assumes that the Sepoys have acted from a sense of national grievance, whereas *they* were never oppressed, never ill-treated, but on the contrary, always dealt with as a favoured and even a petted class; and it is further without reason, because it ignores the real cause of these dreadful atrocities. These have their reason in the unfathomable depths of human depravity, when unrestrained by Divine Providence, and unenlightened by the gospel. It is pure heathenism and pure Islamism that we behold with horror in these Sepoy outrages.

We leave this painful topic, after adding, that many of the mistakes which are made by those who treat of the causes of the Indian revolt, are made in this same way—by forgetting the real character of the Hindus. They are an ignorant, depraved, and heathen people; and yet both English and American writers speak of them as if they could be governed on the same principles and in the same way as British subjects or American citizens. A greater mistake it would be difficult to make; and our meaning will be clearer to most of our readers, when we say that the coloured people of this country, free and bond, are a hundred-fold better prepared for self-government than are the great mass of the Hindus.

We have dwelt somewhat long on this subject, because of prevalent mistakes concerning it, and chiefly because the measures to be pursued hereafter in India depend on a right view

of this point. The statesmen of Great Britain, and the Christian people of every land, must seek to know with reasonable certainty what is the disposition of the natives of India towards their present rulers. The British could not long remain in that country, neither could the work of Christian missions be carried on there much longer, if the masses of the people shared in the spirit which has actuated the revolted Sepoys.

In the earlier days of the mutiny, it was a frequent charge, that the labours of the missionaries were its immediate, if not its main cause. By their proselyting efforts, and their exposure of the native religious systems, we were told, they had awakened a vindictive feeling among the people, which now sought to quench its rage in blood. Facts and proofs abundant have exploded this theory of the outbreak; and have shown besides, that the missionaries enjoy more of the confidence of the Hindu part of the population, the seven-eighths of the whole, than any other class of foreigners. The natives give them the credit of being sincere and good men. As in the days of Schwartz, so it has occurred again, within a few months, that a missionary was able to render essential service to his countrymen in procuring needful supplies, when the officers of government were unable to obtain them. Few of the missionary stations were molested as *missionary*; a native ordained missionary of our Church, and the native teacher, with their church and school, all well known to the dwellers at Jalandar, were allowed to remain in peace, when three regiments at that place broke into mutiny. Similar examples occurred at other places. A serious loss of property has befallen the missions of our own and other Churches, and a lamentable loss of missionary lives, as our readers know; but it was as *foreign*, not as missionary, that these calamities overtook them; with some exceptions, particularly as to native Christians who fell into the hands of rebels, among their Mohammedan countrymen. In the parts of the country where missionaries have been longest at work, and most successful, there have been no disturbances; while the Sepoys, of all the Hindus, knew least about missionary instruction. In the ranks, or in cantonments, they were no more accessible to itinerant missionaries, than are the soldiers of our own army to

the labours of a street preacher. But no one, we believe, now ascribes this revolt to the missionaries.

The evidence of a Mohammedan conspiracy is supposed by some to be beyond question; and the fears of Hindu high caste people, lest they should violate their peculiar institution by the touch or taste of certain cartridges, are the cause assigned by others. We believe that both of these have been at work. There are large numbers of Mohammedans, who possess sufficient ability, and are swayed by a spirit sufficiently malignant, to devise all that has taken place. But as this sect forms but a fraction of the population, it was only by securing the coöperation of non-Musalman people that anything could be effected. This was to be done in but one way, by exciting their fears of losing caste. The serving out of cartridges for the Minnie rifle, which were made of a new kind of paper, or sized with some suspicious looking substance, became the occasion of the outbreak; so far as the Hindus were concerned, it was to a large extent the cause of their revolt. Trifling as such a cause must seem to us, and therefore by many ridiculed as incredible, to the devout Hindu, especially to a man of high caste, it was a serious cause of alarm; nothing more serious, indeed, could have been presented to his mind. These are the now commonly received theories of the revolt. They both turn on the native army as their hinge of movement. But for this army, embodying large numbers of Mohammedans and high caste Hindus, thoroughly armed, well disciplined, stationed at commanding points, ready, inflammable, and needing but the right torch, no such outburst of fury and ruin could have been produced.

Accessory causes were not wanting. The Bengal army was largely composed of men from classes priding themselves on their high caste and personal dignity; its Ghoorkha and Sikh regiments mostly stood firm in their allegiance to the government, as did the Madras and Bombay armies, which enrolled men of all castes. Not only was the Bengal army chiefly formed from the classes most difficult to be governed, it was also recruited mainly from one part of the country, the provinces of Rohileund and Oude. This army seems to have been without sufficient discipline, in part owing to the custom which has grown up, of taking the officers of greatest ability and

knowledge of the native language for extra-regimental service, leaving the men under the charge of less competent officers. The blunder of strongly fortifying Delhi, and then leaving it in the charge of native troops, and allowing the titular Moghul emperor still to remain in the palace, must be enumerated, and can be accounted for only by calling to remembrance the profound feeling of security which prevailed among all classes of Europeans. Of all places in India, this city is preëminently the seat of royalty; it ought probably to be the political capital of the British; its possession is the visible emblem of sovereignty in the eyes of the people. For many centuries, under successive dynasties, the country was governed at Delhi. Hence the conspirators at once set up the titular emperor as the ostensible head of their movement, and the Sepoys flocked to that city as by some peculiar instinct. Nor can we pass by the grave fault of keeping this native army out of the reach of Christian influences. We refer not as proof of this to the recent censure inflicted on an officer for his missionary zeal. While no one can doubt the excellence of this gentleman, his peculiar religious views may perhaps have prompted to his engaging in methods of evangelization which few among ourselves would deem proper in an officer of our army. It is certain that other officers, among them the noble Havelock, have been equally zealous and not less publicly known as missionary Christian men, without having met with official rebuke. Our censure falls on the policy that has kept native Christians out of the army, and which even dismissed from active service a respectable man, whose only fault was his becoming a sincere convert to the Christian religion. This occurred forty years ago, but the policy of the government has not yet become more liberal. The dismissal of the Sepoy was a wretched truckling to the prejudices of caste among the soldiers, and it was equally degrading to Europeans, as a practical acknowledgment that their religion was unworthy of respect. This irreligious, or not Christianly religious, policy has resulted in placing the chief defence of all British interests in the hands of those classes of natives who are the most prejudiced, the most proud, the most scornful, alike of their own countrymen and their foreign rulers; and it now seems wonderful that the evil could have

been so long tolerated. No considerations of fine stature and bearing in the men, no hope of conciliating such a class of influential people, no mistaken ideas of non-interference with the religions of the country, should have been allowed to have a feather's weight against the sin and the risks of this line of policy. All Christian people will feel thankful that this system has received its death blow in this mutiny.

This native army was the magazine, filled with combustible materials, and ready for explosion either by a Mohammedan or a Brahman torch; why then keep up this magazine? Thus reasons a correspondent of the *Times*; and the question is often asked, on both sides of the Atlantic, How and why is India held in subjection by its own sons? Is it not better to dispense with the Sepoys? Is it practicable to recruit another native army? These questions may all be answered by simply considering the facts of the case. The Hindus have no feeling, nor any principle, that would prevent their taking service as soldiers for anybody, provided certain personal and caste matters are respected; no idea of patriotism is violated thereby; indeed the idea has little or no existence among them. The reasons for enlisting as soldiers are obvious. It has been customary, under all dynasties, foreign as well as native, for certain classes to be employed in this kind of life, and custom is all powerful with Hindus. The land, moreover, is full of people, so that it is extremely difficult for vast multitudes to obtain the slenderest means of subsistence. A hard-working boatman or a field-hand can rarely earn two dollars a month, and must find his food and clothing out of that pittance; a house-servant seldom receives more than two or three dollars a month, and "finds himself;" and these labouring classes are hired by the month or day, with no expectation of support from their employers beyond their time of actual work. The Sepoys, besides their military dress and quarters in cantonments, have their four dollars a month, or twice as much as the same men could earn in any other employment; and at the end of a certain term of service they are sure of a pension, which enables them to spend the rest of life like "private gentlemen" amongst their friends. As a class, they are the best conditioned people in India; of all others, they have fared best under the present

government—having ample and sure pay and pensions, which were often scanty and ill-paid under native or Moghul rulers.

Almost equally strong are the reasons which induce the British to employ these mercenaries. The climate of the country is extremely injurious to most persons who have been brought up in northern latitudes, and particularly to the common European soldiers, who are too little governed by laws of reason or temperance. Hence a large pecuniary outlay is necessary to provide suitable quarters for the men, besides the great expense of their conveyance to India—making every English soldier cost as much as would support a dozen of Sepoys; and, after all, he is incapable of much service during a large part of the year. This mutiny commenced at the beginning of the hot season, the time being well chosen, and for three months it was at the risk of health and life for English troops to be moved in order to suppress it. A European regiment cannot be expected to serve long; broken health, numerous casualties, and more than all, the weariness and disgust of a foreigner's life, whose only reason for staying in the country is a pecuniary one, combine to shorten the time of service of English troops, and make it almost a matter of necessity to employ native soldiers, provided they can be taken into service with safety.

On this point little doubt need be felt. With the lessons of the last few months in view, it will be easy to guard against the real dangers of a Sepoy force. Soldiers will hereafter be enlisted from several classes, and fewer from the ranks of the Brahmans and Mohammedans. Native Christians will be welcomed. Discipline will be rigidly maintained. A stronger European force will occupy the commanding positions. And thenceforth we may anticipate little trouble from the native army. Eventually the native troops, like their countrymen of all classes, will be a Christian people, and their relations to their officers, as well as those of India to England, will at some future day be adjusted on the principles and in the spirit of Christianity. May that day be not far distant!

This mutiny has turned public attention to India, and the relations between that country and Great Britain are now the general study of the western world. It is perceived that the

army must be reconstructed, and many believe that the government itself should undergo the same process. There are obviously points of the deepest moment to be considered, if any general change is to be made; and the danger of needless or injurious innovation is very serious. It is quite common for English writers to complain of the present government, because the natives of the country are not admitted to a larger share in its administration; some theorizers and some partizans would go so far as to resign the government altogether into native hands, and would have the British to withdraw from the country. To any one acquainted with the state of things, the latter measure will appear as simply a proposal to hand the Hindus over to the evils of anarchy. There is neither virtue nor intelligence among them for self-government, in any proper sense of that word. The government must remain in British hands, and must for a long time be based on the idea of a conquest and not of a colony. As to admitting Europeans to reside in India, they could freely do so at any time in the last five and twenty years; but the fierce sun and the drenching rains, the intense tropical climate, added to the already overcrowded condition of every avenue and lane of business in a land teeming with inhabitants, will always stand in the way of European colonization. The idea of colonial government for India will never be practicable. As a conquest, the British must continue to govern the country, if they govern it at all, until, under the transforming power and genial influence of Christianity, the Hindus are prepared to govern themselves. In the mean time, their being subject to an enlightened Protestant power is of the greatest advantage to them. The interests of humanity and of civilization in India, and the door open for the spread of the gospel, alike depend on the connection which has been so strangely ordained by Providence between the British and the Hindus.

The continuance of this relationship we regard as of the highest moment to the people of India; but whether the East India Company should continue to be the organ of British power, is a question not settled. The Board of Control makes this Company in some sense a part of the English home government; but we believe that most matters of administration are left to the Company. Through the Board of Control, the

public sentiment of the British people has been brought to bear on important subjects in the East. The Company itself, being composed of Englishmen, feels the impulse of the national life; and its general course of policy bears witness to the same influences for good, which have governed the councils of its Directors. The abolition of the rite of the Suttee, and of the sacrifice of infant children to the Ganges, the relinquishment to so great an extent of the patronage of heathen temples—a matter sometimes of difficulty because involving questions of vested and personal rights, the impulse given to education, the construction of railroads now in progress, and of telegraph lines now complete, may be cited as examples of progress in the right direction, and of progress under the guidance of public opinion at home. But if we do not misjudge, the original sin of the Company remains. It is no longer a trading Company, but it is still a stockholder's Company; the mercantile spirit still pervades its councils; and its directors would be more than men, if they did not often look rather to the value of their vested property than to the questions of statesmanship involved in the government of such a vast country. We intend to imply no injurious reflection on the directors or stockholders of the Company; they are undoubtedly a body of most respectable persons—probably none are better worthy of confidence; but their Company relationship itself embodies the principle of our objection to them as a governing power. In such hands, the government is likely to be influenced by an English home-class policy, rather than by an anglo-Indian national one; and a narrow view of public events is likely to be taken. The welfare of the Hindu millions is in danger of being overlooked, if a broad consideration of their interests should involve great pecuniary expenditure. How else can we account for the limited force of European soldiers at the beginning of this revolt? The number was but little greater, we believe, than it was when the rule of the Company did not extend beyond the Sutlej, and did not include the kingdom of Oude. To the same category must be reduced, at least in some degree, the half-and-half-measure of employing the officers of the army on non-military service. The vast cultivation of opium, fostered and extended by a peculiar government monopoly, is a still

more signal example of the mercantile spirit of the Company. This great evil could hardly have grown up, if the country had been governed directly by the British people. The crown of England would not in that case have been stained with the fumes of opium smoking in the land of Sinim. Apart from these things, the Company seems to us a complicated piece of the machinery of government, one in which evils or errors of administration can easily be committed, while they cannot be readily corrected, and one that promises no advantage over a simpler form of government, amenable directly to the British crown, like that of the island of Ceylon.

The great question remains to be considered—What place should be given to Christianity in the policy of the government? One thing that all must hope to see is, that the attitude of the government shall hereafter be friendly, and not hostile, to our holy religion. For long years the East India Company threw its vast influence against the Christian religion. A striking example of this has been given already in the removal of the Christian Sepoy from his regiment. The obstacles interposed in the way of missionary efforts were most serious, so that the first English missionaries had to seek refuge in the Danish possessions at Serampore, and the first American missionaries were expelled from the country. The countenance given to some of the idolatrous festivals, the support of certain heathen temples, the presents bestowed on the hideous idol of Juggernath, the enforced attendance of Christian officers and troops to salute pagan gods on some occasions, were all positive offences against the God of heaven, which no considerations of worldly policy can justify. The exclusion of the word of God from government schools rests on a somewhat different footing, not unlike that which tends to the same result in too many of our own public schools. Yet Christian men must contend, that both here and everywhere the first and best of all books should occupy a chief place in the instruction of youth; and at the least, that it should not be excluded by the authority of Christian governors, while the Koran and the Shaster are freely admitted. The practical result of education without Christian influence is shown in lurid colours in the progress of the Sepoy revolt. In this country there can hardly be such education;

religion may be formally excluded from the school-room, but, like the atmosphere, its influence is felt in all places, and direct religious instruction is given in other ways to supply the great defect of our public school teaching. It is otherwise in a heathen country, and Nana Sahib and the Nawab of Furrukhabad are the monsters born of a false religion and nurtured in schools where everything is taught but that which it most concerns the scholar to learn. We have thus stated this matter as it must be viewed by those who are advocates of our own common school system. On the higher and true theory of education we do not here enter. The intervention of government in the education of a heathen people is a difficult subject; neither is the difficulty materially lessened on the "Church and State" theory of education.

It has given us no pleasure to enumerate these errors and grave offences of the government; and we are happy to believe that the worst is over; a more liberal and Christian course would have been followed, even if the great argument of this mutiny had not been thrown into the scale. Hereafter Christian views of duty will not be ignored as to these things. Indeed for years past, the friends of missions have had little cause of complaint, and many reasons for gratitude for the general course of conduct adopted by the government. But the question remains—What shall be done with Christianity itself? To read the discussions of not a few among ourselves, one might suppose that we had become advocates of enforcing the claims of religion by the authority of the State. The government should be a Christian government, we are told; it should break down caste; it should destroy the Mohammedan mosques. As well might we require our own government to destroy the Romanist churches, or to break up the religious fooleries of the Shakers. The most we can ask the British government to do as a government, is, not to encourage Heathenism or Mohammedanism, much less to discourage Christianity; to afford equal protection to all; to tolerate no offences against property or life in any; and then, with a fair field before the Church, we have no misgiving as to her success—the Hindus shall become Christians.

This doctrine is not strong enough for our Covenanter friends here at home, nor will it satisfy our Church and State brethren

in Great Britain. This is not the time to discuss its truth; but, advertent to the tone of a large part of the public press, it is timely and important for us to lift up a friendly voice of warning against any attempt to make Christianity a part of the government in India, in any such sense as to lead to the employment or the support by the authorities of agencies for the Christian instruction and conversion of the natives. The sure result of doing so would be to promote a mercenary profession of our holy faith by multitudes who would still be heathens at heart. Let the example of the State support of Christianity in Ceylon by the Dutch be well weighed: the Christian profession of almost all the numerous converts disappeared as soon as the Dutch government was withdrawn, and the large churches were entirely deserted by their former crowds of worshippers. It will be a sad event for the cause of Christ in India, when the government shall take our religion into union with the State, for the native population. On the British theory of this subject, no objection ought to be made to the support of bishops and chaplains for British born people living in India; but it is by no means obvious that the ecclesiastical establishment ought to be much enlarged. There are already three bishops for a population of some fifty thousand, very many of whom are not Episcopalians. It is simply fallacious to speak of the diocese of the Bishop of Calcutta as including all the inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency. The venerable Bishop Wilson has in fact the spiritual oversight of a much smaller number of souls, ministers, and congregations, than are under the supervision of Bishop Potter, of New York. This, however, is ground that we do not wish to travel over.

On the momentous subject of the relations of government to the Christian religion among the natives, we wish to guard against the adoption of *ultra* views. Allowance must be made for the peculiar state of things. Some of the exceptionable relations of the authorities to heathen customs, for instance, result from the fact that the great mass of the people are not Christians. There are certain heathen and Mohammedan festivals universally observed, when it is customary to close the public offices; and it would seem to be useless to keep them open—indeed, impracticable often, because the clerks and

labourers would not stay, and to compel them to remain, would be to violate their convictions of duty. Other examples might be given. What we have asked of the government, however, would not fall under the censure of going too far, and would lead to the correction of some great evils. We accord great praise to the British for what they have already done in this matter, in the suppression of thuggism and murders in the name of religion, in the protection of converts from violence and the loss of property, in maintaining the right of widows to remarry, and in other things of like kind; but it deserves to be considered whether further progress cannot be made in the same direction, so as to render the immoralities and crimes of heathenism more fully amenable to the law. The influence of the government, moreover, can no doubt be so wielded as to discourage caste; and this would greatly benefit all classes. Christianity should be placed on at least an equal footing with other religions in the schools, and native Christians should be eligible equally with others for employment in the public service. The Lord's day should be observed by all Christian officers of government, high and low. Modest as are these requirements of the State, their concession would exert a mighty influence on the people of India. The rest we would leave to the Missionary Church. The Gospel must be the great Reformer of the Hindus.

It is of comparatively little moment what form of organization may be adopted for the army or for the government; neither is it essential to the progress of the gospel in what way the relations of the government to religion may be framed together. We must not rely on human government for the conversion of souls; nor make too much of its protection in the missionary work, as the last few months have shown. We should remember that more depends on the men who administer public affairs, than on the government itself. In this respect the Hindus have reason to be thankful for so many of the best men of England among their present judges, and other civil and military rulers. If the greater number do not themselves act under the solemn impression of religious things, this is but what we complain of in our own country. Who expects the assembling of our members of Congress to do much for the promotion of evangelical religion in the federal city, or in the

country at large? It is truly a cause of thankfulness that so many of the English in India are God-fearing men, and that the number of such men, and especially of like-minded women, is on the increase.

In no country in the world is there a nobler sphere for the exercise of all benevolent influences than is set before our English friends in India—we refer to them now as Christians, and not as servants of the government. Elevated far above the Hindus by their position, and still more by their religion and its blessed civilization, they have daily opportunities of exemplifying the gospel, and of showing that its Author is worthy of universal praise. It is here that the most serious shortcomings of Europeans in India are to be witnessed. The holy life is too often wanting. The licentious natives too often fail to learn lessons of purity. The worth of the soul is too seldom appreciated, the sin of idolatry too rarely set forth. Without specifying particulars, however, we wish to advert to the too common tone of feeling manifested by Europeans towards the natives—it is, we fear, far too commonly that of contempt. In saying this we remember our own sin, and it furnishes the best illustration of our meaning when we say, that the contemptuous feeling which prevails in this country, and especially in our northern States, towards the coloured people, is too much the feeling of Europeans towards the natives. With us, this feeling may be indulged with safety, so far as the vengeance of man is concerned, and this only makes it the more unmanly; but in India nothing could well be more impolitic, as it tends to alienate the multitude from the few, and to hinder the growth of kindly feelings—everywhere so important in the intercourse of life.* Our main objection to this contemptuous spirit, whether shown towards Negroes or Hindus, is that it is unchristian. From this point of view, the hauteur, distance, superciliousness, or even indifference, to say nothing of rude treatment sometimes, which are shown towards the natives, are all censurable as wrong in themselves, and as standing in the way of the great benefits which the governing classes might confer on the people. If animated by some measure of the mind that was in

* See Notes on India, by the Hon. F. J. Shore: London, 1837.

Christ Jesus, a noble destiny is before every European in India. He may hold forth the word of life, and confer both temporal and spiritual good on those who are poor indeed, and thus gain the blessing of them that are ready to perish.

We take leave of these things, and return to the Sepoy Révolt, in order to finish this paper in the view of its solemn lessons. The fall of Delhi has been announced, and with this must fall the vain hopes of the Sepoys. There may be local conflicts, and perhaps a scattered or guerilla warfare for a few months, but no general war can be maintained, nor any serious opposition to the re-establishment of the British power. With the exception of Oude, which may remain unsettled for some time, the disturbed districts of the country will soon enjoy repose; the mutiny of the troops will probably subside as rapidly as it burst forth. When the smoke of its fires is cleared away, lamentable losses will be seen, but there will also be found much reason for thanksgiving to the Almighty. These events have had their commission to fulfil, of judgment now, and of mercy in the end. We do not view them as the first incidents in the great conflict between Christianity and Paganism or Mohammedanism, for the possession of India. We do not see in the rage of the Sepoys a general and matured design to expel the Christian religion from the country. Most of the common soldiers were probably governed by their fears of losing caste, by their hopes of gain from plunder, and by the offer of higher wages in the service of "the King of Delhi"—the latter inducements prevailing in the more recent cases of mutiny. The leading spirits in the movement were governed by the purpose of expelling foreigners from the country; and the Mohammedans, among both leaders and others, would no doubt have the further purpose of expelling Christianity at the same time. To this extent the insurrection was anti-Christian, and, of course, also anti-missionary; in its main and great design, it was on the part of its leaders a political movement, having for its object the restoration of the government to a Mohammedan dynasty.

If we do not see the beginning of the great conflict between Christianity and Hinduism, so far as men are concerned, we do nevertheless see that conflict, commenced long ago, and now going with fearful earnestness to its end. We recognize in these

wonderful and terrible events a deeper and a darker agency than that of man. We see the presence of the Great Adversary, permitted in the wise purposes of God, to triumph, though but for a short time. He succeeded once in making enemies to act as friends when the Lord of life was to be crucified; he has again persuaded those who were enemies to act together; Brahmans and Maulavis have acted in concert, not seeing in their blind passion that their success would lead but to the clashing of irreconcilable elements. In the event of their success, the Evil One doubtless rejoiced in hoping that it would not be long before the land would again mourn over its slaughtered inhabitants as in ancient days; he no doubt believed that the Hindu myriads, remembering the 70,000 lives that were sacrificed on a single day by a Moghul emperor, when the Broadway of Delhi was deep in human blood, would rise in their might and sweep away the followers of the False Prophet. All this was foreseen by the great enemy, and his policy looked to the triumph of Paganism. We see then in these events the great conflict between the Prince of Darkness and Immanuel, the issue publicly joined for supremacy among the millions of the East. Already is the Evil One put to the worst, and the triumphs of the gospel will henceforth be peaceful and assured.

The Christian Church should humbly accept the severe discipline of these events. How have they rebuked her apathy to the conversion of this vast body of heathens! Her martyred sons and daughters now plead with her to arise in her Saviour's spirit and strength, to lean no longer on any arm of flesh—not even on the power of a noble Protestant government, and to enter with true earnestness on the work set before her. It is for larger efforts, for a holier service, for greater success than ever before, that the Sepoy Revolt speaks to the Missionary Church. The land was open before, but there were great obstacles to be overcome. The land is still open, and the obstacles are to be soon taken out of the way. Soon will Islamism and Brahmanism be seen lying like Dagon before the ark of God; these two main native barriers will be prostrated. The foreign barrier, the irreligious policy of the government, must also give way before the public opinion of Christian England. And a field more inviting than ever before will be spread before

our Missionary Boards; a louder call than ever before will be heard for labourers to be sent into the harvest.

A few months ago the Hindu Sepoys were almost unknown to many of the members of our churches; but God has employed them, and overruled their awful crimes, to call forth an extraordinary interest in the Missions of our Church in India. Those missions were all in the provinces that have been desolated by this revolt. They were larger in extent than the missions of sister Churches. They were the first missions in those regions that were formed on a somewhat extended scale. They have been marked by signal providences from the beginning. They have received the special seal of the approval of God in the work of the Holy Spirit—in souls converted, sanctified, and received into glory; in converts still living, some of whom have been tried, and have kept the faith in the midst of awful perils; and in the grace given to our missionary brethren in the terrible scenes through which God has called them to pass. We call to mind the noble testimony of Mrs. Freeman, one of our Christian sisters, as one worthy of the best age of the martyrs; and we trust it was the feeling of all the missionaries of our Church. In immediate sight of appalling danger, she was enabled to write these ever memorable words: “Our little church and ourselves will be the first attacked; but we are in God’s hands, and we know that he reigns. We have no place to flee to for shelter, but under the covert of his wings, and there we are safe. Not but he may suffer our bodies to be slain; and if he does, we know he has wise reasons for it. I sometimes think our deaths may do more good than we could do in all our lives; if so, his will be done. Should I be called to lay down my life, do not grieve, dear sisters, that I came here; for most joyfully will I die for him who laid down his life for me.” God be praised for this testimony! Let the same spirit pervade not only the missionary body, but the churches at home, and these missions, restored and enlarged, will become like fountains of living water in a desert land. Our English brethren have under consideration the proposal to erect Memorial Churches at Delhi and Cawnpore, and all Christians in every land will sympathize with the object. We could fervently wish to see also a Memorial Mission Station founded by our Church at Bithoor. It

would be a memorial of our beloved brethren, a witness to the forgiving and benevolent spirit of our religion, and a sacred means of making known its blessings to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death.

ART. III.—*English Hymnology.*

No literature except the German has so large and rich a collection of hymns as the English. This distinction is owing partly to the sincere and fervent piety which for the last four centuries has generally existed in Protestant England, and partly to the facilities for versification the English language affords, even to those possessed of little metrical skill. Protestantism acknowledging but one Mediator with God, the man Christ Jesus, and seeking the most direct and intimate communion with the Deity, prompts the worshipper not only himself to pray in ever appropriate and intelligible words, but also, both in public and in private to utter his devout emotions in fitting songs of praise. Hence, ever since the Reformation, in Protestant Great Britain, private Christians have expressed their reverence, their penitence, their faith, their hope, their gratitude, and their joy, in sacred lyrics couched in the vernacular tongue. Thus has been formed the voluminous Hymnology of England.

As may be inferred from the facilities for English versification, and from the general prevalence of piety in Great Britain, the contributors to this precious stock of devotional lyrics are very numerous, and not always near related to one another. Names from both the clergy and the laity, of men and of women, of nearly all the denominations of British Christians, find a place on this long roll of hymn writers. Many of them, however, are not found elsewhere in the records of literature. As Montgomery has observed, “our good poets have seldom been good Christians, and our good Christians have seldom been

good poets." The greatest of dramatists, who could unlock and reveal the secrets of other hearts, never intrusted the emotions of his own to sacred verse. The "sage and serious" bard of chivalry, though he sang the Legend of Holiness, breathed forth no aspirations for its attainment, which others might adopt as the fitting expression of their own desires. The great satirist of the Restoration, in succession a Protestant and a Papist, contributed to English Hymnology only a version of the Latin hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus;" and his most elegant and successful imitator, in his unique hymn, "Vital spark of heavenly flame," has but paraphrased a poem of the pagan emperor Hadrian. The Christian epic poet, who, instructed by that

"Spirit that doth prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,"

might have been expected to contribute largely to the stock of English hymns, is known in this department of literature, only as the paraphrast of a few of the Psalms; while the placid meditative author of "The Excursion," who has embalmed a hundred sacred themes in the precious spicery of his verse, has not left among his voluminous writings, a single lyric for the use of the Christian Church.

Sublime imagination, philosophic discernment, perfect command of language, and exquisite skill in versification, even when hallowed by fervent piety, do not alone qualify one to write a hymn. It is not the greatest names in our literary annals, who have excelled in this really difficult style of composition. It is rather simple, devout men, mostly ministers of the Christian Church, and pious women, familiar with the discipline of bodily and mental suffering, who have enriched our Hymnology. It was not theirs to trace the outline, to invent the plot, to conceive the personages, and to grasp into unity the manifold details, of an Epic or a Drama, but possessed of a truly poetic spirit, familiar by personal experience with the development and vicissitudes of the Christian life, imbued with the truths of the Gospel, they have uttered their varied emotions in metrical form with an intense fervour, a compressed energy, an unerring

directness, and an all-pervading sympathy, which awaken a response in every Christian heart. Although not equally successful in all their productions, they have, in the best of them, attained that unity of theme, that depth and warmth of feeling, that freedom from mere didactic statement, and from extreme individuality of sentiment, with that liveliness, simplicity, and terseness of expression, which together realize the ideal of a good hymn. They have really secured sublimity, tenderness, beauty, and elegance, without calling our attention to the fact; they produce the proper effect, without making us conscious of it, and well establish their claim to be true lyrists, by causing us to love and use their productions, without reflecting why it is that we so love and use them.

The collections of hymns in common use have been compiled from the works of numerous authors. One of their excellencies consists in the variety of theme, spirit, and style, secured by this wide range of selection. Our limits will not allow us to discuss the characteristic merits of all our sacred lyrists. We shall confine ourselves to those whose hymns are in most frequent and general use, and whose superiority and popularity may be inferred from the large space given to their productions in all our manuals of Psalmody.

No notice of our Hymnology would be at all complete without a reference to those venerable paraphrases of David's Psalms, which were one of the earliest products of the English Reformation, and long preceded any of our present hymns. Before the time of Henry VIII., the public praises of the sanctuary had been uttered in the sublime chorals of the Latin Church, and the inspired Scripture hymns, the "Benedictus," the "Magnificat," and the "Nunc Dimittis." The merry courtiers of that luxurious monarch, far from observing the apostolic injunction to sing psalms, were wont to indulge themselves in ballads whose purity was not above reproach. With a view to supply a want in the Reformed Liturgy, and to offer a substitute to his companions for their licentious sonnets, Thomas Sternhold, groom of the robes to Henry, attempted a metrical version of the Psalter. Both his intention and his procedure resembled those of Clement Marot, a brother courtier

of the household of Francis I. Their success was in some respects similar, in others quite unlike. Marot's fifty psalms were at once adopted by Calvin's congregation at Geneva, and Sternhold's fifty-one were welcomed by the English Church; but at the courts at which the two poets respectively resided, these sacred lyrics were very differently received. Quaint old Anthony Wood says, that Sternhold thought "the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but they did not, only some few excepted." Yet this rejection was perhaps preferable to the unfeeling and even profane reception of Marot's at the French court. A psalm was chosen by each of the royal family and of the nobility, and, fitted to some favourite ballad tune, was sung in circumstances the most incongruous. So that the Dauphin sallied forth to the chase, trolling out, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks," and his sweetheart, Mde. de Valentinois, welcomed him back with, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee."

Sternhold died in 1549, the year after his fifty-one psalms were printed, and royal permission was given to sing them in public. The work, which he had left incomplete, was carried on by a younger contemporary, John Hopkins, a clergyman and schoolmaster, assisted by Thomas Norton, one of the authors of the first English tragedy, William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, a translator of the Geneva version of the Bible, Robert Wisdom, described as "an arch botcher of a psalm or prayer," and a few others whose initials appear in the collection. This poetical version "conferred with the Ebrue," "with apt notes to sing withal," was in 1562 published in connection with the Book of Common Prayer, and was for many years after the only metrical Psalter used in the Church of England. It is generally known as Sternhold and Hopkins's version, sometimes as "the old version," to distinguish it from a later one to be hereafter mentioned. Extremely literal, with a ruggedness of diction which pays little regard to elegance or harmony, with halting measures and forced and imperfect rhymes, this venerable translation often exhibits the spirit of the original with a power and a success unattained by its more graceful successors. Like all other versions and paraphrases it suffers by comparison with the simple sublimity of the prose of the Psalter, and unfor-

tunately it is sometimes deformed by an undignified and too familiar expression, like the following from Psalm lxxiv.

“Why dost withdraw thy hand aback
And hide it in thy lappe?
O pluck it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rappe.”

Successive editors have taken considerable liberties with this work, and have pruned it of many of these objectionable lines. In the whole of this version there is nothing equal to the two stanzas from Psalm xviii.

“The Lord descended from above,
And bowde the heavens hie;
And underneath His feet He cast
The darknesse of the skie.

On cherubs and on cherubims
Full roiallie He rode;
And on the winges of all the windes,
Came flying all abroad.”

Such is the sublimity of the original passage, that no imitation or version of it can be very tame. The only representative of this old translation which still survives among us in frequent use, is Hopkins's version of the one-hundredth Psalm, “All people that on earth do dwell.”

To this day there is in use in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, and among some of the Scotch churches which preserve their individuality in this country, a version which was originally prepared to supersede the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, sanctioned and employed by the English Church. Its author was Francis Rouse, or Rous, a zealous English Puritan, who was at one time Provost of Eton. His religious fervour and political sentiments gained him a seat in Praise-God Barebones' Parliament, and in the Westminster Assembly, the speakership of the House of Commons, a place at the Protector's council-board, and finally, an entrance into the House of Lords. Either of his own accord, or by the direction of the anti-prelatical House of Commons, he made a translation of the Psalms, which adhering more closely to the original than Sternhold and Hopkins's, is perhaps less rugged in its diction, equally

simple and unambitious in its style, but by no means more harmonious and correct in its versification. That pious and learned Assembly of Divines, whose Catechisms, Confession, and Book of Discipline have become the Standards of the Presbyterian Church, approved this version made by one of its lay members. The House of Commons in 1645 ordered it to be printed. The Scotch Church adopted it, and, unwilling to employ uninspired words in its worship, still clings to it with a tenacity which astonishes those who cannot find its explanation in any peculiar beauty or felicity of expression. But to the true Scotch heart it is endeared by a thousand stirring memories and sacred associations. In lonely glens and secret hiding-places its simple verses have been sung by little bands, whose voices have been hushed at the sound of the distant tramp of Claverhouse's dragoons, or by solitary captives whose dungeon doors would open only to usher them to the scaffold. Its words have died away upon the air when a hundred hearts have been touched and bowed by the Spirit of God, as at the kirk of Shotts, or wedded to "Dundee's wild warbling measures," or "plaintive Martyrs, worthy of the name," have ascended from the altar of many a cottar's home. If it has its glaring defects, it has also its striking beauties; and if we sometimes meet with a verse as harsh and prosaic as the following from Psalm lxxiv;

"A man was famous, and was had
In estimation
According as he lifted up
His axe thick trees upon,"

we as often find them as sweet and simple as this from the twenty-third Psalm:

"The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want,
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green: He leadeth me
The quiet waters by."

In the year 1696, the "old version" of Sternhold and Hopkins was forced to give place to the "new version" of Messrs. Tate and Brady. These authors were not unknown to the British public. In 1691 the laurel crown which had been transferred from the head of the illustrious Dryden to that of

his antagonist and satirical victim, Shadwell, was conferred on Nahum Tate, Esq. The new laureate had had the honour of completing, with the great satirist's assistance, the famous "Absalom and Achitophel," and publicly professed to have had "the good fortune to light upon an expedient to rectify Shakspeare's *King Lear*." A less enviable notoriety has since then been given him by some of his brother bards. Pope has perpetuated in the *Dunciad* the memory of his "poor page," and Dr. Young, in one of his *Satires*, says:

"If at his title T—— had dropped his quill,
T—— might have passed for a great genius still."

Without either secular or ecclesiastical direction, Tate associated with himself in the work of poetical translation, the Rev. Nicholas Brady, D. D., a popular preacher of the English Church, a fellow-Irishman, and a fellow-graduate of the University of Dublin. Although a poet, Brady probably did little more than secure biblical accuracy in the version. It is interesting to know that at the time of his death he was vicar of the church in Stratford-on-Avon, where Shakspeare was buried.

It was not without a struggle that the simple and rugged, but not unpoetical, "old version" yielded to the "new." In those days of pamphlet controversy, the merits of the two were fully and ably canvassed. No one more stoutly maintained that the "old was better," than Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph's. He condemned what he called its "new phrases," its "romantic expressions taken up by present poets, well enough in their places, but by no means suited to a divine poem, much less one inspired by God." In reply, Tate complained that the least air of poetry was by prejudiced judgments censured as a crime, that what was lively was called "light and airy," and that "barbarity and botching had the veritable appellation of grave and solid." Strange arguments were enlisted in the service of the opposition. In reply to an exhibition of the superior grace and liveliness of the new version, Archbishop Secker pleaded that "the heavier the psalms, the easier could the common people keep pace with them." Personal feeling must have dictated the criticism of one of these contemporary pamphleteers, when he charged Tate and Brady

with "rebellng against King David, breaking his lute, and murdering his Psalms."

But the smother numbers of the more modern version, its license by William III., high ecclesiastical approval, and its publication with the Prayer Book, by the Stationers' Company, their common proprietors, soon gave it precedence. First adopted by the churches of London, it soon became popular with the whole Church. In 1703, Queen Anne permitted the translators to add to it a supplement containing Hymns, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Church Tunes. In 1789, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States selected one hundred and twenty-four of the Psalms for its public worship; and other Churches have borrowed some of the best of them for their collections.

Harsh or halting measures are not to be expected in the productions of a pupil and former fellow-labourer of Dryden. The measures of Tate and Brady's version are generally easy and musical, and in many instances the translation is highly felicitous. It has furnished us with the words ever associated in our note-books with the tune, "Old Hundred," "Be thou, O God, exalted high." In its stanzas we tell that

"'T was a joyful sound to hear
Our tribes devoutly say,
Up Israel, to the temple haste,
And keep your festal day;"

and when

"Thro' all the changing scenes of life,
In trouble and in joy,"

the praises of God employ our hearts and tongues, the language of its thirty-fourth Psalm gives fitting utterance to our gratitude.

It however not seldom secures smoothness at the expense of strength; and in its frequent expletives, its oft recurring "do" and "did," betrays the restraints under which it was composed. Our modern taste looks in vain for the "romantic," the "light and airy" expressions condemned by the critics of an earlier age. It too often preserves the meaning of the original without its poetry, and, while reminding us of the matchless prose of the English Bible, makes us feel its own inferiority. We have

reason to be thankful for the livelier and more poetical paraphrase of Dr. Watts.

This name, the next in chronological order, introduces us to one of the largest and richest contributions to our Hymnology. From his day to our own, the Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts have been more highly valued, and more extensively used, than those of any other uninspired sacred poet. The spirit of catholicity which led him to decorate the walls of his study with the portraits of eminent men of every Christian name, which hung side by side the pictures of Luther and Bellarmine, of Calvin and Arminius, of Leighton and of Bunyan, and which prompted him to desire that the devout men who carried him to his burial should represent the Independent, the Baptist, and the Presbyterian faiths, has been reciprocated by believers of almost every sect. Though often strongly marked by doctrinal peculiarities, his lyrical compositions have commended themselves to all true Christians. Selections from them are sung alike by Episcopalians, who, as Dr. Johnson says, will be happy if they "imitate him in all but his non-conformity;" by Presbyterians, who have no sympathy with his Independency; by Baptists, who reject his views on infant church-membership; by Methodists, to whom his doctrine of decrees is an offence; by Unitarians, who, although his Psalms and Hymns prove him to have been an humble worshipper of Christ, claim him as an adherent; and by Independents, who number his gifts and his usefulness among their peculiar glories. There are no Hymns so early and so long associated with our experience as his. Our childish memories gather around them. The cradles of most of us were rocked to the rhythm of his cradle hymn, "Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber;" and probably few of us had advanced far beyond the age at which he lay in his mother's lap, at the prison door of his non-conforming father, ere we could lisp, "'Tis the voice of the sluggard," "Let dogs delight to bark and bite," and, "How doth the little busy bee improve each shining hour." The strong emotions of our manhood take hold upon them. In their language, penitence sings, "Show pity, Lord, O Lord, forgive;" self-reproach exclaims, "Alas, and did my Saviour bleed." Faith lays her hand, not "on beasts on Jewish altars slain," but on that "Heavenly

Lamb," which "takes all our guilt away." Christian fortitude nerves itself for the conflict with the question, "Am I a soldier of the cross?" and goes home to its reward with the triumphant assertion that

"Jesus can make a dying bed
Feel soft as downy pillows are."

Surviving affection disciplines itself with the thought, "Why do we mourn departing friends?" and in unfaltering trust reflects,

"So Jesus slept; God's dying Son
Passed through the grave, and blessed the bed."

Rarely does a man's fame rest mainly on his earlier efforts. But the Psalms, and many of the Hymns of Dr. Watts—the most celebrated of his works—were the productions of his youth. Some of them were composed while he was still beneath the paternal roof, a pupil in his father's boarding-school at Southampton. The young poet's ear and taste were offended by the miserable psalmody of his native place. He prepared his Hymns as a substitute for the inharmonious and prosaic strains which hindered rather than helped his devotion. His first offering is said to have been the hymn beginning "Behold the glories of the Lamb." A collection of his hymns was printed in 1707. In 1719 he published his Psalms, in which he professed to have imitated the Psalms of David in the language of the New Testament. The latter received no additions, but the former were multiplied during his long, retired and studious, but painful and laborious, life. Few, if any of them can be connected with the incidents of his ministry; few, if any, are waymarks along the peaceful path of his history. We long in vain to associate some of them with his six years' tutorship in Sir John Hartopp's family, at Stoke Newington: his *Logic* is its only memorial. We endeavour to no purpose to read in some of those penitent, confiding or joyful strains, the record of nervous hours spent in bed in a darkened chamber, after a fatiguing service in the Independent congregation in Mark Lane, London. It is but a few of them which we can connect with that visit of his to the hospitable roof of Sir Thomas

Abney, at Theobalds, which, intended to last a few days, extended through thirty-six years, and terminated only when in 1748 the mourners bore him to his final resting-place in the hallowed ground of Bunhill Fields. It was for the children of this kind entertainer, who had welcomed him when an invalid, that he composed many of his Divine and Moral Songs; and some of the friends of this Lord Mayor's family may be supposed to have been consoled with the funeral strains,

“Unveil thy bosom, faithful tomb.”

It is pleasant to see how the fame of this Christian poet has survived the ridicule which once sought to lessen it, and how the merits of his productions have triumphed over all the opposition which they awakened. It is to the praise of Pope, that in later editions of “*The Dunciad*,” he substituted some inferior name in the place which that of Dr. Watts had held in his merciless satire; and it is no less to the reproach of the insincere author of the “*Night Thoughts*,” that in his “*Universal Passion*,” he allowed himself to stigmatize Watts as

“Isaac, a brother of the canting strain.”

One of the most amusing and harmless exhibitions of feeling provoked by his innocent lyrics, was that called forth from the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, who, when his unlucky clerk had stumbled upon one of the Doctor's Hymns, rose, and cried out, “Let us have none of Mr. Watts's whines.”

It is difficult, in criticising compositions on a variety of subjects so great as that presented by Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and written with a corresponding diversity of style, to point out an author's prominent characteristics; and it is still more difficult to assign him his proper place among his brother lyrists, and at the same time to justify such an assignment. It is not much to say that the Psalms of Dr. Watts far surpass any previous paraphrases, in sublimity, poetical and devotional fervour, strength and elegance of diction, and correctness of versification—the essential characteristics of a Psalm. It may also be said, that as a whole, they have not been surpassed by any subsequent ones. They are not so much versions, or paraphrases,

as close imitations. They are to the inspired Hebrew what Dryden's and Pope's translations are to the Greek and Latin classics. They preserve the spirit, without the express language of the original, and, without claiming inspiration, awaken and express emotions similar to those of the sweet singer of Israel. The Hymns, though published before the Psalms, and being therefore less mature and finished productions, display the same qualities which constitute their excellence. Their original form was never altered or improved by their author. In later life he would fain have amended them; but having parted with the copyright for ten pounds, he no longer had them under his control.

Their spirit and style must of course vary with the varying emotions of the Christian life. Many of them are perhaps too didactic to become the fitting expression of ardent feeling; they teach rather than move. They have a dignity, and often a majesty peculiarly their own. Their first lines, in particular, almost always have a sublime outburst of emotion, so characteristic, that it has been asserted that their authorship can be instantaneously detected. Lines like the following will at once suggest themselves as illustrations of this: "Awake our souls, away our fears!" "Before Jehovah's awful throne;" "Come, let us join our cheerful songs;" "Great God, how infinite art thou!" When his muse has thus soared aloft, and borne our souls upward on the wings of fervent devotion, she does not often slacken her flight, and subject us to as sudden a descent. The manifold topics presented in these Hymns, whether suggested by Scripture or by Christian experience, are all fused by the ardent Christian feeling of their author, and thoroughly pervaded by his personal faith. This gives them that great spirituality which makes them most welcome in seasons of religious revival, and most unattractive in periods of spiritual declension. With all his gentleness and liberality, Watts not seldom manifests a predilection for the sterner and even the more fearful features of the Gospel. The minuteness with which he pursues metaphors descriptive of eternal perdition, makes us appreciate the skill and power with which inspiration awakens terror, by vagueness rather than by specialty, by outline rather than by detail. Our Hymn books have certainly not suffered either

in dignity or in truth, by the omission of stanzas like the following:

“There Satan, the first sinner, lies,
And roars, and bites his iron bands;
In vain the rebel strives to rise,
Crushed by the weight of both thy hands.”

Impartial criticism must acknowledge that some other stanzas, and even whole hymns, are equally objectionable on the score of prosaic ideas and expressions, undue familiarity, and unwise ingenuity. In modern editions, many of these have, without injustice to the author, been judiciously omitted. The wheat has been winnowed from the chaff. Nothing now hinders the conviction that Isaac Watts has made the most valued contribution to our Hymnology, and that, though the compositions of many others are exceedingly precious, we would part with all of theirs rather than with all of his.

The early experience of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns among the American Churches deserves a passing notice. Our Puritan fathers brought with them to Plymouth a version of the Psalms, made by one Henry Ainsworth, an eminent Brownist, and published at Amsterdam in 1612. In 1639, this was superseded by the Bay Psalm Book, a work produced, as Cotton Mather tells us, by “the chief divines in the country.” Their poetical ability, and the corresponding excellence of their translation, may be best inferred from the humorous counsel given some of them by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, the place of publication:

“You Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us a very good rhyme;
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
And with the text's own word you will them strengthen.”

This version, more faithful than elegant, became the manual of almost all the New England churches. In 1750, it had passed through twenty-seven editions.

The year before the publication of his Psalms, Dr. Watts had sent specimens of them to Cotton Mather, and had received his approval. In 1741, both the Psalms and Hymns were printed in Boston. They did not however come into very general use for more than forty years after that date. In

1785, the Connecticut Association entrusted them to the editorial care of Joel Barlow, then a lawyer, but already notorious as a sort of Tyrtæan revolutionary chaplain, manufactured after a six weeks' course in Theology, and destined to be notorious in the literary world as the author of "The Columbiad" and of "Hasty Pudding;" in the political world as an extreme radical and revolutionist. He added twelve psalms which Watts had omitted, and altered some of the others. In 1800, the same Association, desirous of connecting a more reputable name with their Psalmody, and wishing to secure for it still further improvement, requested Dr. Timothy Dwight, the President of Yale College, to revise Barlow's revision. This he did, supplying by translations of his own, gaps which still existed in the series of Psalms, and adding a selection of Hymns. The best and most popular of his versions is that of the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm: "I love thy kingdom, Lord." Dwight's edition of Watts was adopted by the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

The name which ranks next to Dr. Watts among the hymn writers of English Independency, is that of his friend Philip Doddridge. The hymns of the latter are less grand and daring, less doctrinal and didactic, than those of the former, but they are far more sweet and tender. They are equally sound and scriptural, and at the same time appeal more directly to our sympathies and our affections. They are just such productions as might be looked for from one of his gentle, lovely temper, his biblical scholarship, and his Christian and ministerial experience. They are worthy of the pious student of Kibworth, and laborious tutor and devoted pastor of Northampton. We cannot but believe that when, by the aid of the old pictorial Bible, and the storied Dutch tiles of the fire-place, his mother implanted those germs of divine truth which blossomed and bore fruit in the "Family Expositor" and "The Rise and Progress," she also inspired him with somewhat of that love for sacred hymns for which her ancestral Germany is so noted. It was in the year 1729 that, after as thorough a training as Dissenters could then command, with a little experience as a minister, and under the sanctified influence of recent disappointment and severe illness, he began that twenty years' pastorate which has

made Northampton one of those hallowed spots around which Christian memories love to linger. There, at the suggestion of Dr. Watts, was written "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," and there volume after volume was added to the "Family Expositor." There, year after year, were pursued those academic toils which trained so many Christians and ministers for the service of God; and there, Sabbath by Sabbath, those sermons were preached and those hymns were sung, which the Church esteems one of her richest legacies. Let us turn aside to visit this quiet scene of his useful ministry, and on some Sabbath day enter that old chapel "with the square windows and sombre walls," where so many precious words of truth have been uttered, and such sacred notes of praise have been sung. There, in yonder square corner-seat, in the scarlet coat of a Scotch cavalry officer, sits a tall and stately man, the fire of whose grey eyes seems subdued by the sanctity of the place, and whose gentle and devout manner betokens a spirit rarely associated with his garb and calling. It is Colonel Gardiner, destined to fall upon the field of Preston-Pans, and to be immortalized by the pen of him whose ministrations he so highly prized and so often sought. There, too, is the stately and haughty Dr. Akenside, who having just completed his "Pleasures of the Imagination," and finished his studies at Edinburgh and Leyden, tries the effect of his drugs and nostrums on the boors of Northampton, ere he removes to London, and by poetry and physic wins his way to the post of physician to the queen. The pupils of the Northampton Academy, as yet unknown to fame, but destined many of them to usefulness and even celebrity, and the good people of the village and its environs, constitute the rest of the congregation. With gentle, winsome tones, and simple, earnest manner, the preacher is uttering a clear and well-arranged discourse, evidently drawn from the depths of his own experience, and hallowed with prayer. His text is, "There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God." The discourse ended, the preacher "lines out" to his hearers the well-known hymn, "Thine earthly Sabbaths, Lord, we love," into which he has compressed the leading thoughts of his sermon, that it may impress them more deeply on their minds, and serve at once to awaken and

utter the emotions which the theme demands. This was his usual custom, so that in his three hundred and seventy hymns we have reproduced and perpetuated the spirit, and even the form, of Doddridge's ministry. Each of them has its Scripture text, and each was once appended to a parish discourse. It is easy to see what spirituality, what directness, what fitness, and what sympathy with human feeling and human need hymns must possess, when thus originated. Of these three hundred and seventy hymns, but a small number have found their way into our modern collections. But the best of them are in use among us, and are among those most frequently employed. Few are more familiar than those recalled by the following first lines: "Jesus, I love thy charming name," "To-morrow, Lord, is thine," "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," "Grace, 'tis a charming sound," "Dear Saviour, we are thine," "Now let our cheerful eyes survey," and "Hark, the glad sound, the Saviour comes." It has been beautifully said, that "if amber is the gum of fossil trees, fetched up and floated off by the ocean, hymns, like these, are a spiritual amber. Most of the sermons to which they originally pertained have disappeared for ever; but at once beautiful and buoyant, these sacred strains are destined to carry the devout emotions of Doddridge to every shore where his Master is loved, and where his mother tongue is spoken."

In 1764, the curacy of the parish church of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, was occupied by a man, whose history, as recorded by himself, has scarcely its parallel in the number and the impressiveness of providential interpositions in his behalf, and whose piety and usefulness present one of the most convincing proofs of the reality and the power of the grace of God. John Newton, though the son of a pious mother, spent his youth amidst all the corrupting associations of a sailor's life, and his early manhood in the debasing and hardening employment of a slave-trader. Under such influences, he became a monster of impiety. But the Spirit of God reached him, even amid the blasphemies of the fore-castle, and the brutalities of the slave-deck. With no other classical training than that which his industry secured for him during his long African voyages, and with no other theological discipline and experience as a preacher

than that acquired in the intervals of his duty as a tide-waiter at Liverpool, he, with all the earnestness of his new Christian life, devoted himself to the ministry, and received ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln. Olney became his first pastoral charge; its poor population, consisting chiefly of lace-makers and straw-plaiters, with here and there a wealthy farmer, were his first parishioners. Thither, in the year 1767, came a middle-aged woman in widow's weeds, and a man of about thirty-six years of age, with timid, retiring manners; a countenance on which were already drawn the lines of care and sickness, and an eye which, when not downcast, or shyly turned away from the observer, was seen to shine with a fire not altogether natural. They took a large house, superior in finish and in comfort to its neighbours, and separated from the curate's grounds by only a garden wall. They became regular attendants on the parish church; and the younger might often be seen visiting the neighbouring cottages, and talking and praying with their inmates. They were Cowper, and his friend, Mrs. Unwin, who had removed to Olney for the express purpose of enjoying the friendship and the ministrations of John Newton. For nearly twelve years of varied experience, of health and of sickness, of joy and of sorrow, they lived either side by side, or beneath the same roof. The chief memorial of this long and intimate friendship between these two Christian men, is the collection of hymns, known as the "Olney Hymns." They were undertaken at Newton's suggestion, with the two-fold design of "promoting the faith and comfort of sincere Christians," and of "perpetuating the remembrance" of their mutual affection. Before the collection was complete, Cowper's mind was darkened by that fearful cloud of melancholy and insanity, which had already once enveloped it, and which was lifted only at intervals during the whole of his sad and painful life. The progress of the work was arrested. Newton, disheartened and depressed by his friend's affliction, at first thought of abandoning the project, but, after some delay, resumed his poetical labours, and completed the book alone. It was published in 1779. The hymns are distributed into three books. Those contained in the first are suggested by passages from the Old and the New Testament, and are arranged in the order of the Scriptures; those in

the second are hymns suited to particular occasions, or suggested by special events or subjects; those in the third are miscellaneous, and refer to various topics connected with the Christian life. The authorship of the few contributed by Cowper, generally distinguishable by their tenderness and their poetic sweetness, is indicated by the letter C prefixed to them. Those of the first book, referring to successive passages of Scripture, are almost exclusively Newton's. Many of them have that prosaic character inseparable from studied attempts to versify a series of Bible incidents or precepts. Their author did not regard this as a blemish; for in his preface he says, "The style and manner suited to the composition of hymns may be more easily attained by a versifier than by a poet. Perspicuity, simplicity, and ease, should be chiefly attended to; and the imagery and colouring of poetry, if admitted at all, should be indulged very sparingly, and with great judgment." Cowper, with more of a poet's spirit, could not be restricted to the path of paraphrase, and furnish verses in a fixed and regular series. His hymns were inspired by circumstances in his experience; they grew out of his retired meditations; they furnish dates in his personal religious history. It must not, however, be thought that Newton's hymns are, as a whole, destitute of poetry, or of beauty. They betray a familiar acquaintance with the vicissitudes of the Christian life, and adapt themselves readily to our various needs. How often have our emotions and desires found utterance in the hymns, "Lord, I cannot let thee go," "Come, my soul, thy suit prepare," "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound," "Sweet was the time when first I felt," "One there is above all others," "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," "'Tis a point I long to know," "While with ceaseless course the sun," "Safely through another week," "Saviour, visit thy plantation," and "Glorious things of thee are spoken"—all of them from the pen of the curate of Olney. But it is to Cowper's smaller contributions to the Olney collection that we turn with the greatest pleasure; their richness compensates for their fewness. Doubtless a part of their attractiveness is derived from the peculiar charm which invests his melancholy personal history. The gloom of despair had just been dispelled when he wrote the hymn entitled "The

Happy Change," in which he thus plainly describes his own state:

"The soul, a dreary province once
Of Satan's dark domain,
Feels a new empire formed within,
And owns a heavenly reign."

It is with all the joyousness of a bird escaped from the snare of the fowler, that in some "calm retreat and silent shade" he sung of the delights of Christian retirement,

"Far from the world, O Lord, I flee,
From strife and tumult far."

Memories of bitter conflicts, consciousness of the rich benefits of salutary discipline, delightful experience of the consolations of the gospel, reveal themselves in the well-known lines, "'Tis my happiness below, not to live without the cross," "When darkness long has veiled my mind," "O Lord, my best desires fulfil," "Sin enslaved me many years," and "The Spirit breathes upon the word." It was no common faith which in dim recollection of his fearful past, and dread anticipation of a gloomier future, inspired that favourite hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way," in which poetry and piety unite to justify the ways of God to man. But most precious of all, and most familiar to our lips, are those beginning "O, for a closer walk with God," and "There is a fountain filled with blood." So long as the forgiven heart shall utter its praises for pardon and peace, and the aspiring soul shall yearn for greater nearness to God, shall these hymns be said and sung; and so long with our tenderest and deepest emotions will be linked the memory of William Cowper.

We once knew a youth who supposed that the name of Steele, connected with many of our favourite hymns, was either that of Sir Richard Steele, or that of his wife. The former hypothesis seemed to be confirmed by the fact that the jovial essayist wrote a treatise entitled "The Christian Hero," and that his friend and fellow-labourer, Addison, composed several devotional lyrics. The author of our hymns was, however, neither the knight nor his "darling Prue," but a Mrs., or rather according to the modern title of maiden ladies, Miss Anne Steele, the daughter of an English Baptist minister, and a native and

resident of the retired village of Broughton in Hampshire. It is surprising how few biographical details exist respecting one whose compositions are so familiar to English and American Christians, and whose skill as a writer of hymns associates her with Watts, and Newton, and Cowper, and Doddridge. The fullest account of her life and writings we have ever seen, is to be found in the preface to her works, reprinted in Boston in 1808. Two volumes of her poems on subjects chiefly devotional appeared in England in 1760; in 1780 they were republished there, together with a third volume of miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Caleb Evans of Bristol, England. The preface just mentioned was written for this posthumous volume.

Being in independent circumstances, Mrs. Steele during her lifetime devoted the proceeds of the sale of her works to benevolent objects. By the direction of her surviving relatives, the profits arising from this posthumous edition were enjoyed by the Bristol Education Society. Her poems contain few allusions to her domestic and social relations. She occasionally addresses verses to a friend just married or recovered from sickness, or offers her sympathy to some associate visited with affliction. While her father lived, she devoted herself assiduously to the solace of his declining age. After his death she spent years in the severest bodily suffering, confined to her room, and enduring excruciating pain. Both her own writings and those of her friends refer to her agonies. These she bore with Christian fortitude. They helped to develop her character, and to perfect her piety. To them we doubtless owe much of the peculiar tenderness and affectionate trust and ardent aspiration which mark her compositions.

She was a Christian of a quiet, unpretending spirit. Her sensitive aversion to notoriety led her to publish her poems under the assumed name of Theodosia. Not until after her death was her own name prefixed to them. The longing for retirement and solitude, the delight in, and the devout study of, the works of God, the serious reflections on friendship, on death, and on passing events, which she expresses in her occasional poems, betray her contemplative spirit. She paraphrased many of the Psalms with literalness, ease, and elegance. It is, how-

ever, by her hymns that she is known to the Christian world. They are not imaginative, or sublime; but they are so full of tenderness, they express so fitly and so beautifully the hopes and the fears, the love, and the trust, the sorrows, and the desires of the believer; in fine, they offer themselves so readily for the utterance of those emotions which exist in connection with sound doctrinal views, that they form a large part of our ordinary collections, and are in constant use in our sanctuaries and our closets.

To show how largely we are indebted to the pious pen of Mrs. Steele, we need only refer to the following first lines of a few of her hymns we habitually use: "Alas, what hourly dangers rise!" "And is the Gospel peace and love," "Dear refuge of my weary soul," "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," "How helpless guilty nature lies," "How oft, alas, this wretched heart," "The Saviour, O what endless charms," and "Ye wretched, hungry, starving poor." Some of these are but fragments of much larger compositions. The hymn beginning, "The Saviour, O what endless charms," belongs to a poem of thirty-nine stanzas; and that beginning, "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," is part of one of ten stanzas.

It is interesting to observe the proportion which the fame of this humble Christian bears to her usefulness. Her life was spent in unnoticed and unrecorded deeds of benevolence, in pious, filial ministrations to an aged father, and in the daily deaths of a protracted illness. Unlike some other sacred lyrists, she has found no biographer. Perhaps the current of her life flowed too smoothly, and through scenes too tame and uninteresting to invite any one to follow it. She founded no church, built no chapel, went on no foreign mission; she only wrote a few sweet hymns; but in thus using the poetical talents which she recognized as divinely given, she did that which exceeds in importance and value the works of many who have filled a more conspicuous place in the history of the Church and the world. Her usefulness has far distanced her fame. She exerts an influence where her history is unknown. She ministers by many a sick bed. She furnishes the songs in many a night of affliction. Every Sabbath hears her hymns in a hundred sanctuaries. The words which she wrote in those tedious

years of pain, are sung or read in a thousand closets. Men use her hymns, who never heard her name; and many a one has uttered his penitence or his desires, in language whose author he never knew until he joined her in higher and nobler songs before the throne of God.

It was while Watts was, to use his own phrase, "waiting God's leave to die," while Doddridge was teaching and preaching at Northampton, while Newton was yet tempting the mercy and the grace of God, by his career of unbridled impiety, and Cowper was still a child, playing at the feet of that mother, so tenderly remembered, and so sweetly commemorated in his verse, that a religious movement began in England, second in importance to the Reformation. A few young men in Oxford, whose conscientious use of Christian ordinances and regularity of academic life won for them the title of Methodists, then adopted opinions and began a course which effectually interrupted the spiritual slumber of the English Church, awakened multitudes to newness of life, led to the instruction and conversion of thousands of ignorant outcasts from society, and resulted in the organization of one of the largest, holiest, most honoured, and most useful of Christian denominations. Two of those youths, who by varied agencies and rude experiences were becoming vessels meet for the Master's use, were the brothers John and Charles Wesley, the one the founder, the other the sweet singer of Methodism. This is not the place to describe the rise, the development, the struggles, and the successes of that great ecclesiastical system, nor will our limits permit us to portray the characters of those wonderful men. This has been ably done by the graceful pen of Southey, and in the thoughtful periods of Isaac Taylor. While they lived, their personal history was the history of the sect they founded, and since their death, its career has been but a following out of the impulse and direction which they communicated. But Methodism owes scarcely more to the burning heart, the prophetic eye, the forming and guiding and ruling hand of John Wesley, than it does to the musical ear and poetic tongue of Charles. The lyre of the one was as needful as the sceptre of the other. Until prompted by morbid feeling to hide the lyrical talent he shared with others of his family, John Wesley indeed showed himself

to be no ordinary hymn-writer. But during his long ministry Charles exercised his superior poetic gifts with a freedom and a frequency which has made him the most voluminous, and, as many would maintain, the best of English devotional lyrists. We have never met with any statement of the number of his hymns. His two volumes, entitled "Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures," contain two thousand and thirty, and these formed but a small portion of those which year after year his inexhaustible genius produced. One of his biographers says his published hymns would occupy ten common 12mo. volumes, and his unpublished hymns would fill as many more. No sooner had these zealous men organized their bands for mutual Christian edification, than they compiled a hymn book for their use; and from that time onward scarcely a year elapsed without the publication of some hymns of Charles Wesley's. Events of every kind, national perils and individual escapes, public vices and private griefs, the duties of the family, the manifold experience of the Christian, conversions and conflicts, marriages, births, deaths, all were commemorated and "improved" in his unfailing verse. Doddridge's hymns, composed for particular sermons, had not a more specific and individual character than Wesley's. The lessons of a recent earthquake, the threatenings of foreign invasion, the warnings of existing discontent, found utterance in his lyrics. Such unexampled productiveness implies incessant composition. When not preaching, as he rode upon his circuits, as he meditated in the night watches, in the midst of personal dangers, he was ever constructing hymns. Nor was this in any sense an intellectual task. It seems as though his earnest thought and ardent feeling could not but utter itself in metre and in rhyme. He comes home from field-preaching through a shower of stones, bruised but not maimed, and his gratitude finds utterance in song. He rides to answer to a charge of treason, and returns, after a triumphant vindication of his innocence, and pours forth his praises unto God. He witnesses the power of the Spirit among the colliers at Kingswood and the miners of Cornwall, and gives vent to his wonder and his reverence in loftiest strains. He stands at the Land's End, or crosses the stormy Irish Channel, and, grateful for his safety,

breaks forth in devout thanksgiving which falls, as it were, spontaneously, into verse. Our limits forbid us to enumerate the occasions which are hallowed by the memories of his muse.

The providence of God had eminently fitted him for the good work he performed in behalf of Methodism. His classical and biblical culture, his nice musical ear, his sensitive nature, his ardent, social disposition and happy family relations, his command of a pure English idiom, his ardent emotions, his fervent piety—all contributed to his lyrical skill and success. Luther did not accomplish more by his stirring popular hymns than did Charles Wesley by his. Their ideas, their expressions, have become part of the very life of Methodism. Their presence and influence mark every step of its earlier and its later progress. Would the preacher gather around him a congregation, he planted his preaching table in the Moorfields, or on Kensington Common, and with sweet clear tones sung a stanza of Charles Wesley's hymns. Did his enemies roar against him like wild beasts, and with drums and horns seek to drown his voice and divert his auditory, he and a faithful few sang undisturbed amidst the storm, and not seldom soothed it to a calm. Was any hearer seized at the Foundry or at Kingswood with those strange fits which often followed John Wesley's appeals, some fitting hymn was raised, and, like the evil spirit exorcised by David's harp, the convulsion passed away, and the penitent was found sitting in his right mind. The hours of watch-nights too, glided away swiftly on the wings of these sacred songs. Sometimes within the crowded walls of the Foundry, the great place of Methodistical worship in London, sometimes in some verdant amphitheatre in Wales or Cornwall, hundreds and hundreds of voices would join in the well-known hymn, until the very welkin rang with their earnest psalmody. Never had such hearty and inspiring music been heard before on English soil. The minstrels' ballad and the soldiers' festive chorus never wrought such an effect as was produced when, in Whitefield's words, these Christians "sung lustily and with a good courage" those stirring Wesleyan hymns. The very "form and pressure of the times" is in them. Earnest, spirited, now tender, now triumphant, terse, but harmonious, many of them eminently social, begetting a sympathy which unites all hearts into

one, expressing that intense interest in spiritual things which characterized early Methodism, and that deep sense of their reality which prompts direct epigrammatic expression, they stirred the rudest and hardest souls, melted them to penitence, nerved them for persecution, aroused them for conflict, and lifted them heavenward in eager and triumphant aspiration. Who of us has not been moved and inspired by "A charge to keep I have," "Jesus, lover of my soul," "Lo, on a narrow neck of land," "Love divine, all love excelling," "O for a heart to praise my God," and, "O for a thousand tongues to sing?" These are familiar to other than Methodist congregations and Methodist Christians; but if we would learn the richness and the depth, the breadth, and the height of Charles Wesley's genius, we must read the Methodist hymns, and fill our hearts with their sentiments and our ears with their music.

One or two names associated either with the internal dissensions or with the external conflicts of early Methodism stand, though in an inferior place, with those of the Wesleys, on the roll of English Hymn writers. John Cennick, originally one of the teachers of the Kingswood school for colliers' children, ultimately adopted Calvinistic views, and divided the society at Bristol. The Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, a clergyman of the Church of England, though converted under Methodist preaching, became one of Wesley's most bitter opponents. The name of the former occurring only in the history of a local schism, founds its claim to remembrance chiefly on his two hymns, "Children of the Heavenly King," and "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings." That of the latter, though it calls up memories of angry and uncourteous controversy, awakens far pleasanter feelings when associated with the familiar lines, most of them written for his improvement before his eighteenth year, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" "Rock of ages, cleft for me," "Your harps, ye trembling saints," "O thou that hear'st the prayer of faith," "Encompassed with clouds of distress," and "When languor and disease invade." The latter hymn consisting originally of fifteen stanzas was written for the Countess of Huntingdon.

With the exception of Cowper, none of the writers already mentioned achieved great poetical fame in any other depart-

ment than that of devotional verse. Dr. Johnson apologized for admitting Dr. Watts into his collection of British poets. Doddridge, though the author of what the great critic declared the best epigram in the English tongue, "Live while you live, the epicure would say," had neither time nor inclination for other poetical efforts than those put forth for the good of his simple parishioners. Newton grounded his hope of success in writing hymns on his lack of the highest gifts of the Muse, and Charles Wesley, though known among his contemporaries as something of a satirist and an elegiac poet, is known to us at this day only as a writer of hymns. But when Reginald Heber, in his hours of leisure and of relaxation from severe mental toil, sought to benefit his poor parishioners of Hodnet, by composing a hymn for each of the round of festival Sabbaths in the English Church, he was but exercising in a narrower sphere gifts which had won the laurel crown at the oldest of the Universities of England. Whatever words of approval his hymns may have awakened, they were but the faintest echo of the thunders of applause which had greeted his recitation of "Palestine" in the crowded theatre of critical Oxford; and the devout spirit which they uniformly breathe is worthy of him who retired from the scene of his academic triumphs, to thank God for his success, and for the pleasure he had thus been enabled to give his parents. These hymns were not published together till after his death, but their composition went on through the whole period of his parish ministry. The arduous toils and painful journeys of his brief missionary episcopate in India left him little leisure for such productions. They are fifty-seven in number. We may apply to them Wordsworth's lines respecting Milton's sonnets; they are,

"soul animating strains,
Alas! too few."

Many of them are familiar to us all, "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning," "By cool Siloam's shady rill," "Lord, whose love in power excelling," "O God, by whom the seed is given," "Forth from the dark and stormy sky," "Beneath our feet and o'er our head," "Thou art gone to the grave," and, best and dearest of all, that Missionary Hymn, which, composed on the occasion of a collection for the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel, and first sung in Wrexham church, is now heard, month by month, in every church in all Protestant Christendom where the English tongue is spoken, and in the far-off congregations of that heathen world whose cause it pleads, and in whose behalf it exerts, and shall ever exert, an immeasurable influence. These hymns exemplify the views Heber was wont to entertain and express in reference to such compositions. They have a simplicity and an appropriateness, a tenderness without familiarity, a richness of scriptural and natural imagery, and an exquisite delicacy of expression, which betray the hand of one who is at once a Christian and a poet. In this last particular they seem to us almost unequalled. They are redolent of the breath of the green fields and shady woods among which they were written. They are full of the exquisite poetry which won the prize for his "Palestine," which breathes through the "Lines addressed to his Wife," and shines in the imagery of "The Evening Walk in Bengal," but not so full as to impair their devotional effect, or render them unfit for public use. The smoke of the incense rises in graceful folds from the altar, but leaves us none the less intent on feeding the flame which keeps it ever ascending towards heaven.

One of the formative influences to which the piety of the Wesleys was subjected in its earlier course, was that exercised by Count Zinzendorf and the devoted Moravians. In simplicity and strength of faith, in their conviction of the personal nearness of the Saviour, that little body of Christians had not their parallel. Their spirit has been transfused into not a few of the Wesleyan hymns. But the later English Moravians have had a hymn-writer of their own, whose poetical merits, however denied by the sneering conceit of an Edinburgh reviewer, have long been admitted alike by the Church and the world. Many of the best traits of the Moravian character appear conspicuously in the hymns of James Montgomery. When his missionary father, departing for the West Indies, left him at the United Brethren's school at Fulneck, he placed him where, while acquiring a sound education, he might daily see and imitate winning examples of childlike simplicity, primitive zeal, unquestioning faith, and supreme devotion to the

cause of the Redeemer; and though the boy, panting only for poetical fame, hastened forth into the world, he carried with him habits and dispositions which enabled him to bear with fortitude and calmness, the toils, the persecution, and the imprisonment which befell him in that long and active editorial career at Sheffield, which filled up most of his subsequent life. His "Pelican Island," his "Greenland," his "Grave," and his "World before the Flood," have won for him among critics the poetical distinction so dearly coveted in his youth; but his "Songs of Zion," and his occasional religious lyrics have commended him to the gratitude and the love of a much larger circle of Christian hearts. The "Songs of Zion" are imitations of sixty of the Psalms. They have no striking characteristics, but avoiding both excessive literalness and diffuseness, they have a simplicity and clearness, and a smoothness and correctness of versification, which mark most good modern poetry. These qualities are found also in his original hymns, but united with great tenderness and warmth of feeling, varied by an occasional depth of earnestness and boldness of imagery found chiefly in the higher forms of lyric poetry. His lyre, however, gives forth soothing far oftener than stirring strains. He writes far more frequently in the style of "Friend after friend departs," and "A poor wayfaring man of grief," than in that of "For ever with the Lord," and "Servant of God, well done,"—all of them familiar to every Christian ear. Few hymns are such universal favourites as the following from his pen. "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," "People of the living God," "Who are these in bright array?" "O, where shall rest be found?" Throughout his long and useful life, Montgomery continued to write hymns for Sunday-schools, and other benevolent and religious institutions. Many of them possess peculiar excellence. One year before his death, he published a volume containing a full collection of his devotional lyrics, as he calls them, "the most serious work of a long life." Their merits are well stated in the following words, addressed to him by Lucy Aikin, on receiving a copy: "Your hymns," she says, "have an earnestness, a fervour of piety, and an unmistakable sincerity, which goes straight to the heart. In the style, too, you are perfectly successful, and it is one in which few are masters. Clear,

direct, simple, plain to the humblest member of a congregation, yet glowing with poetic fire, and steeped in Scripture, not in its peculiar phrases so much, which might give an air of quaintness, as filled with its spirit, and with allusions to its characters and incidents, often extremely happy, and what might well be called ingenious. My father would not have forgotten to add a merit, to which he was extremely sensible, as indeed am I, that the lines flow very harmoniously, and are *richly rhymed*, with their full complement of two to a stanza." In his hymns, Montgomery often reminds us of Cowper. The sweet and patient spirit of the gentle bard of Olney might be thought to have inspired many of his productions. Whatever other praise he may have won, he may be justly called *the* Christian poet of the first half of the nineteenth century.

We have considered as briefly as possible the works of the chief contributors to English Hymnology; but there are many others whose less numerous, and even solitary offerings to the service of the Christian Church, and the devotions of the Christian closet, would, did our limits permit, give them a claim to our notice. Their compositions have a value far beyond their bulk. These are, David Dickson, in the seventeenth century, whose quaint old hymn, "My mother dear, Jerusalem," has furnished the model and the materials for multitudes of later imitations; holy Master George Herbert, whose hymn, "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright," has gathered into itself the very sanctities of the Sabbath; Bishop Ken, of the same age, whose morning and evening hymns, "Awake, my soul, and with the sun," and "Glory to thee, my God, this night," ascend with many a grateful sacrifice, and whose stanza, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," has become the favourite of all Christian doxologies; Joseph Addison, whose beautiful paraphrases, "The spacious firmament on high," and, "The Lord my pasture shall prepare," and thanksgiving hymns, "When all thy mercies, O my God," and "How are thy servants blest, O Lord," are prized by men who cannot appreciate the classic perfection of "Cato," and who are strangers to the humour of Sir Roger de Coverley; Mrs. Barbauld, who though, as she said, "inhabiting the frozen zone of Socinian Christianity," sang of "Jesus' sacred voice," and the "Blessed death of the righteous,"

in strains not unworthy of that pious pastor of Northampton, who once sought in marriage the hand of her mother; Henry Kirke White, whose beautiful hymns, "O Lord, another day is flown," "The Lord our God is clothed with might," "Through sorrow's night and danger's path," and, "When marshalled on the nightly plain," show that the Church no less than the world met with no common loss in his untimely end; Milman, the friend and fellow-labourer of Heber in this sacred field; Keble, who, in his "Christian Year," has in a yet more graceful and poetic style than that of the Bishop of Calcutta, enriched his verse with the associations of the Sabbath and week-day festivals of the English Church; Bernard Barton, who, though belonging to a sect which excludes psalmody from its social worship, has written hymns which Christians of other denominations delight to appropriate; and the two friends, Bonar and McCheyne, whose hymns have done much to shield Scotland and Presbyterianism from the ungenerous taunt, that they have never produced a hymn which is truly a hymn.

It is gratifying to see how widely used are most of the compositions noticed in the preceding pages. They enter into the most dissimilar rituals; they precede or follow the most contradictory statements of truth. Men will unite in the same language of devotion, who can never be brought to subscribe to the same formulas of doctrine. Hymns are far more catholic than confessions. Whether believers in the apostolic succession, or advocates of "the extreme of Christian democracy," whether Anabaptists or Pædobaptists, whether Calvinists or Arminians, we all alike recognize our indebtedness to Watts and to Doddridge, to Newton and to Cowper, to Wesley and to Montgomery. However interesting it may be to us in the study of Hymnology to note their denominational preferences, in our devotional hours we sing their compositions without ever thinking whether they were first heard in a cathedral or a conventicle. Such a thought would introduce a discord into our harmony. It is enough for us to know that they are the productions of men who are members with us of "the Church of the first born," and while we attribute their excellence only to the piety and the natural genius of their authors, we rejoice that "all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will."

ART. IV.—*Some Account of an Old English Manuscript in the Nisbet Library.*

THE late Rev. Dr. Nisbet, President of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, was one of the most remarkable Scotchmen who ever emigrated to this country. Of his anti-revolutionary zeal and his acrimonious humour, instances will readily occur to those who have read his life as written by Dr. Miller. Dr. Nisbet was born in 1736, and emigrated to America in 1784, thus being of an age at which flexibility of temper and manners is scarcely to be expected. The greatest accession to our political, literary, and ecclesiastical strength which Great Britain ever gave us in an individual, had indeed arrived here sixteen years before, and only two years younger than his brother Scot; but the men were very unlike. Nisbet was as inferior to Witherspoon in political sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as he was superior to him in abstruse book-learning. Both were scholars, both were men of piety, both were eminent for wit; but while Witherspoon threw himself with enthusiasm into the revolutionary movement, and outstripped even the native Americans in zeal for Independence, Nisbet, whose early years of residence concurred with the portentous opening of the French Revolution, took firm position as a sarcastic and almost bitter assailant of democracy. As his able biographer observes, he found it difficult to make the requisite allowance for a young country, struggling into national organization, and measured American facts by European principles. Yet it would be ungrateful for any American Presbyterian to forget the services rendered to learning and religion by his labours at Carlisle. Nothing but the inherent sprightliness of a genius and a wit, which no mountains of literature could smother, preserved him from becoming a simple bookworm. He read in many languages, and retained what he perused in a degree all but incredible. Few of our readers have failed to hear the tradition that he knew the *Æneid* by heart. The books which he gathered around him were in all the languages common to the learned, and besides these, in Spanish, Dutch and German, the last of these tongues

being little studied at that time either in Great Britain or America. What remains of his store, now forming a part of the Library of Princeton Seminary, in virtue of a gift from his grandsons, Bishop McCoskry and Mr. Henry C. Turnbull, serves to show the odd turn which governed his selection. For one standard book, there are fifty curiosities. These are in various languages and on out-of-the-way subjects. He evidently was a fancier of pocket-volumes, 32mo. editions, Elzevir classics, and wonderful treatises on alchemy, astrology, and the like. One finds there among other rare things the identical copy of Nostradamus, about which he corresponded with the Earl of Leven, and which, betwixt jest and earnest, he used to quote as prophetic of French and American disasters.*

Among the ancient and worm-eaten volumes of that dingy but fascinating library, there is an anonymous manuscript, which has attracted scarcely as much attention as it merits, and which might well hold rank with the autograph journals of Whitefield and Davies preserved within the same walls; though more than one antiquary has conned its clerkly pages, and mused on the question whether its contents exist in print or not. This is one of the reasons why we shall presently bring it under the notice of our readers. Should some one deeply versed in diplomatic transcription and criticism, or some expert collector and collator, or some cunning judge of style and dialect, aid us to pronounce upon its authorship, or even show us that it has long since come to daylight in print, we shall not have spent these hours in vain.

The manuscript is a small square volume, of doubled foolscap paper, in a stout and homely leathern cover. The folios are numbered, and are three hundred and seventy. The indentation made by turning down the edge of the leaf at the inner margin is everywhere visible. Nothing like a title appears, except that a later hand has written on the page which precedes the first written portion, the words "52 Sermons;" and this corresponds with the contents, which are made up of just so many discourses, averaging therefore about seven pages each. There are forty lines in a full page, which is close

* See Dr. Miller's Memoir, pp. 84, 188.

writing, as the page is seven inches and a quarter in height. The character though small is regular, and so straight and uniform as when cursorily viewed to resemble a printed book. From comparison with the form of letter in other English writings, we could refer the origin of these sermons to no date later than the seventeenth century, and the colour of the paper agrees with this; while internal evidences favour the earlier part of that century, and even the reign of James the First. The orthography has that convenient vacillation of license, which prevailed in days before spelling was invented. We have looked through every page to discover if possible some clew to the ownership at least; but have found nothing but this legend at one corner of the first flyleaf, indicating a truly clerical poverty of wardrobe, united with a marked precedence of the public over the private departments of laundry, to wit: *Nov. 23. 3 bands. 3 paire of cuffs. 2 handkerch. 1 cap. 1 shirt.*

In regard to the matter of these sermons, which were doubtless preached in some English church or chapel, more than two hundred years ago, we cannot do better than to afford a taste and specimen. They are in a high degree scriptural and even textual, adhering to grammatical and exegetical exposition, but abounding in learned citation, such as was common in the days of Bishop Andrewes, of whose manner we are here often reminded. The latest authors quoted are the Rhemist Translators, from which it is quite certain that the discourses are not earlier than the year 1582. But classics, churchfathers and schoolmen are adduced with frequency and pertinence by the preacher, who, as we mean to show, was evidently a man of extensive and learned reading. The manuscript could not have been intended for use in the pulpit, and indeed the public reading of sermons was not then common even in the Church of England; it may however have been used for committing the discourse to memory; and some of the sermons break off abruptly, or close with the mere indication of heads. Some things might suggest that it is a copy by a hand other than that of the author; as the clerkly clearness of the character, the blanks left here and there, and in one place the phrase *Nonnulla desunt*. As each discourse begins with the top of a

fresh page, there is good reason to think that they all did service singly, before being bound into a volume. From an allusion in one place, we approach the period, if not the date, for we find hats worn during the hearing of sermons, a trait of manners to which we may come back in our day, if pious worshippers should consider it as needless a formality to be uncovered, as to stand or kneel in prayer. Some of our readers will remember the passage of Clarendon, which shows that in his day hats used to be worn at dinner; with which may be compared the similar practice in both houses of Parliament. "Richard Cox, Lord Bishop of Ely, died," says Peck, "July 22, 1581, and was very solemnly buried in his own cathedral. I have seen an admirable, fair, large old drawing, exhibiting, in one view, his funeral procession; and, in another, the whole assembly sitting in the choir to hear the funeral sermon, all covered, and having their bonnets on."* Nothing can be determined as to date, by the references we shall note to sleeping in church, for the custom is not yet obsolete, though, as Dean Swift remarks in the introduction of a sermon on Eutyechus, Acts xx. 9, the church is the only assembly to which people resort with the intention of going to sleep.

That the preacher was of the Church of England, we argue from several notes; as that he makes free use of the title "Saint," which Nonconformists avoided in that day, though some of their descendants are creeping into meek observance of it now; that he manifestly prefers the old Psalter; that he refers to a particular Sunday as the *Dominica in albis*; that he defends sacraments without preaching, against a well-known objection of the Puritans; and that he exclaims flatly and significantly, "Farewell discipline, when laymen come to carry the keys!" But he was also, as were many Anglicans of his day, a strenuous Calvinist and an upholder of evangelical grace. The style is sententious and antithetical, almost to the extent of being epigrammatic. It may in this be compared with that of Bishop Hall. Latinisms abound, as in almost all the scholarly English of the times. Turning to the "Golden Remaines of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eaton Colledge," a divine who was at the Synod of Dort, we find many resem-

* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

blances, not only in dialect, but in frequent Greek and Latin quotations, and a fondness for Heathen stories, in curious and witty bringing forward of Scripture instances, and in general show of erudition; but Hales is far more periodic in his style, and less textual in his proofs. There are not wanting, moreover, certain things like what we see in the sermons of "Master Henrie Smith," greatly famed in his time; but Smith was clearly much earlier, one copy bearing the imprint of 1592. Yet from spelling, language, style, and mode of sermonizing, we infer a period nearer to that of these earlier Calvinistic Anglicans, than to the Owens and Baxters. The repletion of learned common-placing, the mode of freely rendering the scraps, the sly sarcasms, and the scholastic nomenclature, put one in mind of the Anatomy of Melancholy, with which also the diction would tally; while nothing can be more unlike than the endless, lumbering periods of Burton's felicitous gossip, and the measured balance of our curt and humorous pulpit Seneca. It will be remembered that Burton died in 1639. We leave these approximations with antiquarian readers.

We have declared our purpose to afford some sample of these sermons; but as both the printing and reading of the antique, uncouth orthography would be tedious, we shall content ourselves with giving a single passage in the exact spelling and punctuation of the original text, after which we will give passages in modern spelling. Our first extract is from the opening of a sermon, on Luke xxii. 13. *Jesus, Master, have mercy on us.*

"It was well sayd of S. Aug: vere novit recte vivere, qui novit recte orare. he y^t knowes how to pray as a X^{an} will easily know how to live as a X^{an}. for praier is a meanes both to sett the soule right, & to keep it right. praier y^e meanes to support a good life, & praier y^e means to reforme a bad. praier y^e best way to prevent misery y^t it happen not; & praier y^e way to remove it, if it doe befall us. by praier Hezekiah when sick gott his life lengthened; by praier Tabitha when dead, was raised. by y^e praier of y^e church Paul was kept out of prison, and by y^e praier of y^e church Peter was delivered out of prison. therf: we may see that of all afflicted men that came to X their 1 care was to learne how to pray unto him; and they generally ob-

served the same forme. These lepers had well learned this 1 lesson. whatsoever their former life was, it is likely their after was good, they pray so well. they go to meet X, they stand in his way, they keep aloofe, they lift up their voyces; confession they make of their misery; their fayth they shew in calling him Jesus, master, their unity in joyning in one forme. All is good, here is optimum exordium, Jesus; optimus terminus, mercy; optimum vinculum, master; They knew as X was gods son, so praier gods daughter, therf: by y^e daughter they come to the Son."

In former days, as in our own, means were taken in the printing-house to reduce inconsistencies of spelling to some uniformity; and hence printed books exhibit fewer irregularities than manuscripts. Successive editions of the same work likewise sustain a gradual change, of which there is no more striking instance than that of the Authorized Version. Moreover, in pretended reprints after an original text the greatest inconsistencies are produced by the carelessness and ignorance of compositors, who try to correct what they suppose to be blunders. Let Burton and Cotton Mather be examples. The following forms occur in the volume under consideration; viz. Avoyd, Ædification, Æternal, Angell, Angelicall, Afarr, Alwaies, Bin, Brightnes, Bowells, Celestiall, Ceremoniall, Chariott, Citties, Cleanes, Comming, Condicion, Dammage, Divell, Dogg, Doubtfull, Drawen, Drowsines, Evill, Forceable, Fulnes, Generall, Goodnes, Gospell, Happines, Humane, Horrour, Israell, Jaylour, Jewell, Kingdome, Learne, Morall, Onely, Pœnall, Præeminence, Præinct, Profit, Prodigall, Putt, Sett, Sholders, Slaunder, Speciall, Spirituall, Splitt, Weaknes, Wisdome. There are scores in the several classes which these represent.

The sermons are on the following passages: Galatians vi. 14; Isaiah ix. 13; Luke ix. 28, 29, 32, 33; Acts i. 10; John xx. 14—17; Luke xvii. 11—34; Ezekiel ix. 3, 4; Isaiah xxii. 12, 13; Ephesians v. 2; Matthew xxvii. 46; Isaiah ix. 14. There are four discourses which close the series, upon a single passage, and which so remarkably exemplify the learning, ingenuity, quaintness, wit, and we cannot but add eloquence of the unknown preacher, that we cannot refrain from presenting a

portion, rendering the orthography modern, but leaving the diction unimpaired:

“Isaiah ix. 14, 15.

“Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush in one day. The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.

“Sin and punishment are relatives, and relatives have a mutual dependence one upon another, both in order of being and in order of teaching. Therefore, having done with the first part, which was the term of relation, Israel’s sin, I come now to the second, which answers to that, Israel’s punishment; and there are in it seven circumstances observable: first, the equity of the punishment, in the particle ‘therefore’; secondly, the author of it, ‘the Lord’; thirdly, the publication of it, ‘the Lord will’; fourthly, the execution of it, ‘he will cut off’; fifthly, the sustainers of it, ‘from Israel’; sixthly, the generality of it, ‘head and tail, branch and rush’; and seventhly, the quickness and suddenness of it, ‘in one day’. And these set down seven properties of God’s judgments. 1. God is just in his judgments, never strikes without cause, nor unless provoked by sin and condemned by impenitency. Because they turn not, therefore he destroys. 2. He is sole and singular in judgment; for however it is the prophet that denounceth, it is God that punisheth: ‘The Lord will’, &c. 3. He is slow to execute judgment; he saith he will strike, before he strikes; yet withal sure, though he forbear long, yet he certainly ‘will’. 4. He is severe in judgment; if we condemn his gentle stroke when he smites friendly, he will at last smite home, he will ‘cut off’. 5. God is impartial in judgment; he will not bear with sin in his own people; if Israel sin, Israel shall smart; he will cut off ‘from Israel’. 6. God is compendious in his judgment; he sweeps away common offenders in a common calamity: ‘head and tail, branch and rush’. 7. And lastly, God is quick and expedite in his judgment; slow in resolving but sudden in the despatch; he doth all this ‘in one day’.

“I begin with the first, the EQUITY of the judgment, in the causal particle ‘therefore’. In which word the prophet renders a reason and gives an account of God’s doing, that he may

justify God and make clear the equity of his judgments. Otherwise, an impenitent heart would be ready to reply, 'Why am I thus? Wherefore is all this come upon us? Wherewith have we grieved God that he should thus severely afflict us?'—Yes, the prophet tells them, because they turned not to God that smote them, therefore will the Lord do thus and thus. God's judgments are often bottomless, but never causeless, always justifiable, though not always searchable. David saith of them, 'How unsearchable are his judgments'; they are as a mighty deep, a deep which is not to be sounded by the plummet of reason. But how are they unsearchable, may some say. That is said to be unsearchable the cause and original of which cannot be found out. If then they be not without the compass of cause, how are they without the compass of search? But we must know, that as it is in occult qualities of nature, such as are sympathies and antipathies, there is always a cause, though we cannot give it; so in God's judgments, which are his secret way, there is still a cause, though we cannot always find it. They are open to God, though secret to us; if secret in respect of us, yet never groundless in respect of God. The particular cause cannot be always searched out, but the general cause may. Speaking comparatively, why of two men that are guilty of the same sin, God punisheth one and forbears another, we cannot give a reason of this; but speaking positively, why he punisheth all men, we cannot but give the reason of this, namely Sin, which is the sole cause of all punishment, both temporal and eternal, privative and positive. As the Apostle said of godliness, it hath the promise of this life and that which is to come, so sin has the curse of this life and that which is to come. As in good things, sin binds God's hands and will not suffer him to bless us, so in evil things, sin looseth God's hands and forceth him to plague us. The prophet Jeremy puts the former case, Jer. v. 25, 'Your sins have turned away the former and the latter rain, and your iniquities have withheld good things from you;' and the second case the prophet Isaiah resolves here, because the people turned not to him that smote them, 'therefore will the Lord cut off,' etc.

"This 'therefore' then is casual, and hath reference to the former verse, therefore; why? It hath a threefold aspect:

- “1. Therefore—because of your impiety in sinning;
- 2. Therefore—because of your impenitency in not turning;
- 3. Therefore—because of your obstinacy in not seeking.

“Hence two propositions :

I. *Sin is the cause of all punishment.*

II. *Impenitency is the cause of great and speedy punishment.*

“I. *Sin is the meritorious cause of all punishment.*

“Sin and punishment are as near akin as *malum* and *malum*, for both are called and accounted evil; the one the evil of doing, the other the evil of suffering. *Flagitium* and *flagellum*, sinning and suffering, they sound alike, and such correspondence they have, that as sins are of two sorts, sins of omission and commission, so punishments are of two sorts; the punishment of loss, answerable to the first, and the punishment of sense, answerable to the second. Punishment is the correlative to sin; it runs reciprocal with it. If sin be the antecedent, judgment is always the consequent; and if sin be in the premises, we may well look for punishment in the conclusion.

“This will further appear by a double reference [which] the punishment hath to sin, both natural and moral.

“It hath a *natural reference*. Punishment is akin to sin, as the fruit of it. Prov. xxii. 8. They that sow iniquity shall reap vanity. As the birth of sin, James i. 5. Sin, when it hath conceived, bringing forth death. Therefore St. Augustine seems to put the formality of sin in punishment: *Si puniendum non esset, peccatum non esset*. If it were not punishable it were not sin. Nay, so great is the affinity between them, that one sin is often punished by another; Pharaoh’s first hardness by a second; nay the same sin a punishment to itself, as we see in Cain’s fear after his fratricide, and Judas’s despair after his betraying. For which purpose Seneca said well: *Sceleris in scelere supplicium est*.* Nay, and God hath set his mark upon some sins; there are some that have proper punishments following them in their nature, even as it were without God’s sending; as dropsy upon drunkenness, penury upon pro-

* Ep. 43.

digality, terror of conscience upon murder, &c. Therefore we may observe that the same word is used for both, in all the three languages. In Latin *Noxa* signifies both the offence and the punishment. In the Hebrew נִסָּן signifies both, as in Gen. iv. 13. *My punishment is greater than I can bear, or My sin is greater than can be forgiven.* In the Greek both; Rom. vii. 24. *Who shall deliver me from this body of sin, or from this body of death?*

“2. Punishment hath a moral reference to sin. It is *debitum*, due unto it; therefore called *ὀφείλημα*. Forgive us our debts, the debt which we owe to the justice of God, which is to be paid in punishment as a due debt; due unto it many ways, as hire to the labourer, Rom. vi. 23. *The wages of sin is death*; as treasure to the owner, Rom. ii. 5, *They treasure up wrath against the day of wrath*; as meat to the hungry, Prov. xii. 21, *The wicked shall be filled with mischief*; as a garment to the wearer, Ps. cix. 19, *It shall be unto him as the girdle with which he is girt, and as the garment that covers him*; as the inheritance to the possessor, Ps. xi., *Fire and brimstone, storm and tempest shall be their portion*; as a reward to the meritor, Is. iii. 11, *Wo unto the wicked, for the reward of his hands shall be given him.*

“To show forth this near dependence, the Scripture sets forth the inflicting of punishment by phrases of three kinds, antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent. Sometimes by phrases subsequent, Prov. xiii. 21. *Evil pursueth sinners*; that is, it followeth them violently as in chase. It so pursues them as it hunts them foot by foot; Ps. cxl. 11, *Evil shall hunt the wicked man to overthrow him.* Sometimes by phrases of concomitance: Job xx. 11, *It shall lie down with him in the dust*, Ps. xl. 5, *The iniquity of his heels shall compass him about*; lest he should escape it, it shall beset him round. Therefore as sin is born with us, so punishment is said to be born with us; Job v. 7, man born to trouble as the sparks to fly upward; as the fire moves towards his place so punishment towards sin. It shall come down upon the head of the sinner, Jer. ii. 3. Sometimes it is set down by phrases of antecedence, Prov. xix. 29, *Judgments are prepared for scorers.* It lies in ambush for him, Prov. vi. 11, *Poverty shall come upon him as*

an armed man. It lies in wait for him, Gen. iv., *If thou hast done evil sin lies at the door*, or punishment lies at the door to break in upon sin; the one knocks and the other opens, the one calls and the other answers. Sin *hollows* to punishment, thence said to cry for vengeance, Gen. xviii. 20, and punishment echoes to sin. We never find any inflicting of punishment before commission of sin, nay no mention of punishment but upon a supposal of sin, and still an abating of punishment upon repentance for sin. Upon this ground was framed the Pharisee's question, John iv., *Whether hath sinned, this man or his parents that this man was born blind*; and Christ, though he answers negatively concerning the blind man, yet he clears the point concerning the impotent man, John v., *Sin no more*, noting that sin was the cause of that infirmity. Therefore usually in his cures he joins the remission of sin and punishment both together; as to the palsy man, Matt. ix. 2, first, *Thy sins are forgiven thee*, and then, *Arise and walk*.

"It shows us the difference between the tenor of God's mercies and his judgments, between the tenor of reprobation and damnation.

"1. Between God's *mercies* and his *judgments*. God as he is merciful, so is he just, but not after the same manner merciful as just. His mercy hath no motive but himself; it is a reflexed act, he will because he will: but his justice hath another cause. We are not saved for our works, but we are punished for our works; not saved for our righteousness, but punished for our sins. His mercy also prevents our righteousness, but his justice follows our sins.

"It shows the difference between *reprobation* and *damnation*. Reprobation and preterition is an act of his will, therefore absolute, and depends not upon any reason; but damnation is an act of justice, and therefore hath a respect to sin as the immediate cause of it. His will is the cause of reprobation, the breach of his will the cause of damnation. It is properly said, Whom he will he hardeneth, not so properly said, Whom he will he condemneth. Therefore the sentence at the last day is not Go ye cursed because I will; but a reason is given, For I was an hungred, &c. And here, God will cast off Israel, not because he will, but because they turned not.

“The USE will be

“I. To teach us how to entertain God’s judgments, whensoever he sends them; not to dwell on the effect, but to look also unto the cause. Still have recourse unto our sins. Thy destruction is of thyself, O Israel. The bolt that strikes the deer is headed with his own horn; so every man’s punishment is caused from himself. Every man is the worker of his own woe, and the moulder of his own misery.

“II. Let it teach us to hate sin more than punishment, because sin is the cause of punishment. We all tremble at the preaching of judgment, as Felix did, more than we do at the perpetration of sin; a sign that we love ourselves more than we love God, because we more hate punishment which is displeasing to us, than we do sin which is displeasing to God; whereas a good Christian will hate sin because it is sin, and so in flying of sin fly punishment. That is the first proposition arising from this illative particle ‘Therefore;’ Sin is the cause of punishment. The second is this, that Impenitency is the cause of great and speedy punishment. God as he has rods for lesser sins, so he has scorpions for greater; great plagues for great sins, and the greatest of all for impenitency; because it is the greatest sin, and in a word all sins. It is such a sin as makes hell enlarge itself, and open her mouth without measure. Punishment itself marches slowly, but impenitency adds wings unto it. Punishment would fall gently, but impenitence adds weight unto it; because it offers violence to all the attributes of God. It rejects his mercy: ‘O, God will not pardon,’ says Impenitency. It abuses his patience: ‘O, God will not punish.’ It scoffs at his truth: ‘Where is the promise of his coming?’ It makes a doubt of his power: ‘God’s arm is shortened that it cannot strike.’ It denies his omnipresence: ‘Is there knowledge in the Most High? Tush, Tush, God seeth not, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it.’

“In other sins, if one attribute of God plead against the sinner, there is still another to plead for him. If the power and omniscience of God call for revenge, and say, Behold I will make my power known, I will go down and see whether they have done according to their cry—then mercy interposeth with Abraham, and sues for remission: Shall not the Judge of all

the world do right? Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? If fifty be found righteous, if forty, if thirty, if twenty, if ten; wilt thou not spare it for ten's sake? Again, if the truth and justice of God call for punishment and say, My Spirit shall not always contend with man; I have spoken once and twice, I will no more alter the thing that is gone out of my lips, I will punish and not spare—then Patience interposeth and pleads for pardon, O spare a little, try a while longer, let it alone this year also. But the sin of impenitency finds no advocate. Every attribute of God cries out against it. 'Let me alone,' saith Justice to Mercy, 'that I may destroy in a moment.' Power cries to Patience, 'I will be no more entreated.' 'How long shall I suffer,' saith Patience. He that walks on impenitently according to the stubbornness of his heart, the Lord will not be merciful unto him. Deut. xxix. 19.

"This impenitency exposeth a sinner and lays him naked to the stroke of God's vengeance, because it deprives him of the benefit of God's mediatorial attributes. It turns the grace of God into wantonness, and the patience of God into fury, the mercy of God into wormwood, the longsuffering of God into severity, and the justice of God into vengeance. Therefore God bids Moses let him alone, and forbids Jeremy to pray for the people, because of their impenitency. And he tells him plainly, Jer. xv. 1, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people; and Ezek. xiv. 20, Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were amongst them, yet should they deliver neither sons nor daughters. These five had a prevailing power with God, while they were upon earth, each of them severally. Moses, when God would have consumed Israel for the calf, he prayed, and God repented of the evil, Ex. xxxii. 14. Samuel, when the children of Israel had served Baalim and Ashtaroth, he cried unto the Lord for Israel and the Lord heard him, 1 Sam. vii. 9. Of Job, God himself saith to his three friends, My servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept, Job xlii. 8. Daniel was a man 'greatly beloved,' so far as by prayer he obtained the revelation of God's secrets. Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord, so far as he obtained preservation not only for himself but for his house in the general deluge. Yet the impenitency of Israel was so great, that

if all these had been alive and joined in prayer, God would not have accepted them. Other sins are forerunners; impenitency is the next bordering on destruction. It prognosticates both sudden, severe, and certain punishment. If God defer for other sins, he will decree against this; if he cut off one or two for other sins, he destroys whole countries, whole nations for this; if he proceed by degrees against other sins, he sweeps away suddenly for this. Because they turned not, THEREFORE the Lord will cut off."

In pursuing the subject through several other sermons the preacher furnishes us with instances of learning, judgment, ingenuity, and faithfulness, nowise inferior to those which we persuade ourselves the reader has recognized in what precedes, but the fear of being wearisome prevents our copying these entire. As specimens of singular originality and force, we however subjoin that part of the last discourse which discusses the words following, in the fifteenth verse, *The prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.*

"A lying prophet is the most unmatched sinner of all other; not only a sinner himself, but a bawd and pander of sin in others. A murderer kills the body, but a lying prophet kills the soul. An unjust magistrate sells justice, but a lying prophet he sells godliness. An ill magistrate sells the righteous, but a lying prophet makes a sale even of sinners; he is the huckster or broker that draws those damnable indentures whereby wicked men make a covenant with death; the devil's factor and the porter of hell; one that as he belies God, so he belies his own name; pretends he is a Seer, yet is blind, that he is a Guide yet seduces, that he is a Prophet yet deceives. A prophet, *ad verbum*, is as much as a teller of truth, *enuntiator verborum Dei hominibus*.* How then can he be a prophet that teacheth lies? Any lie is an abomination to God, Prov. xii. 22; because it is a sin most opposite to the nature of God, who is a God of truth, and nearest akin to the devil, who was a liar from the beginning; but to *prophecy* a lie is double impiety. Liars are said to have their portion with the devil in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, Rev. xxi. 5, as though hell were

* Aug. Qu. in Exod. i. ii.

prepared first for the devil then for the liar; but the lying prophet, Rev. xx. 10, it is said of him, that the devil is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the false prophet is, as though hell were first and of better right due to him than to the devil himself. A lie is a fearful sin and too common and universal. Every man is culpable of this sin, more or less. David said it in his haste, but Paul upon deliberation, that all men are liars. But yet there are degrees of this sin; for though it be a sin to tell a lie, yet it is worse to devise it; this argues an intent to sin; and yet worse to teach it; this deceives others; yet worse to prophesy a lie; this is to make God the author of it. Such were the wicked prophets of Israel, not only tellers of lies, but coiners of them; not only devisers of lies, but teachers of them; nay, not only teachers of lies, but prophets of them. Ananias and Sapphira sinned grievously; they lied unto the Holy Ghost; but the false prophet doth not only lie to the Holy Ghost, but from the Holy Ghost, and as much as in him lies makes the Holy Spirit a spirit of uncleanness, as Zedekiah did, 1 Kings xxii. 24, when he prophesied a lie to Ahab and made God to be the author of it; *Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?* A lie is hateful in a man, but much more odious in a minister. For the priest's lips, as they should preserve knowledge, so they should preserve truth. Yet even a minister may slip by infirmity, as he is a man; but to preach a lie, that is to tell a lie out of the pulpit, and from the oracle of God; this is a sin beyond parallel, for it is to make the Word of God, which is a Word of Truth a [fountain] of lies. Therefore it is no marvel if God threaten fearful destruction upon the lying prophet, 'he is the tail.' So much for the first metaphor."

In the peroration, alluding to the second figure, namely, the 'rush', our lively orator breaks forth into the following amplification, reminding one of the best masters of his day. "In common calamities, when God means to destroy, his sword makes no distinction. When sin spreads from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, then punishment cuts off both head and tail, branch and rush; that is, both princes and prophets, old men, orphans, and widows. God is no respecter of persons in judgment. If any estates might hope for immunity

it were one of these five, for these were always high in God's esteem. The person of the 'ancient', God so much respects it, that he gave a command, Lev. xix. 32, 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honour the face of the old man.' The person of the magistrate, God so much respects, that he calls them by his own name, 'gods', and himself by theirs, 'King of kings and Lord of lords.' The person of the 'prophet,' God so much respects, that he will not suffer any man so much as to touch them; *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.* The persons of the orphan and widow God so much respects, that he declares himself to be their God more than he is the God of others; Ps. lxxviii. 5, He is a father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows. Yet, in case of common destruction, he spares not any of these. The cradle shall not be a sanctuary for the infant. The mourning veil shall be no privilege for the widow. The silver hairs of the ancient shall not save the old man, nor the purple robe redeem the prince, nor the linen ephod free the prophet; nay, these shall rather be witnesses against them. The grey head shall witness against the ancient, when God calls to 'baldness'; and the throne against the prince, when God calls to ashes; and the ephod against the priest, when God calls to sackcloth; for God is more severe against all these; to destroy the ancient and the honourable before the branch and the rush. A rush will stand in a tempestuous wind, when the cedar cleaveth. A reed will escape lightning, when the oak is shivered. It is the fatted ox that is near to the slaughter; the spread rose is soonest crompt; the ripest apples nearest gathering. The secure old man, the presumptuous great man, the seducing prophet, they are the fairest mark for the arrow of judgment. God sometimes, in judgment to a nation, takes away the religious magistrate and the true prophet, Isa. iii. 2. He will take from Jerusalem the mighty man and the man of war. If he will take away the good prophet and the magistrate for our sins, much more the lying prophet and corrupt magistrate for their own. Therefore, as the Apostle says, Let not the strong man glory in his strength, &c., so let not the honourable glory in his eminent place, nor the ancient in his years, nor the prophet in his call-

ing, but let all hasten to repentance, seeing that God will cut off all without distinction, when he means to destroy."

None of the discourses in this volume are more singular, quaint, perversely learned, perplexingly methodical, or truly original, than the nine upon our Lord's interview with Mary Magdalene after his resurrection. Feeling the difficulty of choice, we have nevertheless determined on that which treats the words, John xx. 16, *Jesus saith unto her, Mary!*

"These words set forth unto us the second passage of the conference that was held between Christ and Mary Magdalene, at his appearing to her upon the day of his resurrection. The former part was transacted by question and answer; this by mutual salutation and resalutation. Here is the *Χαίρε*, the *Salve*, or *Ave*, that Christ gives to this Mary, far above that which the angel gave to the blessed virgin. For that was only given by an angel, this by Christ himself. In that as there was not the hope of so great a blessing, so nor sorrow for the loss of so great a comfort. Here, Mary Magdalene's sorrow was as great as her hope was little to find what she looked for. Therefore this salutation came very seasonably, both for the recovery of her hope which was vanished, and the cure of her sorrow with which she was well-nigh overwhelmed, had not Christ happily interposed himself, and called unto her.

"It makes up the other part of this history, and it is continued to the eighteenth verse, and it consists of three parts: *The Remonstrance*; 'Jesus saith unto her, Mary!' *The Reply*; 'She turned herself and said unto him, Rabboni!' *The Rejoinder*; 'Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, etc.'

"I. THE REMONSTRANCE: 'Jesus saith unto her, Mary!' It is not so short or barren a clause, but it will afford matter for an hour's discourse, if we can find out the reasons why Christ should choose this way to make himself known unto her. It is reason sufficient that it was his will and pleasure thus to discover himself. To seek for a reason of his will, is all one as to seek for a current beyond the fountain, or for light beyond the moon, nay the sun itself. His will borrows not light from reason, but gives being and rectitude to it. Yet, because this discovery of himself was a part of his mediatorious work, and in all mediatorious works there was a conformity of his human

will to his divine, and in his human will sanctified reason was most illustrious; therefore I hope it will be no presumption to see if we can find out the true and proper reason of this proceeding. Which that we may do, I will comprise all in these three questions: Why he stayed so long, ere he discovered himself; Why he did it so soon, since she profited no more by the first question; Why he did it by a word, and particularly by a bare compellation.

“1. *Why he deferred so long, ere he made himself known unto her.* It is plain there was a delay. He did not appear so soon as he rose; and he made not himself known so soon as he appears; but after some overtures he brought her by degrees to a full knowledge and persuasion of his resurrection. First he sends his angels to give her a hint; then he shows himself in person; then he parleys with her at large; then he comes down to her capacity, and makes all evident. He could have done it at once, and to human understanding the act had been more commendable, if it had been more compendious. I am sure it had been a great ease to Mary Magdalene; she was full of sorrow and full of fears, and full of doubtings; yet he takes his own time to cure these maladies, and doth it not at the first sight, but at leisure. The reasons may be these four:

“(1.) *To exercise her patience.* Where there is no expectance, there can be no patience; where no delay, there can be no expectance. Other graces, faith, love, repentance, devotion, may exercise their acts in an instant: patience cannot subsist without time. It is all these graces in the protraction. That which faith believes, and love desires, and repentance mourns for, and prayer sues for, that patience stays for. Therefore, to the declaration of this grace God calls his servants in the exercise of all the rest, lest there should be one of the daughters, one of the fruits of the Spirit wanting in Israel. For this cause he sends afflictions to his servants, to try their patience. For this cause he continues their afflictions, for the full declaration of their patience. Were there no other motive, this alone were a sufficient inducement to take in good part all the delays that God seems to make, before he bestow upon us the thing we look for. He doth it for a good purpose, to bring their grace to perfection. If he suffers ten-

tations to assault us like Job's messengers, one upon the neck of another, we must rest our hearts upon this support, it is for the exercise of my patience. To look for audience in prayer, or comfort in affliction without patience, is to outshoot grace, and to precipitate the order which God hath set. Who was there ever found to attain his end without patience? The husbandman looks not for his crop as soon as he hath sown his seed, but waits patiently for the season. The mariner comes not to his port presently upon his putting to sea, but after many cross winds arrives there by patience. By the same steps God brought David to the harvest of comforts, after he had been tossed in the floods of great waters; and by the same steps Christ brings Mary Magdalene here to the knowledge of his resurrection, when she had run through many encounters of patience. This is the first reason.

“(2.) *To show her the infirmity of her faith*; in doubting, nay despairing of his resurrection. There is no glass shows us more of ourselves than affliction doth. For this purpose he suffers the best of us to be troubled, *ut qui te nesciebas, a te inveniaris*, as St. Augustine saith,* that we may measure ourselves aright, and plumb our hearts to the bottom. Sometimes he delays, that men may know their strength. So he deferred to fulfil his promise to Abraham; sometimes to make them see their weakness; so Mark ix. 21, he deferred a while before he cast out the dumb spirit, that the father of the child might get a sight at once both of his faith and of his infidelity: ‘Lord, I believe, help mine unbelief!’ Generally, his delays have a respect to infirmity; that, as Ovid observes of Ulysses,

Si minus errasset, notus minus esset Ulysses;†

he had not been so well known either to himself or others, but for his errors; and of Hector,

Hectora quis nosset felix si Troja fuisset?‡

the fame of Hector had not stood to posterity, if Troy had not fallen. Therefore Seneca thought it a great calamity to have no calamity; *Miserum, inquit, te judico, si nunquam fuisti miser; transisti sine adversario vitam; nemo sciet quid potueris, ne tu quidem ipse*. Therefore God oftentimes suffers

* In Ps. lxii.

† De Ponto, l. z.

‡ De Tristibus l. iv. el. z.

trials to stay long by his servants, that they may thereby be awakened to see themselves. So Christ dealt with Thomas; he deferred to appear to him, after he had showed himself to all the other disciples; thereby Thomas saw his own infidelity. So Mary hers, &c. This is the second reason.

“(3.) *To quicken the fervency of her desires*; and to make her more eager in the pursuit of her purpose. It is a natural consequent of delay to beget expectation, and of expectation to kindle affection. In this the fire of love is contrary to the elementary; it flames most when the fuel is withheld or taken away. St. Augustine said well, of want, that it is *optimus orandi magister*; necessity is the school-mistress of prayer. It is as true of delay; it is as a whetstone to devotion to sharpen it, and it is no wonder if long fasting procure an appetite. David prays more fervently because God was silent and answered not. The blind men in the gospel cry more earnestly after Christ, when they were told to hold their peace. The woman of Cana (*sic*), she met with encounters, and they made her the more importunate; the more repulses she meets with, the more assaults she makes. The first repulse was of preterition; Christ passed by her; by that her desires are more kindled; *præterentem revocat*, then she cries after him. The second repulse was of silence; he answered not a word; by that her desires were more kindled, *tacentem rogat*, then she beseeches him. The third repulse was of plain denial, ‘I am not sent,’ &c.; by this her desires were yet more kindled; *negantem adorat*, she comes and worships him. The fourth repulse was of argumentation, ‘It is not good to take the children’s bread,’ &c.; by this her desires are most of all kindled; *arguentem vincit*, she disputes and replies upon him, and when her desires are brought to the height, her suit is brought to the issue. This is the ordinary cause of the delays he makes, *ut magis ad rogandum provocat*,* to provoke us to ask; *ut vota nostra altius in cogitationum radice solidentur*, saith Chrysostom; that by these blasts of trial, godly affections may be more kindled; as trees the more they are shaken, the more the root strengthens itself. There is no tree, saith Seneca, grows firm and strong, *nisi in quem frequens ventus incursat*; *ipsa enim vexatione constringitur*,

* Hier. ad Habak.

et radices certius figit. The same is the condition of other affections in Chrysostom's judgment: *mora erigit desiderium*; his delay makes us more hasty, then we learn to pour out our prayers, Isa. xxvi. 16. Then we learn to seek him diligently, Hos. v. 15. It should teach us not to faint if he answer us not at first; he will hear us at last; nay, he hears always; he hears when he seems not to hear. If he hear, that is an encouragement to pray on; if he hear not, that is an incitement to pray again. For this end he stays his hand. *Non vult cito dare, ut tu discas magna magis desiderare.** So Mary here, &c. This is the third reason.

“(4.) *To fit and prepare her by this delay for a greater measure of comfort, in the fruition of Christ afterward.* There is no comfort that we are able to judge of so well, when we have it, as when we want it. And after we have been sensible of the want, if we should obtain it presently, if with ease, there would not be so great a value set upon it, as when it is got with anguish and difficulty. If it be bought with tears and trouble of mind, if it come after long expectance, it makes the prize of it the greater. We may see it in all the things that concern this life; every thing is then dearest, when scarcest. For health, S. Hierom shows: *Quid boni habeat sanitas, languor ostendet.* Nay Tully himself: *Jucundior bona valetudo ex iis, qui de gravi morbo curati sunt, quam qui nunquam ægro corpore fuerunt.* Nay, of every thing in general S. Austin gives it for a rule, *Desiderata diu dulcius obtinentur, cito data vilescent.* Had Jonah been brought out of the whale's belly at the first, the deliverance had not been so illustrious; no, but three days and three nights must first be spent in the ‘belly of hell,’ that he may learn to set a due price upon God's salvation. Had S. Paul, when he was buffeted by Satan, been heard at the first call, the voice of comfort had neither sounded so sweet nor come so full. God will have him judge of it by the want; he must cry often, want it long, beseech the Lord thrice, and then he receives the answer, *My grace is sufficient for thee.* So Mary here, she is kept three days in expectation with Jonah, she makes three expressions of her complaint with

* Aug. in Ps. cxxx. 6.

Paul; to the disciples, to the angels, to Christ himself, she besought thrice, and then receives the word of comfort.

“And her example is our assurance, that if God defer at any time, yet he will come in the end, and bring his reward with him. *Si non audit ad voluntatem, audiet ad salutem.* Our God will come, and will not keep silence, he will speak peace unto his people; after three days he will revive us, and the third day he will comfort us. Hos. vi. 1; that we may say with David, Ps. iv. 1, ‘Thou hast set me at liberty, when I was in distress.’ S. Chrysostom thought it worth the observing, that he saith not, *Non passus es me incidere in afflictionem*, Thou didst not suffer me to be in distress; nor yet, *Fecisti ut celeriter transciat afflictio*, Thou madest my affliction soon to pass away; no, but *Dilatasti in tribulatione*, Thou enlargedst my comfort, in and after my tribulation. That course he still takes, saith S. Austin, *ut tardius dans, dona sua commendet, non neget*. So Mary here, she was *in ostio*, in the very threshold of knowing Christ, yet had like to have been shipwreckt in the port; but Christ by this word reacheth out his hand, as to Peter ready to sink, &c. That for the first question, Why He staid so long ere he discovered himself.

“2. *Why Christ discovered himself to her so soon, seeing she profited no more by the former proffer he made unto her?* It is a contrary question to the one that was first propounded; that was, why so late, this, why so soon. You will say, the one might well be spared; for if it were late, it was not soon, and if it were soon, it was not late. Yes; both will stand together. It was late to Mary; for love thinks every minute a year, if God be absent; but it was soon to Christ. It was late, because it was longer than she desired; it was soon, because it was before she expected; and it could not well be sooner. He was but newly risen, and he appeared presently; here is no delay. He spoke so soon as he appeared, and prevented her by a question; here is no delay. He seconds the first question by another friendly compellation, which made all clear; here is no delay. If we consider the day itself, it was the day of resurrection; that is soon; if the time of the day, it was the same morning; that is very soon; if the persons that were in the same distemper as she, he speaks to her before any of the

disciples; that is soon. It cannot be called a delay; it was soon. What could be the reason?

“The reason is at hand. Her anguish could not brook delays, and his goodness would not suffer him to make them. This is the only reason, his tender sympathy and compassion toward Mary. He saw her in an agony, he could not forbear any further, he thought the time long as well as she. He might say as in the Prophet, ‘My bowels are turned within me.’ Here is his unspeakable goodness. There is no man can be so sharp set in thirsting for comfort, as he is ready and hasty to administer it. The Lord is near to all them that call upon him faithfully; Ps. cxlv. 18. Yea, near because everywhere; not only near by virtue of his omnipresence, but of his gracious assistance; Behold I come quickly. Not only in respect of his all-comprehensive eternity, to which a thousand years is as one day; but in respect of our spaces and distances of time; the answers that he makes to prayer, he gives them quickly. The help and comfort he reacheth out to misery, he sends it quickly; how quickly, S. John tells us, Rev. vi. 11, for a little season; is not that soon? The Apostle tells us, Yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; is not that soon? The prophet Isaiah tells us, liv. 7, he will come in a moment. There is nothing sooner than a moment, it is so little that it cannot be divided; yes, he will cut even a moment in two for his servants’ sakes. ‘For a small moment have I forsaken thee;’ how will that appear? Yes, Ps. li. 15. *Simulac invocaverit*; when they call upon me I will answer, before their prayers be ended. That is a small moment; yet more plainly in another place, *Antequam clament ego exaudiam*; before they cry, I will answer, before their praises be begun; that is a less scantling than a small moment.

“It should teach us to wait his leisure, and so possess our souls in patience, seeing he is always so ready. Though our trials be lengthened out to years, there is no cause of making David’s expostulation, *Usque quo*, Lord, how long? To ask how long, is all one as to bind eternity to time. That time is soonest, which is best. He will come in his time, if not in ours; and his is never out of season. Ere Mary had made an end of speaking, whilst the word is in her mouth, Christ calls to her.

So that is fulfilled, Hab. ii. 3, 'The vision shall speak and not lie; though it tarry wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry.' I have done with the second question, Why so soon?

"3. *Why he discovers himself by a word, and by a bare compellation*, MARY. Yet it is as redundant in matter, as it is compendious in pronunciation; but I will reduce all to these two reasons:

"(1.) *In the course of nature, it had been the most probable way to make her understand him.* For some naturalists observe, that there is no readier way to awaken a man that is asleep, than to call him by his name; if he will not waken any other ways, by jogging or pinching, he will by the pronouncing of his name. Mary was asleep now, her eyes blinded with sorrow. The sight of angels, the sight of Christ, the voice of Christ in the other words, awaken her not. Till this word she is still asleep, till Christ work powerfully by this slender means. *Fecit ut quem facie non cognoscebat, voce intellexit.* (Hier.) When he will work out the effect, it must take place. She that understood not Christ by many words, understands him by one. This word is *apertissimum indicium potestatis*, an evident testimony of his power, to produce so great an effect by so slender means, to work so much illumination by so small a word. It might seem wonderful, but that there is nothing hard to God. It is as easy for him to save by few instruments as by many, and to convert by few words as by many. We must not measure his power by instruments, nor confine his work to means. Sometimes he useth greater means and the work is not done; spends many words upon Jerusalem and she would not know him; sometimes he useth less means, and the work takes effect, he casts only his eye on Peter and he is reclaimed by it. Sometimes he doubles the name when he calls his servants: 'Abraham, Abraham,' Gen. xxii. 11, 'Moses, Moses,' Ex. iii. 4, 'Saul, Saul,' Acts ix. 4; sometimes he gives it only a single accent, as to Mary here. When he appeared to Samuel the first time, he named him only single, and then Samuel knew him not; the second time single, and yet he knew him not; the third time also single, and yet he knew not whose voice it was; but the fourth time when he doubled his call, 'Samuel, Samuel,' then

he acknowledges him. Yet here contrary, he rehearses Mary's name only once; for what purpose, but to show that little or much is all one to God. One word sufficed to make a greater world, and one word also to convert the less. It teacheth us two things.

“First, we should not despair when means of comfort or deliverance is straitened; his arm is not shortened, though the means be. Yet so presumptuous are we, many of us, as to tie his arm to means, to tie the First Cause to the second; [as], that the bare reading of the Word cannot convert, [and] that the sacraments without the Word preached at the time of administration are not efficacious. As if we would bind God to our dimensions, that because preaching converts more, reading should convert none, and because baptism with a sermon is better for men, therefore without a sermon it should not be of force for children. That's a wrong to the donour of grace; he doth by preaching, and he can by reading also. Even as by two words he raised Lazarus, by two he healed the withered hand; yet by one he gave hearing to the deaf, and by one illumination to Mary. It should teach us, on the other hand, not to applaud ourselves vainly, if the means of salvation be plentiful, unless we answer them with the fruits of righteousness; for all these examples should make for our conviction. We have sermons by thousands, and are as far from repentance as ever, whereas the Jews were brought home by one, Acts ii. To us God declares himself by many and long sentences, and we are still ignorant; whereas by one word he wrought himself into Mary Magdalene's cognisance. This for the first reason.

“Secondly, this word is *certissimum pignus dilectionis*, an assured pledge of Christ's love towards her. He could not discover himself to her in a more familiar manner, nor in a more amiable. By this word he comes down to her capacity. The naming of a man, saith Chrysostom, *φιλίας ἔστι γνησίας τεκμήριον*; it is an apparent sign of intimate love: as the shunning of the name an argument of hatred. When Saul was maliciously bent against David, 1 Sam. xx. 27, he would not vouchsafe to call him by name; not ‘Wherefore comes not David,’ but ‘Wherefore comes not the son of Jesse?’ So when the Jews were disdainfully affected towards Christ, and inquired after him, John

vii. 11, they leave out his name, *Ubi est ille*, Where is he? not *Ubi est Christus*, Where is Christ? And S. Chrysostom observes, that S. Paul in great wisdom suppresses his name, in the epistle which he wrote to the Hebrews, foreseeing that because they loved not his person they would not brook the inscription of his name. Malice cares not for hearing or mentioning the name of the person it likes not. On the contrary, it is the property of love to delight itself with the sound of the very name. Of the Spouse we find it true in the Canticles, 'Thy name is like ointment poured forth.' Of David, S. Chrysostom observes, on those words *Canam nomini tuo Altissime*; I will sing to thy name, O Thou Most High;* he might have said as briefly, I will sing to thee; no, but I will sing to thy name. Why so? the father tells us; *οἱ φιλοῦντες, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν φιλομένων περιφέρουσιν*. No word so sweet in the mouth of love, as the name of a friend. And so the Psalmist, ravished with the love of God, *τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ περιστρέφει συνεχῶς*; he still harps upon this string, 'I will sing unto thy name.' For God himself, we see it, Gen. iii., he calls to Adam by his name, 'Adam, where art thou?' and hereby *ἔδειξεν αὐτοῦ τὸ φίλτρον, καὶ τὴν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ κηδεμονίαν*; he demonstrated his love and care over him. By this word he breathed upon him again a new breath of life. For Christ, we see it in the parable; Dives is not named as if being an unmerciful rich man, he had been a stranger, and one unknown to God; Lazarus, whom God respects, he calls by name. So Christ did with the other Lazarus when he raised him; with Peter when he confirmed him; with Saul when he converted him; and with Mary here, when he reveals himself unto her. By this word he showed a great deal of tenderness, for it is thus much in effect: 'Mary, knowest thou not me? Hast thou so soon forgot me? Am I taken away? Am I the gardener?' The other word, 'Woman, why weepest thou?' was a sign of much sympathy, this, a sign of much love. What a difference is here, saith Ambrose, *mulier quando converti incipit Maria vocatur*; when she believes not, then the general name of Woman is used; when she draws nearer to the knowledge of Christ, then she is called Mary. I will

* In Ps. ix.

turn the observation a little. When Christ keeps aloof, then, Woman; when he draws nearer to her, then, Mary. *Nomen ejus accipit quæ spiritualiter parit Christum*, saith Ambrose, l. 3. *de virginibus*; he gives her that name which doth spiritually bear Christ. A Mary was the mother of Christ carnally, and a Mary spiritually.

“It is a twofold comfort to the saints of God. One is, when God seems strange unto them, he is as one that hears not; he is not discouraged; this is a course he useth to observe, in beholding them first *eminus tanquam minus notus*; he seems to know them afar off; then *cominus, intuetur tanquam notus*; in speaking first *peregrina voce*, then *voce efficaci*. As Joseph to his brethren; first severely, ‘You are spies;’ then amiably, ‘I am Joseph.’ So Christ to the woman of Samaria; first afar off; then he comes nearer, and tells her that he was the Christ, John iv. So with Mary here; first ‘Woman,’ afar off; then he utters it in his old tone and accent, ‘Mary!’ Joseph loved not his brethren worse because he seemed strange; nor Christ Mary, when he called her Woman; nor us, though he seem to absent himself.

“Another comfort is, when we seem strange to the world, the offscourings, &c. Yea, but precious to God, he knows his, not only after a general manner, but after a special, by name. So to Moses, ‘Thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.’ Ex. xxxiii. 17. So to Israel, ‘I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine.’ So to us; he doth not call us by our names expressly, he doth virtually. He calls us in the promises, ‘Whosoever thirsteth,’ &c. Our names are not written in the book of Scriptures; they are in the book of life. There is not any of their names whereof he is ignorant. As he is not ignorant of them, so he is not ashamed to own them. They may be sure they are written in heaven, for it is his throne; they may be confident they are written in the book of life, for that is his breast, and he will from thence pronounce them at the last day. It is the highest honour of which the name of any Christian is capable, to have Christ pronounce his name. It sounds nowhere so comfortably as out of his mouth. Let worldly men set their names upon their houses, that they may be continued; nay, upon their very sepulchres, as if they

would get perpetuity from the very place which causeth the body's corruption, immortality, where they have mortality; our happiness is, that they are writ and engraven upon Christ; and if upon Christ, then upon heaven. If He know them, we may be sure that God knows them, and will acknowledge them at the last day."

We have now done enough to exhibit the manner in which our learned churchman conducts a homiletical discourse through its regular parts; and we need therefore occupy little room in other extracts. Some however it seems just to give, as exemplifying either the excellencies or the oddities of the preacher.

On the sleep of the apostles in the Mount. "If we take it simply, sleep is *res trita*, a vulgar and common thing; yet even to such the pen of inspiration condescends. It is worth our observing, how it tells us of the common actions of the saints, as well as of their heroic; Abraham's offering of his son, and Abraham's digging of wells; Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and Jacob's leaning upon his staff; David's warring with the Philistines, and David's dancing before the ark; S. Paul's care of the churches, and his care of the cloak; not only their prayings and fastings and watchings, but even their eatings, journeyings and sleepings. The reasons are two; first, that we may learn to preserve piety even in those things which are *minora Christianismi*; secondly, to show that God himself takes notice of them."—"Sleeping at holy exercises may be a weakness, and may be a crime. In worldly men, that delight to make their bible their pillow, and do as usually take their naps in their pews, as in their beds, a crime; but even in a godly man, it is none of his virtues, it is at best an infirmity. I dare not call it absolutely an argument of a wicked man, for then we were all in a miserable condition, because all subject at one time or other to be overtaken; but yet I account it an argument of a careless man and a dull spirit. In itself, sleep is not a sin, because ordained for the refreshing and preserving of nature, even in her pure state, in time of innocency; but it becomes a sin by the annexion of circumstances, of time, place, measure; if it be too much, or unseasonable; and it is sometimes a less sin, sometimes a greater, but always a sin; a

greater sin, if it be habitual and customary; a less, if it be seldom and casual; a greater if a voluntary, if man compose himself to sleep; a less, if he wrestle with himself and strive against it. A greater, if it be occasioned by excess of eating and drinking; a less, if there be an endeavour by anticipation by fasting and prayer. A greater sin, if it be swallowed without any remorse; a less, if it be often bemoaned and watered with our tears. Indeed, a godly man doth always repute it in himself great, whether it be in prayer or in preaching. In prayer, it is a mocking of God and our speaking to him; in preaching, a contempt of God and his speaking to us. In both, a wrong to his ordinance, and to our own souls; for a man to sleep in God's presence and under his eye, in the time of conference with him, in the time of reaping the food of salvation. 'He that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.' These things a godly man will consider, and by these he will be drawn to stir up himself. If he cannot overcome it, he will strive against it, and labour to prevent it; he will strive by prayer, strive by preparation, strive by complaints, he will set it on the score of his sins, he will avoid occasions, [and] remove all entanglements of sleep. If there be thus care used, and yet it steal upon him, then I account it an infirmity; yet even then an infirmity not to be cherished."—"It is the course of many, when they hear some men preach, they will pull their hats over their eyes, and set themselves to sleep; and is it then any marvel, if they be overtaken. Because they sleep on purpose at some times, God justly gives them over at other times. Seeing, in contempt of God, they set themselves to sleep (as they call it) at a bad sermon, God suffers them to be overtaken at a good."

The Resurrection. "The first-fruits of them that sleep, the first-begotten of the dead, the Alpha of all things, how well did it become him to rise on the first day of the week, and the first hour of the day; that first and last, all might be first, and time still prevented by him that was before time, even from eternity. So careful he was of the accomplishment of the work of our redemption, he was still beforehand. When his time of suffering drew near, he would not stay till his persecutors found him, but offered himself. When upon the cross, he would not stay till

death called for him, but gave up the ghost himself. When in the grave, he tarried not till the disciples came to the sepulchre, but rose early, ere they got thither. And when he was risen, he deferred not to show himself till they discovered him, but that very day he appeared beyond their expectation, to one, and to two, and to ten, and to eleven. Were they few or more, his care was still to be one, and the first in all their meetings. And if we will requite him, our first care should be the same, to prevent one another in the celebration of his rising again."

Vanity of Foreign Travel. "But so foolish are we, that we had rather be in danger abroad than happy at home. We send our children, while they are very novices, not well grounded in the principles of religion, to heathenish countries, to idolatrous places, merely for curiosity, to see the fashions of the world, whilst they are not able to teach that which is good, and too apt to learn that which is evil. What greater vanity than this! To go to the Holy Land, to see the letters Christ wrote upon the ground; or in those ruins to look for the stone that was rolled to the door of the sepulchre. To go to Rome to see one of their Jubilees; much the same with one of our triumphs or pageants. I may look upon the Vatican, and come home never a whit the better scholar; and when all is done, the bibles, that are here carried in our laymen's hands to churches, are a far more sumptuous library. They cannot be persuaded that Rome is the seat of Antichrist, except they see the seven hills; or that the Pope exalts himself above all that is called God, except they see kings and princes holding his stirrup—Platina will assure me as much that a woman was pope, as if I had my hand upon the chair that stands in the Consistory. A clear eye will see the mystery of iniquity work as covertly here, as if he were in the College of Cardinals. Their crouching to the cross, and adoration of images, and falling down before the host, may be as plainly discerned in their missals and writings, as if we were in their chapels. What greater hazard, than to go to Babylon to learn to be godly, or to learn to hate popery at Rome; where if one learne to loathe their wickedness, ten are taken by their seducements."

The ten Lepers, drawn by the fame of Christ. "As fame hath long wings, so misery hath long ears. Fame is diffusive

of great works, and misery is apprehensive of any occasion. Fame need not be hired to carry news of a Saviour; it will spread of itself; and misery need not be entreated to seek after salvation, it will inquire of itself. When the blind man in the gospel heard that Christ passed by, presently he cries after him. It was fame and sense of affliction mingled, that directed the Centurion, and the woman of Cana, and these lepers, and thousands of others to Christ. Happy were we, if it work such an effect in us! The fame of Christ is no less now than it was then. We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, and we find it by experience, and we have it out of the pulpit daily, that he is ready to receive repenting sinners. We have precept to show for it, Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel; we have promise to show for it, Come unto me all ye, &c. Examples to show for it, of diseased in body, that got here the cure of their infirmities; of diseased in mind, that got here the cure of their impieties. There is no instance can be brought of any that came to Christ, and went away without the thing they came for. Hither the woman of Cana came for her daughter; hither the Centurion for his servant; hither the blind, the lepers for themselves; and all speed. All they were careful to catch hold of the opportunity that was offered when Christ passed by, fearing they should have it no more, if they should let go the present. Yet none of these examples will provoke us. They, as soon as they heard, betook themselves to motion; we sit freezing upon our dregs. They hastened towards Christ; we fly as fast from him. Is it because we know not how to meet him? It is not so. He is everywhere, we are sure to meet him whom if we fly from we cannot shun. Is it because we stand not in need of him? Yes, that we do, and more than the Centurion, or woman of Cana, more than the blind or lepers; not for our children but ourselves, not for our bodies but souls. A servant or a child is not so dear to a man as his soul; the sight of the body not so comfortable, as of the mind; the corporal leprosy not so dangerous, as the spiritual. Last of all, is it because we are not sensible of our own danger, or of God's goodness? Yes, yes; this is the reason of our backwardness to meet God; and both these are heavy conditions."

Before laying out of our hands this singular manuscript, which it is not likely any one will ever make public, and which few will ever take the pains to decipher, we beg leave to offer a short series of excerpts, taken here and there, from the old heap of brilliants.

“In prayer we get at least a shadow of everlasting happiness. If it consist in the vision of God, prayer brings us into his presence; if in fruition, by prayer the saints walk with him; if in joy, prayer fetcheth comfort from heaven; if in union, prayer fetcheth a flight to the throne of God, and sets the heart in heaven, or the enjoying of God.”

“Till the last and general awakening, there shall be no perfect beholding of the beatifical glory. Till then, the body comes not to the fellowship of the soul’s fruition. Till then, it takes its long silent sleep, in the place where all things are forgotten. But then, when Christ shall speak to it to arise, it shall awaken, and share with the soul in her waking raptures, never to sleep again. Ps. xvii. 15.”

“Heaven is the proper place of souls triumphant, as earth of souls militant. Yet we read that there have been flights taken from both, to show their communion; sometimes the militant taken up into the raptures of heaven, as S. Paul, to show the communion of us with them; sometimes the triumphant brought down to negotiations on earth, to show the communion of them with us, as Moses and Elias.”

“There is nothing comes so near to infinite as the heart of man; it is larger than the world, yet it is less than the goodness of Christ. As the whole earth is but a point to the heart, so the heart itself is but a point to the mercy of God.”

“All the attributes of God are equally admirable; yet of the rest I most wonder at his patience. His power is great, yet we will cease to wonder, if we consider whose power it is, His, the Omnipotent. But that a God of so much power should have so much patience, is truly admirable. That God destroys sinners is not so much as that he spares them.”

“A human soul and an angel differ only as a perfect and an imperfect substance; for a soul separate is but half a man, the simplest part of a compounded nature. An angel is a complete species of itself. The soul is fitted to the body as the

form of that material lump: the substance of an angel is both form and matter to itself.”*

“He that prays in an unknown tongue makes himself a stranger to God; who, though he understand all languages, yet will not understand us, if we be so foolish as not to understand ourselves.”

“With God, saith S. Ambrose, *Cogitatio clamor*; the very thought is a cry. I know that in some cases prayer may be so obstreperous, that it may wound God’s ears, not delight them; when being distrustful of God’s omnipresence, we think to be heard for our loud speaking.”

“A man cannot draw too near to God by faith, nor keep too far off in reverence.”

“Those that hold a man may fall from true justifying grace, and from the certain interest which the faithful have in Christ, they also betray this gift of Christ. This is all one as to say, that Christ is only lent, not given.”

“Experience tells us that there is great life in the words of a dying man. His lips as a honeycomb then drop sweetest, when he draws his breath shortest. And it is very true of our blessed Saviour; all his words were precious, wheresoever uttered, in the temple, on the mount, in the ship, on the shore. But none are so full of grace as those he breathed out upon the cross. We read of seven texts [on] which he preached from that pulpit; which were as the opening of the seven seals of the book of life.”

Such sententious morsels might be gathered in profusion from these yellow pages, reminding us sometimes of Bishop Hall and the *Religio Medici*, and sometimes of Trapp, Charnock and Gurnall, and serving to expose the ignorance or prejudice of those who represent the Puritan as always sour. Such sparkle is not, in our judgment, the true crystal of classic prose, but it

* This savours strongly of the schools, nor can readers of old divinity avoid perpetual stumbling in regard to the terms *formal* and *material*, unless they revert to the scholastic nomenclature, derived from the logical distribution of *causes*. In our day the word *formal* has acquired a meaning almost opposite. Even in his practical treatises Owen will speak of the *formality* of faith, namely, that which makes faith to be faith. Our language retains a trace of this in such expressions as Dryden’s “*informing fire*,” or Pitt’s “*life informs this fleeting frame*.”

assuredly comes from no morose quarter. We do not find it in the higher regions occupied by John Owen or John Howe; but it illuminates and varies the discourse of the great Puritan preachers, whether in or out of the Anglican pale, and, with certain obvious differences, equally in the early as the latter part of the seventeenth century. The quick unexpected apodosis, going off like a conundrum or a percussion-cap, the pulpit-paronomasia (Charles Lamb's "pun-divinity") must have tended greatly to prevent that infirmity of sleeping in church, against which we have found our good author inveighing. Even the later generation of Puritans retained something of these juices, the sapidity of which continue to make Matthew Henry the favorite commentator of the unlettered class, at the very time that he is ranked *facile princeps* by critics as fastidious as learned, and as unlike as Robert Hall, Thomas Chalmers and John Foster.

On the retrospect, we find it difficult to divine the sort of audience for whom these discourses were prepared. Out of a university, or one of the Inns of Court or Chancery, it is not probable many would have comprehended the quotations in Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew. Perhaps they were not understood; it was the fashion of the age, to fire an occasional gun over the hearer's head, and it did no damage; while it aroused the oscitancy of country-members as much as the sesquipedalian vocabulary of a popular preacher of our own age. Nor was the practice confined to what our comical friends in certain quarters call the "sacred desk," but may be seen exemplified in any speech in parliament of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, or famous 'old Maynard.' Seneca was quoted in church, and Solomon in St. Stephen's. Without a sedulous search we find the following authors cited in this manuscript, and some of them many times, viz. Homer, Sophocles, Plautus, Terence, Ovid, Cicero, Josephus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Plutarch, Lactantius, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Basil, the Gregories, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Athanasius, Cyril, Theophylact, Bernard, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Rhabanus Maurus, Calvin and the Rhemists. Scholastic terms were a lawful tender among all educated people of that day, but we cannot suppress the fancy that by our ancient

author they are used with a frequency and precision which betray, not exactly the pedant, but the trained teacher, used to act the part of respondent, in the dialectic "schools." The Scriptures as well as the Greek Fathers are sometimes quoted in Latin; which is a Romish practice, not all at once abandoned by the earlier Protestants, as may be seen by reference to Jewell, or even Lord Bacon and Coke. The familiar phrase especially of Scripture had a familiar ring upon the ear; an inkling of which lingers even now in the name *Dives*, from the Vulgate. So also, as in the days of Queen Elisabeth and James, the books of Samuel and Kings are cited, from the Latin headings, as *1 Reg.* *2 Reg.* &c. The English bible-quotations vacillate between the Cranmer and the Authorized Version, with a decided leaning to the latter. Amidst the throng of learned authorities, not a single English author is mentioned, nor a single Protestant, except Calvin. In justice to the author, let us add that nothing is adduced with such frequency and affection as the Holy Scriptures, which are ransacked in every recondite portion for never-ceasing illustrations and parallels. Without exaggeration we may say, that no page of the book has failed to afford us some new view of a biblical passage. The subtle and provokingly artful manner, in which our cleverest of quoters brings together verses which no mortal ever before thought of matching, results in a patchwork or marquetry, pleasing to the fancy rather than impressive or pathetic; indeed he sometimes hangs his cunning wreaths upon the cross and sepulchre, till we cease to smile. But just so did Andrewes, Henrie Smith, Perkins, Bolton, and far lower down, Brookes, Janeway and Cotton Mather. And days are coming when the pretty rhetorical trumpery of our nicest sermonizing will be as much out of date as the gold-lace of our grandfather's wedding coat, the claw-feet of a blackened cabinet, or the careful antitheses and scriptural word-play of these faded sheets.

ART. V.—*The Convert; or Leaves from my Experience*. By O. A. BROWNSON. New York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, (James B. Kirker.) 1857.

MR. BROWNSON has long been noted for attempting bold and reckless feats as a writer upon literature, philosophy, politics, and theology. This audacity, combined with a considerable power of expressing himself in classic, nervous English, has given him a place among our American notabilities. On his own showing, he has, by turns, been the adherent, expositor, and defender of Universalism, Infidelity, Atheism, Materialism, the Communism of Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright, St. Simon and St. Hilaire, the Eclecticism and Pantheism of Cousin, together with the social, political, and ecclesiastical theories which thence emerge. After this tortuous course, becoming "everything by turns, and nothing long," he very rationally concluded that the best use men can make of their intellects is to submit them to infallible and authoritative guidance. From historical and philosophical considerations, he reasoned himself into the belief that the Roman Pontiff alone possesses those prerogatives of infallibility and authority, which are sufficient to keep him out of those vagaries into which and out of which his unaided reason had so long been worming its way,

. to find no end,
In wandering mazes lost.

He appears to have forgotten that the Scriptures are the ultimate, the only infallible guide, sufficient to make "the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Despairing of any adequate light from these, he does not seem ever to have "searched them, whether these things be so." So far as we can see, although he strenuously insists to the contrary, he had recourse to the Roman Pontiff in a mere "fit of intellectual despair." His argument was simply this: The consequence of trusting mere human reason is endless vacillation and scepticism. The consequence of relying on the Bible, without the Pope, is the sects and divisions of Protestantism. The only alternative, therefore, for those who crave unity and

stability, is implicit submission to the Pope. Extremes meet. The rankest Rationalism and Infidelity are on the margin of abject submission to the most stolid and domineering hierarchs—just as in the civil state, the anarchy of mobs is the immediate precursor of absolute despotism. He judged well, that in matters divine we need a divine guide. He showed his wonted facility of educing great conclusions from slender premises, when he judged the Pope of Rome to be such a guide, rather than the sure word and very oracles of God himself.

It requires no slight courage in one man to set himself up as the expounder and champion of the multitudinous and contradictory systems which our author has successively espoused and repudiated. But it requires still greater courage to attempt, as he has done in this volume, to vindicate his moral integrity and intellectual consistency in such a course. It is somewhat of an exploit to appear as the advocate of nearly every type of opinion, except evangelical truth—to career through the whole compass of fatuous error, from the credulity of Atheism to the credulity of Superstition. But it is a still more prodigious exploit for such a man to undertake to expound and justify himself.

His method of doing this is simply to narrate his successive changes of opinion, together with the reasons which led him to make them. He strives to give unity and consistency to this series of contradictions, by referring them all to one radical principle—that of being true to his own reason and the conclusions to which it led him. The cause of his constant changes, was a continual change in his apprehension or knowledge of the facts and first principles which constituted the premises from which he reasoned. This, he would have us understand, explains his rapid espousal and rejection of nearly all the most radical and destructive errors of modern times, without impeachment of his moral integrity and intellectual capacity. The whole brood of paradoxes, contradictions, and, as he styles them, “horrible doctrines,” which, with morbid fecundity, he brought forth to the public, were all irrefragably demonstrated, if the premises from which he reasoned had only been true! He was morally upright, because he was faithful to proclaim and defend the foul doctrines developed logically from false pre-

mises! Speaking of the impious and revolutionary principles of various kinds, with which he scandalized the public in his Boston Quarterly Review, he says, "I should have been right, if my facts had been true. It will generally be found, to speak after the manner of the logicians, that my *major* was true, but my *minor* often required to be denied or distinguished." P. 197. In joining the Roman Church, he says, "I kept faithfully the resolution I made on leaving Presbyterianism, that henceforth I would be true to my own reason, and maintain the rights and dignity of my own manhood. No man can accuse me of not having done it. I never performed a more reasonable or more manly act, or one more in accordance with the rights and dignity of human nature, though not done save by divine grace moving and assisting thereto, than when I kneeled to the Bishop of Boston, and asked him to hear my confession and reconcile me to the Church, or when I read my abjuration, and publicly professed the Catholic Faith." P. 412.

"I have never reproached myself for the position I assumed after my connection with Fanny Wrightism. I followed the best light I had, honestly, sincerely, unflinchingly." P. 147.

"The various systems I embraced, or defended, whether social or political, ethical or æsthetical, philosophical or theological, were all subordinated to this end, as means by which man's earthly condition was to be ameliorated. I sought truth, I sought knowledge, I sought virtue for no other end, and it was, not in seeking to save my soul, to please God, or to have the true religion, that I was led to the Catholic Church, but to obtain the means of gaining the earthly happiness of mankind. My end was man's earthly happiness; and my creed was progress. In regard to neither did I change or swerve in the least, till the truth of the Catholic Church was forced upon my mind and my heart. During the period of fourteen years, the greater part of which I was accused of changing at least once every three months, I never changed once in my principles or my purposes, and all I did change, were my tools, my instruments, or my modes of operation." P. 102.

All this and much more in the like vein, running through the book, in explanation of his successive conversions, will hardly serve the author's purpose. They do not bring his doctrinal

career within any solution creditable to his intellectual capacity and consistency, or to his moral integrity. We admit that this self-exposition and all his writings evince, in a high degree, a certain kind of intellectual acuteness and force. Along with an utter incapacity or indisposition to master the facts and principles which constitute the basis or premises of his reasonings, they show a very unusual power of evolving from assumed premises, hastily grasped, either absolutely false, or partially so, because they ignore truths material to the subject, a tissue of extreme, reckless, and desperate conclusions. In the power to work out these startling paradoxes, and in the havoc thus made with the most sacred convictions, principles, and institutions which are dear to the holiest men, he cherishes a strange delight. Not only is he at fault in minor premises, but in the major as well. As he spins out from them the most impious extravaganzas, and dogmas, he feels all the pride of an inventor or discoverer, and breaks out in rapturous EUREKAS. He proceeds to blazen forth his pet theory, and to try to realize it in some scheme of social reconstruction, or religious and political revolution, till he finds it will not work. It is thus proved false. He sets himself to look up the flaw. It was not, he satisfies himself, in his reasoning, that was conclusive enough. But one of his premises "required to be denied or distinguished." That was all, and it was enough. So having thus run down one *ism* and himself with it, he rushes into another, with some other false or partial premise, with a like spirit, and a like issue. So

"Tost to and fro his passions fly,
From vanity to vanity,"

he passes from Universalism to Materialism. Discomfited here, he flies to Owen, Godwin, and then becomes a confederate with Fanny Wright—and so on, through the series,

"To nothing fixed but love of change."

Embracing each successive scheme with the enthusiasm of a neophyte, he renounces it almost simultaneously with the disgust of an apostate. The further he reasons from his false premises the more knots of error does he turn off from his syllogistic reel. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The streams are no purer than the fountain.

Nursing his successive chimeras and impieties with the fire of a zealot, the attempt to work them into practice soon gives them an undeniable refutation. Although he propounded them with that defiant boldness, which is the offspring of foolhardy blindness, rather than intelligent courage, and which seemed ready to go down Niagara with them, yet when he actually sees the "hell of waters" into which he is gliding, he casts about for a new course, and takes the first that offers, only to find himself forthwith on the edge of the same terrible abyss. His only fixed land-marks, till stumbling into Romanism he was constrained to abjure even these, were Humanity and Progress. But his schemes and projects for human amelioration were impotent and ruinous, because godless. His progress was that of the treadmill, or as Carlyle once said of this kind, of a foundered horse—"all move and no go."

It is no excuse for such a course to say that his reasonings were valid, if his premises had been true. Every person who is seeking truth is bound to look to the facts and principles from which he reasons, as well as to the conclusiveness of his reasonings from them. This he is absolutely bound to do, if merely seeking light for his own guidance. But he is still more stringently bound, if he employs his reasonings, like Mr. Brownson, in instructing and guiding others. The very fact of undergoing constant revolutions of opinion, and shifting to every wind of doctrine, betokens a mind radically defective, and is proof of utter incompetency for the office of instructing and guiding men. If one of this sort has assumed the office unbidden, he is warned by such chameleon-like fickleness, that he ought to lay aside his usurped function. If he cannot trust himself, he cannot in good conscience ask others to trust him. Being proved to himself blind, he yet assumes to lead the blind, at the peril of their spiritual and temporal welfare. If he did not perceive this, he was sadly imbecile. If he did, to continue his erratic teaching was clearly unprincipled. He does not escape this dilemma, by telling us that he was steadfast and consistent in his devotion to Progress and Humanity, and that the successive, contradictory theories he espoused were mere "tools," "instruments," used by him in furtherance of these. Suppose they were. He either believed them, at the time of promulgating them, to be true, or he did

not. If he did, he is self-convicted of intellectual fickleness and incapacity. If he did not, he is convicted of promulgating as true, what he was not convinced was true, on grounds of expediency. The highest moral principle then from which he could have acted, must have been the detestable Jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means. On this hypothesis, he evinced an utter want of moral principle.

We would not be misunderstood in regard to the extent or kind of consistency which we deem requisite to intellectual and moral integrity. The first requisite to this is a paramount love of truth. If this love of truth be, as it should be, supreme, then a man is truly and only consistent with himself, when his acts harmonize with this principle. No man is infallible. The greatest intellects are not insured against all error. Every one is bound to know and feel this, consequently as he loves the truth, he will always be open to further light, on topics in their nature questionable. On such subjects, or some of them, every wise and good man will find cause to amend or modify his opinions, as new evidence is brought before his mind. If he be candid, a lover of truth, he will always be fairly accessible to such evidence, and so far liable to modify his judgments. Obstinate persistence in error, a refusal to see and appreciate the evidence that would correct it, is inconsistency with what should be supreme in the breast of a good man, fealty to the truth—and therefore it is inconsistency with himself. This is one side of the subject. It simply shows that no man is infallible, or can afford to be so opinionated as to refuse to correct his errors. But it is no justification of utter instability in doctrine, or of incessant somersets in regard to fundamental principles. Nor does it prove such a course compatible with moral or intellectual consistency. For, 1. There is a large class of fundamental truths which are either so self-evident, or with the lights afforded us by experience and revelation so immediately and obviously deducible from self-evident or unquestioned truths, that to be constantly shifting ground about them, betokens a light and frivolous mind, and admits of no excuse but insanity. That we have a spiritual, as well as a sensuous and animal nature, that there is an immutable distinction between right and wrong, that there is a living, supreme, personal God,

that the Bible is his infallible word, that it pronounces man corrupt and lost, and reveals Christ as his divine Saviour, that it establishes the family, the Church, and the State, as the great organisms for the regulation of his social nature, while their necessity is confirmed by the experience, the instincts, and the reason of the race, all these and much more the like, are brought home to the mind with such a fulness and immediacy of evidence, that he who runs may read them. Throughout Christendom, belief in these truths is well nigh universal. Doubt of them is exceptional and abnormal. It is confined either to idiots and madmen, or to the foul dregs defecated at the bottom, and the frothy speculatists who bubble and glitter and break into nothing, above the surface of society. All these most sacred and fundamental truths, luminous with their own light, Mr. Brownson in turn rejected, and alone, or as confederate with others, set himself to root them out of the faith of his fellow-men. He who does this, does what he may to turn earth into a hell. Endless vacillation on such subjects is utterly irreconcilable with any hypothesis creditable to the head or heart. No protestation of following the light one has, or being loyal to his convictions, can redeem such a course from the just reproach of fickleness, weakness, inexcusable trifling with the most sacred interests, and (if one preach and print such vagaries) rushing unbidden to a work for which he had no gifts nor call.

2. In regard to matters more debateable than those we have just considered, the supreme love of truth will lead to the careful and thorough survey of whatever bears upon the subject, before any opinion is definitely formed, and above all, professed and advocated. One who has thus carefully and conscientiously formed his opinions, will indeed be open to new light. But he will be slow to believe that his original ground of belief was fallacious, and slow to give up his opinions till they are clearly disproved. He who readily and often changes his ground, thereby proclaims that he embraces his opinions without due heed and consideration. He heralds his own unfitness to be trusted as a leader or teacher. If no man can afford to be a Pope, no man can afford to embrace opinions so carelessly, that a good conscience requires him to "change

them every three months." "A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways." And "unstable as water, he shall not excel." Such vacillation disqualifies for guiding men, and is utterly incompatible with faith in and fealty to God and Truth. They who are ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth, have need, as Mr. Brownson at last found out, with his usual fanatic extravagance in his mode of applying it, "when for the time they ought to be teachers, that one teach them which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

But Mr. Brownson is aware that neither nor both of these theories, which he has offered to furnish some consistent solution of his ceaseless gyrations of opinion, even if they amounted to a tolerable justification, will apply to many of those sophistical abominations, which he so often, and with such fell assiduity, plied the public mind. It is a poor apology for most of them, that his reasoning would have been right, if his premises had been true. This indeed is far enough from always being the case. It is still worse, that they were used as mere "tools and instruments," in furtherance of the only objects in which he had faith—Progress and Humanity. A still further explanation he gives of some of the detestable opinions he promulgated at various times, is, not that he believed them, but that his aim was to set people to thinking.

Thus he says of what he preached and wrote while a Unitarian clergyman in Boston, during some years previous to his kneeling before a Papal bishop: "Whether I preached or wrote, I aimed simply at exciting thought, and directing it to the problems to be solved, not to satisfy the mind, or furnish it with dogmatic solutions of its difficulties. I was often rash in my statements, because I regarded myself not as putting forth doctrines that must be believed, but as throwing out provocations to thought and investigation." Pp. 179, 180.

"My Quarterly Review was devoted to religion, philosophy, politics, and general literature. It had no creed, was intended for free and independent discussion of all questions which I might regard as worth discussing; not, however, with a view of settling them, or putting an end to any dispute. I had purposes to accomplish, but not, and I did not profess to have, a body of truth I wished to bring out and make prevail. My aim was not

dogmatism, but inquiry; and my more immediate purpose was to excite thought, to quicken the mental activity of my countrymen, and to force them to think freely and independently on the gravest and most delicate subjects. . . . The Review should be judged by the purpose for which it was instituted, not merely by the speculations it contains. *Many of them no doubt are crude, rash, and thrown out with a certain recklessness which nothing, if I had aimed to dogmatize, could justify, but as designed simply to set other minds to thinking, may perhaps escape any great severity of censure.*" Pp. 195, 196.

It is undoubtedly wholesome for men to think on the greatest and most delicate subjects, if they think to any good purpose, and are led to just apprehensions and convictions about them. Mere mental activity, however, is not in itself a good. In order to be beneficial, it must be healthful, rational, truthful. Morbid intellectual action, which grows erratic in proportion to its intensity, is an unmitigated evil. Whose mind is more intensely active than the maniac's? What good comes of the mental activity displayed in Paine's *Age of Reason*? Mr. Brownson hardly ventures to offer this explanation of his audacious and impious speculations, as a justification. He presents it as a palliation. But if it relieves from the necessity of attributing them to pure malignity, it is only to put them to the account of mere wantonness. If a person takes it into his head to poison the wells in a community, it is a poor relief for him to assure us that he did it to set people to thinking. And what less than Heaven-daring mockery is it for one to offer, in extenuation of diffusing soul-poison through the community, that he did it to stimulate mental activity? Is it any excuse for promulging the most pestilent dogmas, and undermining all faith in God and his Son, his Word and his Church—all that is precious to man as an immortal being—that our design is to set him to thinking? Thinking what? Why, in this case, radicalism and anarchy, infidelity and atheism! If good intentions could ever justify the promulgation of heresies not believed to be true—which they never can—such an intention as this is hardly less wicked than the doctrines whose advocacy it is called in to palliate. And if Mr. Brownson thinks such a course ought to "escape any great severity of censure," we fear that his conversion to

Rome has made him more proficient in Jesuitical than Christian casuistry.

The only form in which we can conceive one justified in putting forth discussions designed simply to elicit inquiry, and awaken thought, is that in which the writer not only avows himself a mere inquirer or doubter, but also states the reasons, on either side, which keep his own judgment in equipoise, while he asks from others light which will turn the scales, and decide his mind one way or the other. This is the attitude of a seeker and learner; not of one who assumes, as Mr. Brownson did, to guide the thinking, and mould the views of his readers and hearers. For one who assumes this attitude, and advocates with his utmost ingenuity, sentiments on the most momentous matters, which he does not solemnly believe to be true, no defence can be invented consistent with moral and intellectual integrity. It is a poor solace to be asked by one who has scattered firebrands, arrows, and death, as he confesses, "recklessly," Have I not done it in sport? What is sport to him, is death to his fellow-men.

That, however, on which Mr. Brownson most relies for defence is the last heresy he has espoused, and to which he apparently is entitled to the credit of having adhered for some consecutive years. It is the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; and that in the absence or rejection of the Pope's authoritative guidance there is no infallible and authoritative standard of doctrine, no trustworthy criterion of truth and error, right and wrong. Hence all doctrines are equally true and false, or, at any rate, orthodox and heterodox, among those who repudiate or ignore this supreme guide in matters of faith and practice. Before bowing to this authority, therefore, he was perfectly consistent in allowing the "vile fever of his mind" to course through nearly every vagary of modern times. When he accepted this guidance he was no less consistent in renouncing them all by its authority. This, in fact, constitutes the staple of the book—its cardinal point, which is obtruded upon the reader in nearly every chapter. It is made to serve the two-fold purposes, primarily of a plea for Popery, and incidentally, of so far exculpating himself as to give him a decent title to be heard by upright and intelligent persons, in a plea for it or

any thing else.* The following are specimens of what appears throughout the volume, almost *ad aperturam libri*. In refer-

* Here is the creed which he says he published "half in mockery, but at bottom in sober earnest," just before leaving Universalism. P. 93.

"Article I. I believe that every individual in the human family should be honest.

"Art. II. I believe that every one should be kind and benevolent to all.

"Art. III. I believe that every one should use his best endeavours to procure food, clothing, and shelter for himself, and labour to enable all others to procure the same for themselves, to the full extent of his ability.

"Art. IV. I believe every one should cultivate his mental powers, that he may open to himself new sources of enjoyment, and also be enabled to aid his brethren in their attempts to improve the condition of the human race, and increase the sum of human happiness.

"Art. V. I believe that if all mankind act on these principles, they serve God all they can serve him; that he who has this faith, and conforms nearest to what it enjoins, is the most acceptable unto God."

This was published in 1829.

For a while afterwards he was editor of newspapers radical in politics, and atheistic in religion. After a year or two he resumed preaching "on his own hook," as he says. At this time he had "hardly the elements of natural religion." "The only God I recognized was the God in man, the divinity of humanity, one alike with God and with man, which I supposed to be the real meaning of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation." P. 148. Years later, as Unitarian preacher, he says: "The God I professed to worship was the God in man." He pleads this in excuse of his lofty estimate of himself, in assuming to be the "John the Baptist, the Precursor of the new Messiah." P. 172. "I regarded Jesus Christ as divine in the sense in which all men are divine. . . . As a social reformer, as one devoted to the progress and well-being of man in this world, I thought I might liken myself to him, and call myself by his name. I called myself a *Christian*, not because I took him for my master, not because I believed all he believed or taught, but because, like him, I was labouring to introduce a new order of things, and to promote the happiness of my kind." Pp. 149, 150. We fear that in all this he is but a type of a large class of those who now vaunt themselves as the most advanced Christian thinkers: and still further, in regarding, as he says he did, "the latest thought as the truest and best." P. 222. This is in part explained by the following circumstance. When a Unitarian preacher, he "learned French and a little German, and began the study of the rationalistic literatures of France and Germany, more particularly of France." P. 152. In regard to his attack on marriage, he says: "What was running in my head when I read it, I no longer remember. I did not at that time deny the indissolubility of the marriage contract. My language was construed to mean a denial of marriage, and the assertion of what is called the 'Free Love' system: but I certainly held no such system, if I ever had done so, after my connection with the Fanny Wright school ceased." Pp. 247, 248. Mr. Brownson must count largely on the simplicity of the public, if he supposes he will convince them that they need go from their Bibles to the Pope, to be kept from atheism and libertinism.

ence to his creed, quoted below, his language is: "Do you allege that my creed was unorthodox? What standard of orthodoxy had I as a Protestant? The Bible? The Bible as each one understands it for himself, or as it is interpreted by a divinely commissioned authority? The essence of Protestantism is, in denying all such authority, and in asserting the right of private interpretation. On Protestant principles orthodoxy is *my* doxy, heterodoxy is *your* doxy. For the Protestant, each man's private judgment is the only admissible standard of orthodoxy. Leave me then to follow what seems right in my own eyes, or else go back yourselves to Mother Church; prove to me that your private judgment is more worthy to be followed than mine, before you arraign me as heterodox, because I do not follow it. You differ from me as much as I do from you, and why is it heterodoxy for me to differ from you, any more than it is for you to differ from me?

"My creed, no doubt, was very short, but no Protestant had a right to snub me because it was not longer." Pp. 145, 146.

"She (Fanny Wright) followed out with logical consistency the principle of private judgment in faith and morals, and none who recognize that principle, and deny all infallible teaching, have any right to reproach her." P. 127.

By "all infallible teachings," he means, of course, teaching by living, divinely inspired, authoritative teachers, like the Pope.

"I rejected Presbyterianism because I had no good reason for holding it, and because it could not meet the want I felt of an authoritative teacher. It did not even claim to be infallible, conceded that it might err, and could not give any proof that it had been instituted by Christ and his Apostles, or that its founders acted under a divine commission. These were sufficient reasons for not continuing a Presbyterian, but not for embracing any other particular sect. Where then was I to go?" P. 30.

"All the so-called Protestant Churches were New-Lights, were of yesterday, founded by fallible men, without any warrant from God, without any authority but their private interpretation of Scripture. I cannot accept any one of them as having authority to teach or direct me." P. 28. "If they had

a right to break from her (the Roman Church) and set up their private understanding of Scripture, why have I not the right to break from them, and from the Presbyterian Church, follow my private understanding, and set up a church of my own?" P. 27. "It is God's word, you say, and God cannot lie. But how am I to know that it is God's word, or that there is any God at all, if my reason is totally depraved, and to be discarded as a false light?" P. 34.

Before discussing the main issue here presented, we will advert to his connection with Presbyterianism, to which he alludes in the foregoing extracts. His mind had been unsettled by Universalist and other sceptical influences during his boyhood. He was a stranger to all peace. He became convinced that trusting to his own reason, he should be doomed to endless and intolerable perplexity in regard to religion, which his later experience abundantly confirmed. He came in contact with Presbyterians just on the verge of opening manhood. "They told me to submit my reason to revelation. I will do so. I am incapable of directing myself. I must have a guide. I will hear the church. I will surrender, abnegate my own reason which hitherto has only led me astray, and make myself a member of the church, and do what she commands me." P. 16.

According to Mr. Brownson, he narrated this experience to the Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Ballston, Saratoga county, N. Y., and, at his request, on the same day to the session, and was baptized and received to communion the Sabbath following. He "did not ask whether the Presbyterian Church was the true church or not, for the church question had not yet been fairly raised in his mind, and as it did not differ essentially from the standing order, and claimed to be the true church and was counted respectable, he was satisfied. What it believed was of little consequence, since he had resolved to abnegate his own reason, and take the church for his guide." P. 17.

He further states, that on the Monday following his admission to the church, a meeting of its members was held, at which "we all pledged ourselves, not only to pray for the conversion of sinners, but to mark them wherever we met them, to avoid them, to have no intercourse with them that could be helped,

and never to speak to them, except to admonish them of their sins, or so far as it should be necessary on business. There was to be no interchange of social or neighbourly visits between us and them, and we were to have even business relations with them only when absolutely necessary. We were by our manner to show all not members of the Presbyterian Church, that we regarded them as the enemies of God, and therefore as our enemies; as persons hated by God, and therefore hated by us; and we were even in business relations always to give the preference to church members, and, as far as possible, without sacrificing our own interests, to treat those not members as outcasts from society, as pariahs, and thus by appeals to their business interests, their social feelings, and their desire to stand well in the community, to compel them to join the Presbyterian Church. The meeting was animated by a singular mixture of bigotry, uncharitableness, apparent zeal for God's glory, and a shrewd regard to the interests of this world.

"About the time I speak of, and for several years after, meetings of the sort I speak of, were common in the Presbyterian churches, and a movement was made, in 1827, to induce all the members throughout the Union, to pledge themselves to non-intercourse with the rest of the community, except for their conversion, and to refuse in the common business affairs of life to patronize any one not a member of the church. How far it succeeded I am not informed.

"I saw at once that I had made a mistake, that I had no sympathy with the Presbyterian spirit, and should need a long and severe training to *sour and elongate my visage* sufficiently to enjoy the full confidence of my brethren. Every day's experience proved it. In our covenant we had bound ourselves to watch over one another with fraternal affection. I was not long in discovering that this meant that we were each to be a spy upon the others, and to rebuke, admonish, or report them to the session. My whole life became constrained. I dared not trust myself, in the presence of a church member, to a single spontaneous emotion; *I dared not speak in my natural tone of voice, and if I smiled I expected to be reported*. The system of espionage in some European countries is bad enough, and it is no pleasant reflection that the man you are talking with may

be a *mouchard*, and report your words to the *Préfét de Police*; but that is nothing to what one must endure as a Presbyterian, unless he has enough of malignity to find an indemnification for being spied in spying others. We were allowed no liberty, and dared enjoy ourselves only by stealth. The most rigid Catholic ascetic never imagined a discipline a thousandth part as rigid as the discipline to which I was subjected. *The slightest deviation was a mortal sin, the slightest forgetfulness was enough to send me to hell.* I must not talk with sinners; I must take no pleasure in social intercourse with persons, however moral, amiable, well-bred or worthy, if not members of the church; I was forbidden to read books written by others than Presbyterians, and commanded never to inquire into my belief as a Presbyterian, or to reason on it, or about it."

He finally undertook to study for the ministry; but it would not do: "I had joined the church because I despaired of myself, and because despairing of reason, I had wished to submit to authority. If the Presbyterian Church had satisfied me that she had authority, was authorized by Almighty God to teach and direct me, I could have continued to submit; but while she exercised the most rigid authority over me, she disclaimed all authority to teach me, and remitted me to the Scriptures and private judgment. 'We do not ask you to take this as your creed,' said my pastor, on giving me a copy of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith; 'we do not give you this as a summary of the doctrines you must hold, but as an excellent summary of the doctrines which we believe the Scriptures to teach. What you are to believe is the Bible. You must take the Bible as your creed, and read it with a prayerful mind, begging the Holy Ghost to enable you to understand it aright.' But while the church refused to take the responsibility of telling me what doctrines I must believe, while she sent me to the Bible and private judgment, she yet claimed authority to condemn and excommunicate me as a heretic, if I departed from the standard of doctrine contained in her Confession. This I regarded as unfair treatment." Pp. 20-24.

He accordingly renounced Presbyterianism for Rationalism, and became a Universalist preacher. This was his first great change—from Supernaturalism to Rationalism—though, as he

says, "not so much a change as the commencement of his intellectual life;" for he was only twenty-one years old.

We have quoted at this length, because we wish to let Mr. Brownson plead his own defence of his original apostacy from truth and righteousness, which precipitated him down those abysmal depths of error, depicted in this volume, till in the lowest deep, fearing a lower still, he submitted the reason which had served him so poorly, to the guidance of the Roman Pontiff. The foregoing is a sample of the style in which he speaks of Presbyterianism and Calvinism, whenever he has a chance to caricature and vilify them. None hate like apostates. The only consistent feature of Mr. Brownson's intellectual life, that we can detect, is his envenomed hate of the "sect everywhere spoken against" by rationalizing and ritualizing religionists of every grade, and by every sort of sceptics, from Theodore Parker to Orestes A. Brownson; and all the more so, because they feel its power for truth and holiness—a power which even its bitterest foes, like David Hume, have been constrained to confess.

The only charitable explanation of Mr. Brownson's offering to the public the foregoing feeble echo of the vulgar slang of infidel and Romish *penny-a-liners*, as a veritable history of his experience of Presbyterianism, is, that he had probably forgotten, or retained only a hazy remembrance of what transpired before "the commencement of his intellectual life." Instead of recollecting what then occurred, the scoffs and jeers to which he had been accustomed, as editor of Infidel and Romish periodicals, had probably become the only garb in which it was possible for him to see Presbyterianism, whether viewed theoretically or historically. It is indeed barely possible, that he fell in with some company of fanatics, for the time calling themselves Presbyterians, whose crudities and ultraisms may have gone far enough to suggest such calumnious fabrications. Central and Western New York have at times abounded in abnormal misgrowths, the hybrid product of plans of union between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, especially when the fusion took its character from the white-heat fanaticism of the Littlejohns, Finneys, and Burchards, who for a time there bore disastrous sway. Mr. Brownson's experience,

however, belongs to an earlier period. But wherever or whenever it occurred, if it approached the portrait Mr. Brownson has given of it, it was a thousand-fold more exceptional than the class of Romanists, whose children are so trained, according to Mr. Brownson, as "to become recruits to our vicious population, our rowdies, and our criminals." P. 421. This every one knows, who knows anything about the great body of the Presbyterian people of the United States. Who does not know that the espionage, the moroseness, the austerity, the exclusiveness as to society, business, and reading, pretended by Mr. Brownson, are a pure fiction, and, in the most extreme case supposable, must have been at least a gross exaggeration? Does Mr. Brownson expect to influence intelligent and candid minds, by insinuating that Presbyterians report a smile to their ecclesiastical authorities, or regard the least slip as a "mortal sin"? And is it not a little amusing for those who forbid the reading of any non-papal books, even the word of God itself, to the common people, to insinuate it as matter of complaint, that Presbyterians forbid, what every one knows they do not, the reading of other than Presbyterian books, for monks and their confederates to charge us with being greater ascetics than themselves, or with being ascetics at all? Or do the abettors of cowls, and cassocks, and inquisitorial dungeons, think to add spice to their calumnies, by talking of "sour and elongated visages," hurling, with Mr. Ellis and their Unitarian collaborators, the dead echo of Mr. Ward Beecher's "vinegar-faced evangelicals"?

This weak tirade, put in the form of a narrative of personal experience, for the obvious purpose of enlisting the sympathies of looser sects and free-thinking cliques, by catering to their prejudices, and of creating the impression that Romanism, in its more odious features, is outdone by Presbyterianism, will deceive no one. It will hurt only the author, in its rebound upon his character for trustworthy narration. It is not uncommon for men of mischief to destroy themselves by overdoing in their efforts to destroy others. It is quite clear that Mr. Brownson has not got over the infirmity which he confesses he formerly had, a propensity to crude and rash opinions recklessly expressed.

There are things of a different sort in this account of his Presbyterian experience, which furnish internal evidence that he was drawing more upon his imagination than his memory. Who believes that any Presbyterian session would admit a person to the communion on the bare statement, that he had lost confidence in the sufficiency of reason, and therefore wanted an infallible guide? This is the sum of what Mr. Brownson assures us he announced to the pastor and session of the Ballston church. It is hardly to be believed that any Presbyterian session opened the door of communion to any one who did not with apparent intelligence and sincerity profess faith in and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, of which Mr. Brownson soon gave deplorable evidence, whatever his professions, that he was destitute.

He further tells us that his pastor agreed with him that the Article in the Confession, on fore-ordination, was harsh; and informed him that he had moved in the General Assembly to have it modified, in which he failed by only two or three votes. The possibility of any such vote in the General Assembly in favour of any material modification of that article in any stage of its history, seems to us extremely questionable. The New-school innovators in their palmiest days never attempted this, however any of them may have promulged speculative dogmas subversive of it.

Mr. Brownson's main object, however, is to make out that Presbyterianism imposes a worse bondage than Romanism, not only in relation to life and manners, but in regard to reason and faith. He claims that it has all the disadvantages without any of the advantages of the Romish system. It does not claim infallibility, or that its tenets should be believed merely upon its own authority. It asserts the infallibility of God speaking in his word: and that the evidence for all articles of faith is found in that word: that they are to be believed upon God's authority, manifested in his word, and not on the authority of any uninspired church, prelate, or pontiff: therefore that true faith receives them not because they are found in the Confession, but because, though stated in the Confession and proved therein from the word of God, they are first affirmed in the Scriptures. Therefore we receive them not

upon the testimony of man, but of God, not as the word of man, but as the word of God. And without assuming to be infallible, we have that confidence that these are the doctrines of God, that we are ready to stake our eternity upon them; and to take the responsibility of refusing to admit to communion, or call by the Christian name, those who deny the most essential of them. In regard to these—all which have immediately to do with our enjoyment of the favour of God—we have the sure word of prophecy; sure not only in itself, but in our apprehension and belief of it. The promise is sure to all the seed. We know in whom we have believed, and that he is able to keep that which we commit unto him. We know the things that are freely given us of God. We know and are persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We know too that he that believeth not this gospel shall be damned; that if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, he is anathema maranatha; that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. We know that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: that if any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature: and that if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. We know this and much more, even all the integral elements of our religion, not because the Pope says so, but because, thus saith the Lord in his word. Yet, while we know this, we are not inspired messengers of new truth not revealed in God's written word. We know it through eyes cleared of the film of sinful prejudice and blindness, and beholding it set forth in the sure testimonies of God. Nor do we assume to be infallible expositors of every part of the word of God, relative to minor and less essential matters. Much less do we assume the divine prerogative of lording it over men's faith, or of being invested with authority to command or enforce belief of any doctrines, by any pains and penalties beyond disowning as Christians those who disown the essential truths, or renounce the practice which constitutes Christianity. We call no man master, and are no man's masters. But we do claim to know and set forth what God himself has declared essential to salvation, not to believe and obey which ensures perdition. As the word of God has a radiance of divinity

and in-evidence of inspiration, which binds all to whom it comes, to believe it on pain of eternal damnation, so we hesitate not to proclaim its cardinal requirements, as requirements of God, indubitably declared in his word, and necessary to be believed in order to salvation. Yet we teach that these things are to be believed, not upon our authority, or because we say them, but upon the authority of God, and because he says them; and therefore that the believer must ground his faith, not upon any human creed or articles of man's composing, but upon the word of God; consequently that he must look to the Bible as his ultimate creed, which gives to any human creed, or teaching, whatever authority it possesses; in short, he must found his faith not on any mere human word, but on God's word, and search the Scriptures whether these things be so, that his faith may stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. How then is occasion given for Mr. Brownson's great objection to the Protestant system? Does it not offer infallible authority for the faith it propounds, even the undisputed word of God, which the Roman Church concedes is such, and boasts of having kept entire and intact? And if it calls upon men to behold in this word the testimony of God to the truth it propounds, instead of taking it upon any mere human testimony, is this any hardship? If we grant the infallibility of the Pope, is it any easier to examine his rescripts, bulls, and mandates, than the declarations of God as recorded by the holy prophets, evangelists, and apostles? Must we employ our reason in judging of the meaning of the Scriptures? And must it not also be employed in judging of the meaning of a Papal dogma? Must we abide in one case what our reason discerns to be set forth, and not in the other? Or does the Pope address his decrees to us as irrational beings? What but sheer nonsense or ignorance then is it, for Mr. Brownson to talk, as he over and over again does, of abnegating his own reason in becoming a Presbyterian, while he acted with the highest rationality in becoming a Romanist? In the former case he was called to employ his reason directly in discerning the mind of God as declared in his word. In the latter, he resigned that function of reason to the Pope, but still was under the necessity of using it in discerning the import of

his pronunciamientos. In the one case he yields his reason to what Protestants and Romanists alike concede to be the word of God; in the other, to a person whose inspiration all Protestants deny, and the tokens of which are to those of the inspiration of the Bible, less than the brightness of the glow-worm to that of the sun.

. This matter of Papal infallibility is almost the only issue between Protestants and Romanists discussed in the book. And this is hardly so much discussed, as disposed of by flings at the Protestant doctrine, chief among which are the passages already quoted, in which he makes all the monstrous heresies of his life a logical sequence from it. He would plainly have his readers understand, that these are justifiable, so far as the Protestant denial of Papal infallibility is justifiable. Fanny Wright's libertinism is a clear logical sequence, he assures us, from the right of private judgment! Now in regard to all this, the first question is, what is the private judgment asserted by Protestants? It is simply this. 1. Each one must judge for himself that the Bible is the word of God, not of man, upon the evidence it offers to him of being such, not merely upon the testimony of some other man. 2. He must also judge for himself that it teaches certain truths, and enjoins certain duties, not merely because some other man says so, but because he perceives that God utters these things in his own oracles. He may be much assisted by ministers and others, in bringing to his attention the evidences of the inspiration of the Bible, and of its asserting what it does assert rather than its contradictory. But still faith in the Bible as the word of God, and in Christian truth as taught in that word, is nothing else than a *judgment* or belief of the mind, that these things are so, upon the evidence presented, just as belief that the sun is luminous, or a stone is extended, is a judgment of the mind that these things are so, upon the evidence presented.

Now on the supposition that the Pope is inspired, must there not be private judgment to an equal extent? Must there not be a personal judgment upon evidence that he is inspired, and also upon the doctrines he teaches, in view of the evidence thereof? This cannot be gainsaid.

But it may be said, that although up to this point there may

be private judgment among Papists, it can go no further. Beyond this the voice of the church speaking through the Pope, silences all private judgment, ends all controversies, and exterminates all sects. Recusants cannot form sects within, they become excommunicates without the pale of the church. But it does not prevent Jesuit and Jansenist, cis-montane and ultra-montane parties, divided by some of the chief issues between Protestant bodies, and by other things as well. However this may be, while Protestants hold that each one must judge for himself that God teaches the fundamentals of the Christian faith in his word, they do not allow, any of them, that what the church holds *semper, ubique*, can be rejected by any man without moral fault, or without putting him in danger of the judgment. While they assume no lordship over any man's conscience, but leave each to his own responsibility before God, they hesitate not to declare what God has declared; to assert that to be necessary which God has declared necessary to salvation, and which his people have embraced as such in all ages. If any one in the exercise of his private judgment repudiates these capital articles, we take the responsibility of disowning him as a Christian, and excluding him from our communion. And if any one in the exercise of his private judgment, rejects the authority and decrees of the Pope, what more can he do than eject him from the privileges of the church, and declare him an enemy of the cross of Christ? Or will Mr. Brownson plead it as a merit of Romanism before the American public, that it enforces its dogmas by the sword, the stake, the thumb-screw and the dungeon? He dare not do it, if he would—we hope he would not, if he dared.

Moreover, it is doubtful, if, at this moment, the diversities among the evangelical bodies as to what they insist upon are the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and practice, we mean the articles of our common salvation, *stantis vel cadentis ecclesia*, as taught in the Bible—are greater than they are among Romanists, as to what upon the same points is taught by the Pope. It is certain that the old Jansenist and Jesuit controversy embraces the most materials of these questions, to say nothing more.

But a deeper question emerges here. What is the church?

And what are the notes or criteria by which it is known? These are hinge-questions, upon which Mr. Brownson observes a prudent reticency, unless he can incidentally touch some shallow prejudice. We agree that, while every man must judge for himself of every doctrine, whether it be of God, yet there is one faith of God's elect, and the mind of every real Christian is infallibly guided into that faith, as to the substance of it, by the Spirit of God. He has an unction from the Holy One whereby he knoweth all things, i. e. he is enabled to see and receive all essential "things pertaining to life and godliness" set forth in the word of God. If he deviates radically from this faith of the true church, the people of God, his judgment is neither more nor less his own private or personal judgment, than if he adopts it. But it is evidence that he is not guided by the Spirit of God. It betrays a wrong moral state. We do not hesitate to take the responsibility, as we must give account to God, of denouncing his heresy as anti-Christian, pernicious and fatal, and of excluding him from church privileges accordingly. Does Mr. Brownson deem civil and physical pains and penalties desirable also? If so, let him say so. The church, whose faith we recognize, is the congregation of faithful men of every age and nation who profess and practise the true religion. To renounce the faith of this church, we indeed denounce as fatal. If it be asked, how *this* church is known, we answer by those scriptural tests, doctrine and fruits. We are commanded not to receive those who come and bring not this doctrine; to try by a doctrinal test the spirits whether they be of God; and those are commended who try them which say they are apostles and are not, and find them liars. And if any have the clothing of sheep in this respect, but are really wolves, we are required to know them by their fruits. For in vain is it to cry Lord, Lord, and not do the things which he saith. If it be asked again, how we know what is the true doctrine, and practice which distinguishes the true people of God; we answer again from the word of God. By this we know that we know Christ, because we keep his commandments. He that heareth and doeth these hath builded on a rock. All else is builded on the sand. Says John, "he

that is of God heareth us. He that is not of God heareth not us." His people are those who have his word dwelling in them.

Such are the infallible criteria of that church, which cannot err in things essential to salvation. For they are the church of the redeemed and sanctified in Christ Jesus. And now, what better marks can Mr. Brownson furnish us of an infallible church, or Pontiff? He has not declared. He is either ignorant of, or ignores the hinge-questions—the difficulties of his system. This is, at least, remarkable. So far as the main object of his book is concerned—vindicating the claims of Popery, and his own final adhesion to it, this subject of an infallible guide, in the person of the Pope, is the only one seriously handled. All else is subordinate and ancillary to this, the Alpha and Omega of the volume. He charges Episcopalians—regarded by him as the least anti-Romish of Protestants—with deriving their church from the doctrine, and not their doctrine from the church:* i. e. of attempting to sustain their church by showing the conformity of its doctrine and order to Scripture, instead of proving the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures by the testimony of the church. This he conceives to be the radical vice of Protestantism. Now if the only evidence binding on the conscience, of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures, be the testimony of the church through the voice of the Pope, the question is, how do we know what is the church, the true church, whose earthly head is the inspired vicegerent and apostle of God? What are the marks shown by the church and Pope of Rome which are more evident proofs of divinity than those offered by the Holy Scriptures?

Mr. Brownson tells us how he was led to the doctrine of Papal infallibility. But he hardly pretends that one in a thousand is led to Popery by this route. He only claims that it may be of use to modern Pantheistic speculatists and sceptics. He does not pretend that it has any recognized place in Romish theology. He informs us that the archbishop of Boston hesitated some time before he could receive one whose faith was founded on such a basis, and did not open the door of the church to him, until he placed himself more definitely upon Romish ground.

Much of what he says is in the nature of a plea addressed to his fellow Papists to suffer the use of his new method which brought him to the feet of the Boston prelate, as likely to be effective with persons imbued with the sceptical philosophy of our times. It is in brief as follows.

Tiring of the various forms of Socialism and Agrarianism, of Owen, Wright, Constant, Godwin, the St. Simonians, &c., as instruments of human progress, he fell in with Cousin's writings. Charmed with his Eclecticism in Philosophy, he at once caught the idea that it might be applied with equal success to the problems of Religion and Sociology. The principle of this Eclecticism is, that all systems are true in what they assert, false only in what they deny. He was not long, however, in discovering the pantheistic contradiction in Cousin's scheme, which, by making reason impersonal, and as it appears in individual man, a mere manifestation of the universal impersonal reason, confounds man and God. As it presents to man no object above himself, it furnishes no excitant, or support of human progress. So Mr. Brownson very justly reasoned. The works of Pierre Leroux, a French philosopher and politician next fell in his way. His *Refutation de l'Eclecticisme* had a "marvellous effect in revolutionizing his philosophical views, or rather of emancipating him from his subjection to the Eclectic school of Cousin and Jouffroy." His principle was, that as thought is the synthesis of two factors, the subject and the object, and both are given simultaneously in the same act of thought, one is just as certain as the other. Every act of intelligence supposes not only an intelligent subject, but an intelligible object. His just deduction from this obvious axiom, the denial of which has made so many of our modern philosophers who say they are wise, fools, was, that man, can only advance himself by communion with objects or persons exterior and superior to himself. Thus far he moves with a strong gait. But now he trips, as continental philosophers are so prone to do. "He (man) communes with nature through property, with his fellow-men through family and the state, with God through humanity." Here he still cleaves to the dust. Seeming to erect man above himself, to God, he yet gives him no higher object than his humanity to commune with. How shall this lift him above

humanity to God? is the question which Mr. Brownson very soon and justly raised. He soon worked up a theory of Providential men, whom God receives into communion with himself. These are uplifted above their fellows. The race by commencing with these, communes directly with their superior, and, through this medium, indirectly with God, and so has the means of advancement.* Elaborating this theory still further, he reaches the idea of some person raised to a super-eminent participation of God, so that he thus acquires a divine-human life, and becomes a source thereof to others who communicate with him, and through them to as many indefinitely of every age and nation, as communicate with them, or with others deriving this theanthropic life from them. He was from this time onward, likewise clearing himself of that subjectivism which is the poison-root of modern philosophic aberration, from Kant downwards—which bewildered even Leroux—that the qualities of the object are determined by the thought of the subject or mind thinking; that, aside from this thought, they exist as mere potentialities; mind and matter, God and nature are mere virtualities, except as our thought gives them formal and concrete existence; whereas the truth is, that the object determines the thought of the subject; it is because a stone is hard, the sun luminous, God is holy, that we discern them to be so. “A thing does not exist (says Mr. Brownson) because we think it, but we think it because it is intelligibly—actively—present to our intelligence, or intellectual faculty.”

“Suppose the man Christ Jesus, for man he was according to the most orthodox teaching, was taken up, miraculously, if you will, into a supernatural communion with God, so that God, as in the case of every providential man, became his object in a supernatural sense; then, since life partakes alike of object and subject, and is the union or identification of the two, his life must be strictly a divine-human life, and he in the life he lives truly God-man, as the Christian world has always believed. Is not here the Incarnation, the actualization of the divine in the human? And as it is evidently a miraculous com-

* It will be no news to those who were readers of his Review, that “he placed, as yet, our Lord in the category of great men, along with Abraham, Moses, Zoroaster, Confucius, Socrates, Plato,” &c. P. 320.

munion of the human with the divine, is not this the Miraculous Conception and birth of our Lord?

“As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. The Son by his supernatural or miraculous communion with the Father, lives a divine-human life; so the Apostles and Disciples, by communion with the Son, lived the same life, and through him became one in life with the Father and with one another, and were elevated above their natural life, and set forward in the career of progress. Here, I said, is the Christian doctrine of Holy Communion, or Eucharistia.” Pp. 330, 331.

This is so exactly the common method of Transcendental Ritualism, whether it leads to Mercersburg, Oxford, or Rome, that it is hardly to be supposed that the author was indebted exclusively to his own invention for every part of it, not derived from Leroux. It has long been common property to several classes of ritualists. Mr. Brownson says, “it brought me to the recognition of those great principles, which, taken in connection with the unquestioned historical facts in the case, required me either to renounce my reason, or go further and accept the church and her doctrines, in her own sense, not merely in the sense in which I had asserted them in my philosophy. But this I was not at once prepared to do; and for the first time in my life I refused to follow out my principles, so long as I held them, and to accept their last consequences.” P. 355. The causes of this reluctance to follow his convictions were natural; such is the low estimate he had always put upon the Romish church and hierarchy, the severing of social ties, the condemnation of Protestants, whom he had been wont to regard as comprising the great body of intelligent, moral and religious people. He soon, however, came to see that the ultimate end of Christianity is not the improvement of man's worldly estate, but his deliverance from eternal death, and preparation for celestial bliss and glory. Worldly amelioration results incidentally from it, but is not its main object. His own salvation was at stake. All speculating and scheming on the subject soon gave way to urgent anxiety for his own salvation. His reasonings took this earnest practical form. “There needs no church or priest to tell me that I am not living that

life, (the life of Christ,) and that if I die as I am, I shall assuredly go to hell. Now as I have no wish to go to hell, something must be done, and done without delay. . . . There is then but one rational course for me to take, that of going to the church, *and begging her to take charge of me, and do with me, what she judges proper*. As the Roman Catholic church is clearly the church of history, the only church that can have the slightest historical claim to be regarded as the body of Christ, it is to her I must go, and her teachings, as given through her pastors, that I must accept as authoritative for natural reason. It was, no doubt, unpleasant to take such a step, but to be eternally damned would, after all, be a great deal unpleasant." Pp. 371, 372.

He accordingly announced his wish to Bishop Fenwick of Boston, who committed him to his coadjutor and successor, Bishop Fitzpatrick, for counsel and instruction. The latter received him with civility, but with distrust, in view of his past career. It was soon apparent that there was some impediment to perfect frankness in their mutual intercourse. The Bishop had no confidence in his divine-human-life theory, and did not regard it as a solid foundation for faith. Yet Mr. Brownson was unwilling to give it up, first, because he flattered himself that he had discovered a valuable addition to the resources of Romish polemics, and next, because, if he rejected or waived it, he had no ground for regarding the church as authoritative for natural reason, or for recognizing any authority in the Bishop himself to teach him. He had made up his mind to be a Catholic, and yet was afraid to state his reasons for becoming one, lest the Bishop should deprive him of it, and "send him back into the world utterly naked and desolate!" He was however at length relieved from this painful dilemma, by finding another method by which, even waiving the one he had thus far followed, he could "arrive at the authority of the church, and prove, even in a clearer and more direct manner, her divine commission to teach all men and nations in all things pertaining to eternal salvation." "So in point of fact, says he, I was not received into the church, on the strength of the philosophical doctrine I had embraced, but on the strength of another and *perhaps* a more convincing process. *It is not*

necessary to develope this course here, for it is the ordinary process adopted by Catholic theologians, and may be found drawn out at length in almost every modern course of theology." Pp. 376, 377.

All the light we can find here then, as to the marks of the infallible church and pontiff, are such as the Romanists themselves repudiate in common with Protestants, such as never would have availed to gain Mr. Brownson himself access to her communion; a mere philosophical speculation which never did and never can lead one in ten thousand a step towards any church, Latin, Greek, Armenian, or Protestant. He still commends his pet theory to the attention of Romish controversialists, as worth more than they suppose, in combating the scepticism of the age; and he is now so far imbued with it, as to hold that "even if man had not sinned, there would still have been sufficient reason for the Incarnation, to raise human nature to union with God, *to make it the nature of God*, and to enable us through its elevation, to enjoy endless beatitude in heaven." P. 395.

We think the Romish prelates show their wisdom in discarding or ignoring this theanthropic theory. Perhaps Mr. Brownson, as he writes more especially for the sceptical speculatists of the age, and in self-explanation, has done the best thing he could in advancing it. He has certainly shown his polemical tact in keeping back the real argument on which Papists rely in support of Papal infallibility and authority. He well argues with his Papal friends, that the objections to this doctrine in the "non-catholic" mind, lie beyond the reach of their ordinary methods. Their argument in this behalf is transparently vicious. They prove the Scriptures to be from God by the testimony of the church. But how do they prove theirs to be the true infallible and authoritative church? By the Scriptures, so far as they prove it at all. Whence did Mr. Brownson, for example, obtain proof, after waiving his divine-human theory, that the church is "commissioned to teach all men and nations?" Whence but from the commission given by our Lord, and recorded in the gospels? Here is the vicious circle so often exposed by the Reformed theologians to the discomfiture of their adversaries. These prove the Scriptures by the

church, and the church by the Scriptures; i. e. they prove their premise by the conclusion they derive from it. There is no escape from this, unless they make the word of God the first and chief source of authority in divine things, and from that derive the doctrines, functions, prerogatives, and criteria, of the church. But this brings in upon them the dreaded necessity of private judgment as to what the Scriptures teach, before we reach the infallibility and authority of the church. Still, if they assert, as they do, that the church in the person of the Pontiff, is the prime repository of infallible knowledge and authority, by which the inspiration of the Scriptures is proved; then, in answer to the question, how do we know which is the true church, and that it has these prerogatives? they must refer us to the Scriptures. This, on their own showing, is the Book of God, and a true church must conform to the criteria there given. Nor is there any other possible authority to which they can refer us, for the notes of the church, or for evidence that they have any better claim to be regarded as such, than the Mormons. Try as they will, they cannot break this vicious circle, and they must fail, as was most fully shown in the numberless futile though ingenious devices to parry the resistless arguments of the Reformers *de circulo Pontificio*. The most plausible of these answers that we have noticed, is that of Cardinal Richelieu. He says that faith in the church does not necessarily depend on the Scriptures, because the church was known to the faithful before the first books of the Old Testament were written, and to the primitive Christians before the New Testament was written. There are certain marks by which natural reason may recognize it, without scriptural testimony, such as antiquity, perpetuity, visibility. From these the church may be known, and being so known, may be our authority for believing the Scriptures. Thus he contends the vicious circle is avoided.*

* "Ecclesiae cognitio non pendet necessario a Scriptura, potest enim Ecclesia cognosci sine Scriptura, quod patet ex eo quod a fidelibus agnita sit a creatione usque ad Mosem qui primus verbum Dei scriptis consignavit, et a primis Christianis antequam Apostoli eorumque discipuli Evangelium et libros N. T. conscripsissent, ita cum cognitio Ecclesiae non pendeat necessario a scriptura, quamvis infallibiliter Scriptura cognosci non posset nisi ex Ecclesia, non incurritur in circulum vitiosum qui idem per seipsum probat." Quoted by Turretin, in his *Disputatio Theologica de Circulo Pontificio*.

But the obvious fallacy here is, that not every thing ancient, perpetual, visible, is the church: and if we should grant that these are criteria thereof, how do and whence do we know them to be so? How do we know indeed, that there is a church at all, and what are its marks and properties, except from the word of God? That word may be delivered by oral messengers, as to the patriarchs, and as regards the New Testament, to the primitive Christians, or communicated in written books, as to us; but it is none the less the word of God that gives proof of the church, and indicates its distinctive and essential qualities. Nor can there be any genuine faith which is not founded immediately on the word of God. For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Moreover the church is "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone." Besides, the vital characteristics of the church are holiness, truth, vital union and obedience to Christ in its members. Without these, mere antiquity, perpetuity, visibility, are nothing. Now all these attributes, the former and the latter combined, characterize not any one visible organization, as such, in all its parts and members; they are found only in the communion of saints of all generations, the true Israel, not merely those who are of Israel. This is the real body of Christ, whose life is in all its members, destined to be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. By no possibility, whatever church-theory we may hold, can the church be proved or known but by the Scriptures. The Cardinal has not succeeded in breaking the vicious Pontifical circle. None of their so-called "motives to credibility" or belief in the church, are of any weight, except such as are derived from that infallible standard, which suffices to make the man of God "perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." As the Scripture therefore is necessary to prove the church, it cannot depend on the testimony of the church for proof of its own divinity: except so far as the fruits of righteousness it produces, serve for an indirect *a posteriori* confirmation. To cut this matter short; which emits clearest and most indisputable radiance of divinity, the most conclusive evidence thereof to every mind in contact with it, the Holy Scriptures, or the

Romish church and hierarchy? Mr. Brownson's reticence here is among the shrewdest things in his book.

Passing, however, this grand question, all the material points of which he so coolly shies, and conceding his doctrine of Papal infallibility, we conceive that his pretence that the right of private judgment excuses or palliates the long series of foul and impious theories which he broached, is altogether discreditable to him—scarcely less so than these heresies themselves. Really, is it not mocking the good sense of serious and intelligent readers, to pretend that the want of an infallible interpreter of the Scriptures justifies sensism, materialism, agrarianism, libertinism, atheism? Is an educated man in this Christian land morally justified in denying that two and two make four, that we have immaterial souls, that there is a God, that we are accountable to him, that truth, justice, kindness, chastity, are obligatory, that civil society, marriage, the rights of property, are salutary institutions, because no Pope tells him so? Papists will hardly say this. Mr. Brownson counts largely on the credulity or stolidity of his readers, if he supposes that he harms Protestantism as much as himself by such allegations.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that in renouncing the tenets, he speaks kindly of the character, purpose, and spirit, of nearly all the leaders, projectors, and promoters of the various infidel, agrarian, and other schemes, with which he was successively identified—always excepting Presbyterians, Calvinists, and Evangelicals. These he rarely fails, first to misrepresent, and then to vilify. This is due in part to his rash and reckless habit of making his opinions and statements obey the impulse of his feelings, and in part to his complete ignorance of the subject. In his alliance with Owen, Wright, Ballou, *et id genus omne*, he was familiar with the leaders and the great works which displayed the character of the persons and parties implicated. And he has the double motive to soften their enormities, of mitigating the public condemnation of his complicity with them, and of rendering Calvinism odious by unfavourable contrast with things confessedly hateful. But it does not appear that he has ever been acquainted with any recognized leaders or standard theologians of Calvinistic or other evangelical churches, or that since the “beginning of his

intellectual life," he has known anything whatever about them. He repeatedly speaks of Calvinism, and indeed, all Protestants, as denying, in opposition to Romanism, that gracious habits are infused into the soul.* He says that Calvinism, indeed all evangelicalism, had taught him that nature and grace, reason and revelation, could be held only "as mutually repugnant to each other."† "Christian marriage proceeds on the assumption that man, *with the grace of God*, is free to love and can love, and faithfully perform, if he chooses, all that is implied in the marriage contract. But Calvinism and infidelity alike denying free-will in fact, even when they do not in name, are obliged to reject marriage in the Christian sense, and to be consistent must assert what is called Free Love." P. 131. This amounts to saying that, according to the Romish system, men can love what they ought to love, by the aid of divine grace, that according to Calvinism they cannot so love, with such assistance, and that hence Calvinism leads, like infidelity, to Free Love. Until we can prove that grace cannot do for a Calvinist what it can for a Papist, what decent pretext has he for uttering a calumny which all history contradicts? But why should we waste our time in tedious exposure of one so ready to "speak evil of the things he understands not?"

His boasting that he enjoys greater mental freedom under the Papal yoke than ever before, while he so long luxuriated in the utmost licentiousness of thinking, is not so absurd as it might appear. Despotism is often more comfortable than lawlessness, and he seems utterly incapable of conceiving, as respects opinion, any medium between the two. This fallacy runs through and vitiates the entire work.

Not the least amusing part of the volume is the closing chapter, in which he attempts to explain and apologize for the tyranny, degradation, and abasement, which have turned nearly all Papal countries, and especially the temporal dominions of the Pope, into the region and shadow of death; which render the body of Papists even in free Protestant countries, an isolated, degraded, and almost servile caste, and must ever furnish Protestants an irrefragable argument against Popery. The

* See *inter alia*, p. 293.

† P. 295.

tree is known by its fruit. Whoever wishes to see an ingenious, yet, from the difficulties of the case, desperate piece of special pleading, may consult the chapter in question. Whether the hierarchy will accept his apologies for their alliance with despots in suppression of civil and religious liberty, remains to be seen. But he is resolved to defend them, as he was to find reasons for entering the church, when he feared Bishop Fitzpatrick would deprive him of the only one he had. In these as in other cases, where there is a will there is a way, *Stat pro ratione voluntas*.

We take pleasure in adding that there are passages of great power and truthfulness in the volume, which we should be glad to quote, if we had room. In rising from sensism, materialism, and atheism to Romanism with all its errors, there is of necessity a process of sloughing off many heresies, and emerging into the light of many precious truths. His reasonings on some of these points, are luminous, compact, and forcible. The argument by which he proves that Universalism logically ends in obliterating all "objective distinction between virtue and vice;" his analysis of the pantheism of Cousin, and refutation of the psychology and philosophy of all those forms of modern transcendental idealism, which destroy objective truth and being; his account of Dr. Channing and the Boston Unitarians; his portraiture of *novi homines* suddenly become rich, and of the debasing effect of their coarse and flashy extravagance on themselves, their families and society, altogether with many other touches of his strong and graphic pen upon various persons and things, give an incidental interest to the book, which, as to its main object—the exposition and vindication of himself and his faith—is a failure, not for lack of ability in the author, but from the stubborn character of his subject. He has proved indeed, that we need an infallible guide. But he has not proved that guide to be the Roman Pontiff, in place of the Word of God.

ART. VI.—*Histoire D'Espagne depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'à la mort de Ferdinand VII. Par M. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, Professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Paris, Membre correspondant de l'Académie de Madrid. Nouvelle Edition revue et corrigée. Tome septième Paris. Furne & C^{ie}. 1856.*

IN this volume M. St. Hilaire has reached the crowning interest of his theme. Taking up the narrative at the year 1521, he conducts it through all the more stirring events that intervened until 1552, during which period he finds it expanding into almost a history of Europe, together with the romantic adventures of those who conquered Mexico and Peru. At the opening of the volume, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella is found firmly seated on the throne of Spain as Charles I., and on that of the German empire as Charles V., and at its close the career of that man of remarkable fortune is drawing near its no less remarkable goal. It is the period of the Reformation, commencing with the Diet of Worms, and ending with the Peace of Passau and the victory of Protestantism.

The opinions entertained by the author are decidedly Protestant, moderate and statesmanlike. He has won for himself a position among the first historical writers of the age; his manner of handling a theme of great breadth and difficulty is that of a master, and speaks a mind richly furnished with historical lore, of admirable facility in detecting historical cause and effect, and refined and moderated by a pervading reverence for gospel faith. Without any of the theatrical airs of Michelet, Lamartine, or Thiers, he wields a rich and masculine style, an eminently graphic power of narrative, and in his grouping of events is just, clear and effective.

A good translation of the whole work could scarcely fail to be received with favour by an English public, but especially would the present volume arrest attention from the ability with which it is written, as well as from the subject of which it treats.

Though a romantic attraction pertains more or less to the whole history of Spain, and there are periods of it when the

national character appears in a nobler light, never did that country wield an influence so extensive and commanding, as during the first half of the sixteenth century. United, for the first time, under one crown, her energies were not yet relaxed by internal security, while providential circumstances conferred upon her monarch a breadth of dominion previously unparalleled in the history of Europe. By his mother, heir of the crown of Spain and Naples; by his father, of the Netherlands and estates of the house of Austria; and by election, emperor of Germany, this Spanish king saw his dominions enlarged by discovery and conquest in the East and West Indies, and on the continents of North and South America to boundaries undefined by the geography of the time.

A remarkable combination of circumstances, apparently fortuitous, had effected this result within less than the ordinary life of one man. When the king of Spain was elected emperor of Germany, only six-and-twenty years had elapsed since the discovery of America and the annexation of Granada, and only sixteen since the conquest of Naples. Castile and Aragon, though united under Ferdinand and Isabella, had become one kingdom only in the accession of Charles, three years before, and the addition of the Netherlands, though nominal somewhat earlier, became actual only in the same event. Indeed, much of that greatness is to be ascribed not to Spain, but to her monarch, and less to his talents than to the singular conjunction of hereditary rights in him. It might with as much propriety be called the full tide of fortune to the house of Austria. For it was a grandson of the emperor Maximilian who was at the head of it; another grandson, after receiving Austria from his brother, added thereto by marriage the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, while one granddaughter became queen of France, another queen and afterwards regent of Portugal, and all of them used their efforts harmoniously to sustain and enlarge the power of their family. Yet it was Spain, not Austria which formed the basis of the structure, and the character of the influence thereby exerted was sovereignly Spanish. The highest honours of those eminent personages were due to their descent from the monarchs who first united Spain.

Agcs of internal danger, activity, and heroism had prepared

the people of Spain for such a position. Overpowered by a Mohammedan invasion, when that fanaticism was yet in the fury of its youth, and driven from all but a corner of their country, they had maintained a war of nearly eight hundred years for its recovery. And the age by whom that consummation was effected had not yet passed away. That warfare had been prolonged, not less by dissensions among themselves than by the valour of their enemies. In its earlier periods, the petty states, into which the strip of country, remaining to the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, was divided, from jealousy of their respective rights, impeded each other in the enlargement of their dominion, and enfeebled each other's resources by intestine wars. Though victory in the main attended their arms against the Moor, the work of regaining their lands advanced so slowly that at the end of four hundred years the half had not been accomplished. Lessons of toil, of long endurance in hardship, of watchfulness and activity, of romantic sentiment and honour in rivalry with both Gothic and Moorish chivalry, habits of valor and daring enterprise as well as pertinacity of purpose, perpetuated from age to age, wrought effects which ultimately became hereditary. External success attended them according to the degree in which combination went forward among themselves. Yet governments formed in such circumstances were slow in uniting, and slower still in granting an interchange of confidence. Gradually, by intermarriage of royal families chiefly, steps were secured towards that end. On one side, Castile and Leon, and on the other Aragon, absorbed into themselves respectively a variety of inferior independencies. Subsequently, those larger bodies began to combine. First Leon and Castile were united under one monarch, though not yet permanently, nor without a protracted struggle of local jealousies.

One hundred years later the resources of Catalonia were added to those of Aragon; and Portugal was in the meanwhile extending her dominions on the Atlantic coast. Each of those states charged itself with expulsion of the Mohammedans from the territory immediately south of it. On the east, Aragon carried her conquests to the borders of Murcia, where being separated from her enemy by the previous advance of

Castile, her progress in that career was stayed. The long sea coast and valuable harbors of Catalonia and Valencia, now added to her dominion, furnished a new and wider outlet for enterprise; and Aragon became arbiter of the Mediterranean sea. Castile, in the centre of the Peninsula, drove the common enemy from their long honoured seat of empire on the Guadalquivir, and confined them to the narrow limits of Granada, while Portugal not only expelled them from the western borders, but even followed their fugitives into Africa, and retaliated upon them by establishing a Portuguese province on the coast of Morocco. Crowded into the small but fertile district of Granada, the Moors erected a new barrier to the forces of Castile. Art compensated for diminished territory, and a dense and active population could with greater effect defend the narrow bounds, which yet furnished not only the means of comfort, but of wealth. For more than two hundred years was that fragment of their former dominion successfully defended by the Moors against their northern foe. And not until the forces of Castile and Aragon were combined under Ferdinand and Isabella was the conquest complete, and the whole peninsula restored to European possession.

During this protracted process of aggregation and augmenting power, Spanish character was undergoing a similar formation. Energy and self-reliance were engendered in the people by those dangers to which they were continually exposed, and, perhaps not less, a disposition to ferocity. The different states, consisting of bodies of warlike nobles with their followers, of free cities not less tenacious of their rights, and of ecclesiastics, who were also the keenest men of the world, naturally limited their monarchs by a large enumeration of privileges reserved to his principal subjects. Attachment to the forms of Christian worship and to profession of its faith, also became an impassioned prejudice with a people who had so long fought in their defence, who had been accustomed to associate it with their own national existence, and to refer all their great grievances to the infidel. The cause of Christianity, as they knew it, was one with that of Spain. The war for their own rights was bound up with that for the church. Their attachment to their church was doubtless in many cases intelligent, but it was

universally passionate. It was the faith for which their fathers had fought and bled, its symbol had emblazoned their banners, it had been their battle cry, and its enemies had been their enemies for eight hundred years. Consequently to the Spaniard the Church of Rome appeared in a light entirely different from that in which it was elsewhere viewed in the end of the fifteenth century. And if that enthusiasm might have passed away after the conquest of Granada, it was artfully kept alive by directing the tide of popular feeling against the Jews, under cloak of which Rome succeeded in putting in force another agency for maintaining the allegiance of Spain. Beguiled by the plea of purifying the church, and eradicating the infidel and Jew, Spaniards submitted to the establishment among them of the most horrible instrument of despotism. But for the attitude thus occupied by them between the church and the infidel, with whom they classed the Jews, it is not to be accounted for that Spaniards, with their habits of independence, should have suffered the horrible and most offensive despotism of the Inquisition to be set up among them, even at the instance of a much honoured and beloved queen. But they were not in a condition to reason coolly upon the right and wrong within a church, for which they had so long done battle, before the fetters had been fastened upon them.

Thus, at the opening of the sixteenth century, Spaniards disciplined to force of character and self-reliance, were still unable to see the church for which their fathers bled, in any other light than that in which it had appeared to their fathers. Their enterprise victorious at home had begun to look abroad for adventures, while a united government was possessed of the means to second bolder daring and the execution of vaster designs.

In Spain, therefore, the Romish Church found a stronghold and most effective defenders at a time when her very existence was threatened elsewhere.

The German empire, though long shorn of its lands and revenues, was still the highest dignity among princes, the lingering shadow of old imperial Rome; and the reverence with which it was popularly regarded was a bond of union among nations, who otherwise had now but little in common. In the

downfall of the ancient empire of the west, the authority, still deemed resident in Rome, was naturally assumed by the bishop, then the highest dignitary there, as having receded into himself. And when Charlemagne by his own arms had reconstructed a similarly vast domain, the imperial rank was by the bishop of Rome re-transferred to him, as if it had been only held in reserve until the appearance of a prince worthy to bear it. Claiming succession from Charlemagne, subsequent emperors continued to look to the Pope for confirmation of their title. And, thus, both the German empire and the Romish Church inherited the prestige of ancient Rome, and supported themselves by the claim to more or less of her dominion. A long-continued contest between them had built up the Papacy at the expense of the empire. The estates of the latter were exhausted and alienated, and its material force reduced to the most abject feebleness, which the electors were not unwilling to perpetuate, but the grandeur of the title possessed the highest attraction for princes, and a mysterious power with the people. It consequently became an object with those who bore its honours to look to other quarters for the revenues whereby they should be supported. In this effort the house of Austria had been more successful than any of their predecessors or rivals, since the downfall of the Hohenstaufen. Their hereditary estates constituted a foundation, and their art and rapacity indefatigable architects. In this career, Maximilian, the grandfather of Charles V., though in many respects weak and vacillating, had proved himself a worthy son of Hapsburg. But only in the election of Charles, now master of the united kingdom of Spain, did the empire find that adequate support from abroad, which its honour demanded, but which itself could no longer supply.

A century before, the possessions accumulated by the dukes of Burgundy had come to form one of the wealthiest and strongest states on the continent. They consisted chiefly of two large groups, Burgundy and the Netherlands. At the death of Charles the Rash, in 1477, the whole became the inheritance of an only daughter. Maximilian of Austria succeeded in obtaining the hand of the wealthy heiress; but her broad lands of Burgundy were seized by the king of France, and her husband

either lacked the forces or the talent to recover them. The rest of her possessions were at her death transmitted to her son Philip, who, by his marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, became the father of Charles V. Thus the future emperor, through his grandmother, inherited the sovereignty of the Netherlands and an empty claim to that of Burgundy. From the former he drew a valuable support of his government, while the latter became the cause of long, bloody, and unavailing quarrels with France.

Another fertile source of dissension with that state, was inherited in the recently conquered kingdom of Naples. In 1442, Naples and Sicily had been attached to Aragon under the reign of Alphonso V. At his death that prince exempted the former kingdom from the regular succession by conferring it upon his natural son. His brother and successor, John, king of Navarre, uniting in his own hands the resources of Navarre, Aragon and Sicily, was deterred only by domestic broils from attempting by force to realize also his expectations of Naples. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, was a tide that ebbed with as great rapidity as it had flowed, but it laid a foundation for the claims of his successor, which aimed at nothing short of the complete possession of southern Italy. At the same time Ferdinand, as king of Aragon, had not forgotten his father's claim to the crown of Naples, while as king of Sicily he contemplated with anxiety the approach of so powerful a neighbour. The two monarchs, mutually apprehensive, entered into a compromise, which consisted in the partition of the fated kingdom between themselves, to the utter exclusion of the prince then upon the throne, under pleas the most flimsy and hypocritical. This nefarious compact was immediately carried into effect, an army being sent by each of the contracting parties into that portion of the country assigned to him. The occupant of the Neapolitan throne, having no means of successful resistance, surrendered to France and passed the remainder of his days in exile. Scarcely, however, had their respective conquests been achieved, when the two victorious parties came to blows for the possession of the whole. In disregard of attempts to prevent them by negotiations between the absent kings, the two armies on the field prolonged the contest until

by the skill and valour of the illustrious Gonsalvo the Spaniards were made sole masters of the prize. All efforts on the part of France to exact compliance with the treaty of partition or to recover possession by arms were unavailing. In 1506, Ferdinand was received by the Neapolitans, as their hereditary monarch rightfully restored. Subsequently the investiture thereof was granted by the Pope, on the same terms on which it had been held by earlier princes of the Aragonese line: and thus nothing was lacking to the completeness of his regal title. Thus also was another bond formed between the Spanish monarch and the Papacy.

For a thousand years the master of western Europe had been a priest. The authority, at first assumed from necessity and with unfeigned reluctance, had long been wielded with more than the arrogance and cruelty of a secular despot.

When the dissolution of the western empire and the barbarity of its invaders threw the burden of government upon the clergy, as the only class of society competent to its duties, that ecclesiastic, who, from the ancient dignity of his diocese, was respected as their head, became actual monarch of the disorganized countries. During the long period of decline, destruction and multiplied invasions, that sacerdotal rule was a most salutary provision. It saved the lands of ancient civilization from becoming an utter wilderness—the hunting grounds of savages—and taking hold upon the barbarian invaders themselves, it gradually shaped them into the forms, and imbued them with something of the spirit of civil order, and though new migrations of fresh tribes, and new wars of conquest continually interfered with those immature efforts, and though even priestly ideas of government were not at that time very elevated, yet it deserves the praise of keeping alive the most that was kept alive of either right government or true religion. And when, in the person of Charlemagne, a prince appeared of ability to check those migrations, and compel the roving tribes to settle on particular lands, and in occupations which gave them a local propriety, though the ecclesiastical chief conferred upon him the gift of imperial rank, it was still as a superior. Charlemagne held his empire by the right of his own good sword; but his honours and his title and all that gave legitimacy in the eyes of

the men of his time to the authority he wielded, was the gift of the Pope. And when his empire fell apart, in the hands of his feeble successors, that authority reverted with interest to the source from which it came. The great conqueror was found to have acted unawares the part of a pacificator and settler of the hitherto fluctuating population of the west, confirming the ecclesiastical rule, and adding largely to the number of its subjects. A long and calamitous struggle broke the strength of his successors on the imperial throne, and clothed the Papacy in the splendour as well as the actual possession of temporal sovereignty. For more than two hundred years, from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., nothing occurred to impair that culmination of power. The Pope was positively king of the kings of Europe.

But the states planted by Charlemagne, and springing out of his empire, were in the meanwhile ripening towards independence. At first disjointed and internally discordant, they gradually assumed an individuality of character, and accumulated public force. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, France had arrived at such a degree of national strength and force of character, that the contest therewith was a losing game on the side of the Papacy. Royalty, during that time fortifying itself in the confidence of the people, secured a large share of that homage, which in earlier times had been almost absorbed by the Church. Power was slowly, but by inevitable process, passing out of the hands of the Papacy into those of the monarchs. The shameful vices of some of the later Popes contributed to the same result. A dominion founded upon the reputation of peculiar sanctity and commission from Heaven, could not fail to be impaired by the profligacy of Alexander VI. and the bloodthirsty ambition of Julius II. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Papal chair, though still honoured as the highest seat of authority, was no longer equal, in its own strength, to a serious strife with any one of the great thrones of the time; and more than one of them had on their own soil braved and defied it. The only course left for the sovereign priest to pursue, was to secure the support of one or two, in any difficulty with another. Austria, by the help of a tenacious hold upon the imperial dignity, had elevated herself to an

equality with nations of the highest consideration; but taking warning by the fate of Swabia, had cultivated the most amicable relations with Rome. France and England were the most dissatisfied with papal rule, and most frequently restive under it. The ties of alliance were consequently drawn the tighter between Rome and the two other great monarchies; and nothing could have occurred more favourable to the apparent interests of the former, than that which took place when the grandson of the Catholic monarch, in the spirit of his predecessor, became master of both, at the same time that his authority, on the one hand, pressed upon the rich but refractory Netherlands, and on the other, in Sicily and Naples, stood guardian over Rome, while prepared to sustain his policy by a numerous navy and the wealth of the Indies.

The emergency in which that support became so necessary was one that arose out of the natural growth of civilization. It is a radical error to conceive of the anti-papal movement of the sixteenth century, as merely a theological reform, springing out of the views of one or two men. It was the great throe of society to slough off the larva of mediæval hybernation. Within that hard and narrow casing the new life had formed for itself a fitting body, which had now reached such a degree of maturity, that what was formerly a protection had become a prison. Escape was indispensable to further development. As the young plant, by the imperceptible force of vegetation, upheaves the earth and overturns masses of rock in its progress to the open air, on which its future growth depends, so the new civilization had reached that point when it had to burst through the soil in which it had taken root, and nothing could obstruct it without crushing out its life. From the fact that theological error was the soul of the despotism, and ecclesiastics were its agents, it was necessary that the decisive blow of the deliverer should first take effect upon the church of that day; but from the same premises it followed as inevitably that if the blow was successful there, a shock must be given to the whole structure. That reformation was one affecting the whole breadth of society. Its tendency was to put an end to the existing relations of priest and people, to turn allegiance from Rome to the princes and governments of the respective countries, and wor-

ship from created things to the Creator; to alter, in short, political and social relations as well as to correct theological doctrines, and it went hand in hand with literary and scientific advancement.

The young intellect of modern Europe had played in scholastic speculation and lays of the Troubadours; and, practised in such gymnastics, it was gradually prepared to undertake works of genuine erudition and of elegant literature. When the capacity to enjoy them was acquired, books of ancient renown were eagerly sought after and rescued from the rubbish of the cloisters. Beautiful Latin was once more cultivated, and the modern tongues grew up to elegant maturity under the example of its productions. Greek was also revived; and with the taste for classical literature came also the revival of art. Logic and mathematics had been restored by the schoolmen; and minute scholarship became a necessity of progress by means of ancient languages. To sustain each other in the arduous labour, scholars formed themselves into associations, and princes earned renown in patronizing them, as well as in making their own courts schools of the liberal arts, while providence, a wise instructor, from time to time, threw in new elements going to sustain, direct and invigorate the movement. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the revival of learning had been in progress nearly two hundred years.

The parties who had hitherto been most forward in the march were Italy, England, and France. But during the 14th and 15th centuries Italy outstripped all competition. Naples, Rome, Florence, Ferrara, and Venice, were the homes of learning and every beautiful art, first alike in study of the ancient and culture of native resources. In England, who opened her literary career about the middle of the 14th century, learning was secondary to native production, and fewer questions were put as to what other times had done than as to what the present should do. France, which had been the stronghold of the scholastics, was slower in rising above the dreary flat of their speculations. The crusade against the Albigenses had been fatal to her Troubadours, and succeeding efforts were drowned in the disastrous wars with England. Thus France came to the opening of the 16th century chiefly a scholastic,

to which remark the metrical chronicles of her language form no exception. England, after the expulsion of her armies from France, fell, during the middle part of the 15th century, into long and dangerous civil wars, which cut off her interest in other nations, and rendered her character more native than it otherwise would have been. She emerged from the strife emancipated from the rule of the Barons, with a single sovereign, and a people who recognized him as their leader, and were not ignorant of the nature of the power that made him such. The growth of intelligence had not been stayed, but it had turned into channels of popular interest rather than of scholarship. Questions of religion were handled in the succeeding generation, with more ability by Englishmen than those of erudition.

To the same series of causes belongs also the growth of the universities, in respect to which, the highest honour was due to France. In those nations also the power of the mediæval nobility, which distributed despotism in arms over the face of the country, was giving way to the royal: that is, to a government centred in a king, at once the master and protector of the people against the injuries of any other power. Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand and Isabella, were all as zealous and successful leaders against the local lords as an oppressed people would have desired. They were despots themselves; but they crushed a class who were worse, and the condition of their people was improved.

In that work, however, they did not all proceed by the same means, and the ultimate effect upon the great issue of the 16th century was very different accordingly. In Spain the centralization of power was brought about chiefly through affinities of royal families, and in the eyes of the people by accidents which seem to have been regarded as only of temporary effect. Consequently the several states, formerly free and jealous of their rights, seemed to count upon retaining their respective constitutions, and made no adequate provision for a similarly liberal constitution of the central monarchy, which was growing up among them, and soon to comprehend them all in its embrace. While Castilians only thought of securing the constitution of Castile, and Aragonese that of Aragon, the new monarchy

unavoidably grew up to the exercise of prerogatives unchecked by either, and finally to the extinction of both.

In France, the monarchy had grown chiefly by its own cupidity and machinations; and while absorbing the estates of the great lords, it was only to distribute them among its own adherents, who were, no less than their predecessors, separate from the people, though without their weight in government.

At the same epoch, the English monarchy occupied a position hardly less absolute. But that had been reached neither by kingcraft, nor by the shortsightedness of different constituent states. England was one state, with one constitution, which still remained unchanged, and their king had come to his throne from the union of popular parties upon him. The unitedness of that support conferred the power of an autocrat, and for a time the constitution seemed suspended; but it still stood by the throne, ready to strike down the monarch who should presume too far upon its indulgence, and still sustaining the manly heart of the people.

In Italy, though the monarchical principle was in the ascendant there also, no native state was strong enough to give effect to an Italian policy. That which bore the name was only papal. In the north, a subject of contest between her stronger neighbours; in the south, the victim of Spain; and in the centre, agitated by the residence of an anomalous power, continually embroiling itself, and thereby the whole peninsula, with one or another of all the nations of Europe, Italy held but little territory as her own; and that little was divided among hostile states. Then, as now, the disunion of Italy neutralized her native strength, and notwithstanding the liberal bearings of the Italian mind, such had been the constraints and inducements addressed to it, that the practical results of two hundred years of culture were, sufficiently safely for all its masters, summed up in art.

Amid the general growth of intelligence and of liberality, it could not fail to appear that the Church, in its mediæval history, had contracted many and dangerous errors. Though not unattempted at even earlier time, the first effort at reformation of doctrine, which succeeded in working a lasting national effect, was that commenced by Wyckliffe in the latter half of the four-

teenth century. Attempts had been put forth to crush it, as that of the Albigenses; but the protection of a strong hand at home, and the divided state of the Papacy at that time, rendered ecclesiastical punishments not easy to inflict in England. Subsequently, the wars with France and of the Roses, actually sheltered the opinions of the people. No competent authority found leisure or opportunity to scrutinize them. The doctrines of Wyckliffe also went abroad, deeply leavened the west of Scotland, and multiplied converts in Germany and Bohemia.

In the meanwhile, from long impunity, and triumph when assailed, papal corruptions accumulated rather than diminished, and skepticism, under those circumstances, inevitable in many of the priesthood, led to a more barefaced and scandalous practice. Instead of shaping her service to the growing intelligence of the times, the Papacy seemed to obtrude her obsolete superstitions the more shamelessly; so that the very head of the system himself had ceased to regard it in any other light than that of a machinery for procuring wealth, and power, and splendour. When we consider also that Popery was then the religion which addressed itself to every individual of Europe, from the valley of the Theiss to the coasts of Galway, and from the Mediterranean to the Northern Sea, it is obvious, in such a relation between the growing intelligence of the people and the hopeless obstinacy of ecclesiastical authority, backed by such a weight of secular power and fiery prejudice, in certain quarters, that a tremendous convulsion was unavoidable.

The immediate cause of disruption was only the tone of insult which, added to abuse, provokes the blow. The æsthetic growth of Italy had suggested to the Papacy the erection of a palace-temple for the exhibition of its ceremonies, consistent with the taste of the times and its own stupendous ambition. Its revenues were inadequate to the design. To eke them out, the sale of indulgences was pushed to such an extent as to outrage common decency. Long had the people of Europe seen their religion treated, in its highest places, as a myth, and a means of making gain out of their credulity; but now the insult was recklessly thrust upon them, in the most barefaced manner, at their own firesides. A general murmur of disapprobation arose to the north of the Alps; and no sooner was the voice of a

spokesman heard shaping the sentiment in words, than thousands, in his clear, well-defined charges, recognized the impression of their own consciences.

Every new state of genuine progress must spring out of the heart of its predecessor, while the latter is yet in its prime. Luther was but one in a series of great teachers in the church, by whom the doctrines of the Reformation had been successively elicited by earnest study of the Scriptures, the number of whom and of their pupils had been increasing for centuries. Out of that same corrupt church, and by a process coming down from a time when it was not corrupt, must the new church arise. For even that corrupt church is the historical heir, at once of ancient civilization and of the church planted by the disciples of the Lord. It had been moulded to a mediæval form for mediæval purposes, but when mediæval times were passing away, a corresponding change upon the form would have been indispensable even had the spirit remained pure. But the form was now decaying both in becoming obsolete and because the purity of its former life had departed. Yet that pure spirit of Christianity and of civilization had never ceased its work in the earth; but ere the old had begun to depreciate, creating for itself new forms in a renovation of society, it had long proceeded quietly and for the most part unseen, like the ear of corn in the secret of the husk, not even those who were under its influence being aware of its growth or of the extent to which it pervaded society. But when the world awoke to the necessity of reform, the new creation came to view ready equipped for the emergency; and there was no other quarter from which reform could come. The genius of Luther and his indomitable courage would have been nothing in the controversy, but for their proper place in that current of things. It cost many a Bede and Waldo, and Berengarius and Wyckliffe and Huss, to prepare the way for the triumph of Luther. The new life of Christian civilization had come to the birth.

From the same inevitable order of Providence it is plain that the leader of the Reformation could be no other than an ecclesiastic, and one whose position and sympathies associated him with the people. We justly wonder at the apparent inadequacy of means to the end when we contemplate a poor monk

taking the lead in a movement which overturns long existing institutions, resists the power of the proudest monarchs, and goes to change the face of the civilized world; but, the truth is, none save a poor monk was in condition to accomplish such a work. Even Luther could not have been the Luther he was, in any rank which should have removed him further from the sympathies of the people, or from the organization of the church.

In thus remarking of the providential circumstances of his life we would not be understood to insinuate the slightest detraction of the Reformer's intrinsic abilities. Never was man more thoroughly furnished by character and education, and exercises of a spiritual experience for his life's work than Luther. Earnestness pervaded his being; from childhood, life was to him a most solemn reality. In no aspect could he regard it with levity or unconcern. And to whichever of its problems he addressed himself, it was with an instinctive resolution not to let it go until he had mastered it. He certainly did not, as what man ever did, correctly resolve all, but a superficial treatment of any, or contentment with doubt in regard to any, or professed belief in what remained to him doubtful, was an impossibility in his nature. To him, amid the numberless questions transcending human wisdom, faith in the facts of God's creation and providence and the doctrines of his word became a philosophical as well as a spiritual necessity.

Yet his was not the seriousness of a cold and unimpassioned intellect, insensible to the beautiful and affecting. Imagination had favoured Luther with her choicest gifts, and rendered him susceptible in a high degree to the charms of art. Music and poetry were the language of his most precious emotions. But he never dallied with their externals. From a strong and genuine impulse alone did he seek their melodious expression. He created, accordingly, no dainty trifles for the amateur, but rich, warm realities, which have found a response in the souls of tens of thousands of God's people. Germany still owes some of her best hymns, and the Christian world some of its noblest airs, to the genius of the Reformer.

A heart that beat in tenderest sympathy with his fellow-men, together with a clear common sense, gave practical bearing to everything which Luther undertook, shaping his conceptions of

truth into tangible and acceptable forms for the men of his day. That it should have been sometimes rough in its plainness, or violent in denunciation of wrong, was incident to such a direct and energetic mind.

That man of warm, earnest heart, searching intellect, and genial imagination, had a fearful novitiate for his work, in an age filled as that was with obsolete forms, with professions which were recognized as hollow both by those who received and those who made them, when art in its highest splendour, still toiled the slave of superstition, when unbelief with flippant levity assumed the most solemn offices in the Church, and the most solemn truths of revelation were treated with neglect by the majority of those who sought honour in expounding them. Well for him and for the world he was designed so widely to influence, that his youth was spent in the heart of Germany, and that his poverty constrained him to the humblest and most honest society. Well for him that a solemn experience had led him from step to step of Christian knowledge, that a distressing and protracted inquiry had conducted him from truth to truth, and that the providence of God had supplied him from time to time with books, situations, and friendly counsel, and above all, that he had proceeded in his studies of the Holy Scriptures, until he was firmly established in the position he had to defend, before the actual corruption and hollowness of the times were spread before him. The effect of such an unveiling upon his earnest nature at an earlier date must have been disastrous. It occurred when it could only fortify his determination to do battle for the truth, of which he was convinced. He who had all his life sought for truth with the zeal of those who dig for hidden treasure; who in that pursuit had denied himself all but the coarsest fare; who in his comfortless cell at Erfurt had macerated himself with watchings and fastings; who for days in succession had forgotten food and drink in his pursuit of peace with God; who had resisted the temptations of every honour to his scholarship, and every comfort to his body, until on one occasion he was actually found in a dying state upon the floor of his cell, that he might reach unto that spiritual good which his soul craved, and who at last had been rewarded by discovering the pearl of great price, was pre-

pared to view the licentious indulgence and hypocritical professions which prevailed among ecclesiastics of his time, only with horror and unutterable contempt. The visit of Luther to Italy, and his brief residence in Rome, at a time when his intellect approximated to maturity, and his faith was fixed by converse with the word of God, was most opportune to open his eyes to the necessity of reform, as well as to prepare his mind for that attitude which it was soon to assume. It was his to battle with effete mediæval institutions, his youth was spent in the midst of them, where they were still most honestly regarded; it was his to emancipate thinking from the fetters of scholasticism; his education had made him the acutest of dialecticians; and, learned in the subtleties of Albertus and Aquinas, it was his to check the prevalence of false doctrine and corrupt practice; his education had put him in the way of so doing with the utmost effect in a fervent and faithful exposition of truth, while his humble yet ecclesiastical position gave him at once influence with a large body of the priesthood and with the populace.

The simple-hearted, and, then at least, religious population of Northern Germany, were just the people to be most seriously offended with the impudent tricks of imposture, then paraded before them, and thence, as well as by their apprehension of the truth he taught, were prepared to fall in with the views of the Reformer. Popular will had, however, but little place in government, except in as far as it might influence or coincide with that of the monarchs: and as some of them did not coincide with their subjects on this matter, it early became necessary to have a separate and independent organization, with a wise and dauntless man at its head. God had provided the man for the emergency. Co-labourers arose in various directions, awakened by his arguments, or encouraged by his daring. Then rapidly increasing numbers soon demonstrated the safety as well as the propriety of union. A spiritual commonwealth sprang up from roots far ramified through the length and breadth of Europe.

The ninety-five theses of Luther against indulgences, on the one side, and the condemnatory bull of Leo X. on the other, brought the controversy to issue, and declared the war of the Reformation. A new element of civilization had entered

the arena, destined ultimately to transform the policy of the world. But none of the great rulers rightly understood its bearing and force. They attempted to play fast and loose with it, as if it had been a mere temporary excitement, according to their occasional necessities or convenience. Among the inferior princes, it is the peculiar praise of the elector Frederic of Saxony, that he manifested a sense of its grandeur from the beginning. Few of those whom the world calls wise have proved themselves so worthy of the title. No common brain could have dreamed his dream. Such, however, was the respect which the movement very soon compelled, that several of the highest crowned heads, not even excepting the emperor, at one time or other courted its alliance; and such was the providential disposition of events, that their blindest and most selfish measures went to its support and extension, and even the Sultan of Turkey was made an involuntary contributor to a cause of which perhaps he had never heard the name.

The question of the Reformation was the central point of European politics for the 16th century. On one side stood the Papacy, supported by the prescriptive position of the past, and the armed might of Spain; on the other, Martin Luther, supported by the force of truth, and those out of every land who like himself had been made free thereby.

The two forces extensively interramified with each other. In every country the people were more or less divided at first; but a short time served to bring over to Reform fully half of Germany, Prussia, Livonia, and the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, who accepted it as set forth in the Augsburg Confession; England, Switzerland, Scotland, and Holland, who adopted the tenets of Geneva, while large numbers also embraced the same doctrines in France, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. At first, however, this extensive popularity was far from obvious. It needed a few devoted heroes to uphold the now unfurled banner, until it had secured the confidence of those who were prepared to sympathize with the cause. And it was chiefly during that time that the capacity of rulers was tried, in relation to it. As for the emperor, his attitude was predetermined by that of the principal nation he

governed; but his conduct proves that he never rightly understood it.

The course pursued by Francis I., may have been induced to some extent by the divided opinions of his people; but not the less was it at variance with the hereditary spirit of his country and the cause to her of evils incalculable. The true interest of France was with the Reformation, and had some of her great rulers, such as Philip the Fair, or Richelieu, been at the head of affairs, they could hardly have failed, however much Romanists by private preference, to perceive on which side lay the interest of their country. Had France sustained the Reformation, she must have stood at its head, and thereby having become the leader of two-thirds of continental Europe, would have secured herself most effectually against the designs of the emperor, and provided for her people that freedom of life and conscience, for which they have since shed so much blood almost in vain. Instead of that, her shallow and fickle-minded king spent his reign in gayety and Quixotic enterprises, without either profit or honour, fluctuating between the two great parties, as his necessities or short-sighted policy seemed to demand; for a petty principality in Italy risking the safety of his whole dominion, and involving it in a war which laid waste one of its finest provinces; and for the alliance of an aged Pope, whose interests could have no weight with his successor, forming a marriage for his son, which entailed upon France her darkest disgrace and heaviest heritage of woe, while leaving the glory of seconding the great liberal movement of Europe to one of the inferior princes of Germany. If any one questions the willingness of his people to follow him in such a step, it may be confidently answered, that over and above France's large Reformation element at that time, the necessity of self-defence against the aggressions of the emperor, and valid reasons of state for dissatisfaction with the Papacy, there could be no doubt of national support for a French king, who by any honourable means of either peace or war, should have put France at the head of Europe. But the opportunity was lost; and the national policy once adopted could not afterwards be changed by similar means.

After all, the misfortune of France was probably the safety

of the Reformation. For, if not patronized in its youth by a great nation, neither was it shaped by any particular nation's interests. If unprotected, it was also independent.

Nor was the king of England more intelligent of the subject, though, as he ruled a people so numerous Protestant in their opinions already, that he could not fail to perceive how strongly they would support him in resistance to the Pope, he availed himself thereof to gratify his violent and despotic temper. As was to have been anticipated, the part he did take in it proved of serious and lasting injury. The Reformation was not a policy of princes, but the action of a religious public now sufficiently enlightened to understand the foundations of their faith, in opposition to incorrigible corruption. On the other hand, not even the mighty power of Spain, though united with the authority of the empire, was permitted to offer an insurmountable barrier to its progress. With the gravest intentions to extinguish it, the emperor really effected very little towards that end. Providential circumstances always interfered to divert his arms elsewhere, or to wrest out of his hands even the results of victory.

In assuming this point of view for the sixteenth century, we do not overlook the interests of commerce, of government, of national wealth, and of learning. We would not underrate the vast material resources then disclosed in the new world, the great conflict with Turkey, nor the opening of direct trade with the East Indies, and thereby of a mine beneath the Turkish empire at the very moment when it had reached the summit of its power; we would not deny their importance to the growth of more liberal doctrines of national rights, the rise of that system which operates to render a common despotism of Europe impossible, or the unprecedented diffusion of intelligence, which that century effected; but, after the utmost value of these and other elements of civilization, unfolded or ripened in that time, has been fully admitted, that which pertains to the Reformation will be found to overtop them all. Most of them, in fact, pertain to one or other series of causes or effects leading to, or springing out of, that revolution. And prominent as was the part, then acted by Spain in the world's drama, it was her championship of the old against the new, which crowned its

importance. Notwithstanding some inconsistent measures of her king, Spain was throughout the central stronghold of the Papal defences, without which, neither France nor the empire could have been relied upon. Every great enterprise of Spanish intellect or prowess was then conducted under the profession of defending or propagating the faith. Wars against the Turks, by sea and land, conquests in Mexico and Peru, as well as campaigns in Europe against the Reformers, and establishment within their own borders of the Inquisition, and persecution of Jews and heretics, were all consecrated of the Spaniard by the same fiery zeal for the faith of Rome, which reached its extreme in the order of Jesuits.

Had the rest of Europe been fully prepared to accept the Reformation, such an attitude of any one people must have been subject of unqualified regret; but, in the actual state of things, it was better that the dominion of the old should continue to be enforced upon all who were not yet ready to admit the authority of the new. In every revolution the danger most to be dreaded springs from that class of persons, who, without preparation for the change, are thereby emancipated from the control to which they have been accustomed. Such was then the number of the truly Protestant from conviction, that it was no longer possible, if it had been expedient, for them to remain in allegiance to Rome; but to have broken off that allegiance in the case of the millions, who were still without any such convictions, could have been productive only of mischief. But, in the tremendous convulsion, which divided the civilized world, no ordinary force was competent to prevent that consequence, which would have embarrassed, if not defeated, the work of Reform, by mingling with it a mass of heterogeneous elements, and thrown the world back into the anarchy out of which it had so long been struggling. At the same time, that attitude, together with the necessity which demanded it, arising equally out of popular ignorance and depravity, were no justification of each other, nor could the nation which assumed it, escape either the immediate or remoter consequences of penalty. These soon became abundantly manifest. In the meanwhile, the integrity of the Reformation had been, in the main, preserved. False and ignorant professors of its faith had been

deterred from incumbering it to any such extent as seriously to misrepresent it to the world. The great danger pertaining to the opening of such a career had been averted, and a new era of Christian civilization successfully inaugurated. Papacy believed itself saved. The Reformers deemed their work obstructed. Both misconceived. It was the Reformation that was saved, while Papacy was gently let down. For there was another aspect, in which the Romish authorities might have contemplated their great ally. Though then their principal bulwark, and as such, indispensable in the existing conflict, he operated by that very position to the overthrow of their supremacy, inasmuch as a confessedly superior colleague on the throne more effectually subverts the reign of a monarch than the revolt of one or two provinces. And it is now an historical fact that the power, which imperceptibly and unintentionally percolated through those amicable relations from the Papal chair to the Spanish throne, though ultimately lost by Spain, never returned to the Papacy. The secular dominion of that once great, but now obsolete power, went down with its protector. If Luther sought to hurl it from a precipice, Charles V. propelled it no less surely towards the same level by an inclined plane. Such gradual decline is more consistent with the interests of the world than a sudden overthrow could have been. It is long since Spain lost her predominance in European politics, and Papal domination out of Italy is a thing of the past. A creed and ecclesiastical system remain, and must remain for some time longer, but the secular power can never rise again. Rome, it is true, may think otherwise. An old man may present a great many arguments to support his opinion that he shall live as long as his son, or even survive him; but the law of nature remains unchangeable, that the fathers pass away and the sons come into their stead. Spain, though now far sunk below the rank of states which were one time her inferiors, may revive. For Spain is a nation of strong minded men, whose intellect, so far from being exhausted, has never yet had free development. But the Papacy can never revive. For it was a mere system springing out of peculiar circumstances which are for ever passed away. To all the world, excepting his own scanty estates, the successor of Hildebrand is no longer anything but a priest.

Of the other party which then rose to divide the Christian world, we are perhaps not yet fully furnished with the materials of a just estimate. For it is still in the youth of its progress. Viewing it, for the present, only as a power affecting the state of the world, its aim was from the beginning, not temporal dominion, but the conversion of men from sin unto righteousness, and the securing of their perfect liberty to live accordingly. To the whole extent of its genuine operation, therefore, it increased the value of all its adherents, and constituted them free citizens of a pure and enlightened community. It was the very genius of true liberty, and being unconfined by local possessions, the more readily diffused itself through the nations, leavening the individual mind, and thence sending out its fruits in the improvement of society. These outward effects are much more extensive than we ordinarily conceive. For they appear not only in what is known as Protestant, but also in the Roman Catholicism of the present day, in the intercourse of nations, both in war and peace, in society in general, in fact, they colour the whole civilization of our time. It was the Reformation that saved Romanism, as far as it is a Church, and not a political system. When it occurred, it was unavoidable; but had it not occurred, Christianity must have been extinguished in idolatry, licentiousness and unbelief. We entirely credit the professions of Romanists when they claim to be in theory and spirit the same with their predecessors of the eleventh century; but their practice is materially different when it falls under the eye of a Protestant public—a public which they must henceforth expect to meet, in increasing numbers, in all quarters of the globe. Christians now in Romanist communion have much to thank the Reformation for. But an age is yet approaching when grander effects shall be seen from that question of the sixteenth century, and a future critic may charge even our own time with under-estimating the movement headed by the brave young monk of Wittemberg.

At the same time, we shall certainly not be understood as meaning that, for the reasons now mentioned, Romanism was so improved as to do well enough for those who retained it. Constraint to decency and the outgrowth of spiritual life are very different things, and more different in their fruits than in their

looks. The one is an artificial flower, which is always the same, or changes only by fading; the other, a product of creative energy, is ever advancing from one state of development to another, and even its apparent death is only retreat into the germ of a new life. While the countries which accept the Reformation are marked by popular intelligence, enterprise and prosperity, taking the lead in everything that pertains to the elevation of human nature; those who adhere to the Romish faith, without exception, lag behind, or make advance only by feeble imitation of their Protestant neighbours, and that always at the expense of their Romanist principles. France is no exception. For the pride of her monarchy was the humiliation of her people, and her popular movements have all been after Protestant example, and would have been more successful had they caught the spirit while aiming at the results. Of Protestantism, it is remarked by M. St. Hilaire, in the *Revue Chrétienne*, that "When it has disappeared, it may be said to have carried with it the vital force of the people who permitted it to die. Of this, Spain and Italy are witnesses. Not with impunity do men reject the gospel to attach themselves to human traditions. Is not the blessing of God, which rests so visibly upon England and all Protestant Europe, averted from those beautiful lands? Yet in them Catholicism reigns in all its pride." France and Sardinia, to all the extent that they are prosperous, are unapal: and necessarily so. To think of living and thriving now, after the fashion of the middle ages, is preposterous, as it would be to attempt to restore the civilization of ancient Egypt, to revive a mummy, or to combat the Minnie rifle with the bow and arrow. Not to take any higher view of the matter than that of mere statesmanship, it is vain to hope for national prosperity now through any principles other than those of the Reformation.

The most instructive lesson taught us by this review of the historical causes of the Reformation, and of its nature and effects, which we have thus imperfectly traced, is that the truth of God, the gospel of his Son, or rather, the Son of God himself, is the life of the world. The real invisible power which prepared the way for Luther; which overthrew the dominion of the Papacy; which emancipated so large a part of Europe from civil

as well as ecclesiastical bondage; which opened the way for science, commerce, and the useful arts to their wonderful achievements, was none other than the power of the truth and Spirit of God. There is no real life, no desirable progress, no true liberty, but in connection with true religion. What is called civilization, the progress of society, development of the race, is nothing but the progress of evil, tending more and more to darkness and degradation, except so far as that progress has its source and guiding power in the truth of true religion. All the efforts of infidel or atheistic advocates of liberty, equality, or human happiness, have ended only in the increase of despotism, vice, and misery. It is this great lesson that all the blessings of the Reformation, all its power to promote the progress of the nations, all its good effects in the past and in the future, are due, not to emancipation of mind, or to the civil liberty which it secured, but to its religious element—to its springing from the desire to secure the image and favour of God, which the volume before us is designed and adapted to teach. There is no secular vocation of man comparable in responsibility and importance to that of the historian. He is the interpreter of God. He unfolds the meaning of God's doings, as the preacher expounds his word. If the exposition which he gives of history be false; and especially if it be irreligious; if it ignores the hand of God and the power of his truth and Spirit, it is in effect the transfer of atheism into the ordinary affairs of life, and has all the evil consequences which must flow from Atheism. The idea that religion is to be confined to the Church, or to the department of morals; that God is to be worshipped in the sanctuary or the chamber, but disregarded in the world and in history, an idea which has such a hold on the minds of most men, is thoroughly anti-scriptural. We regard, therefore, as a very great event, the appearance of a history destined to take rank with the first works of its class, written by a true Christian in a bold, open, yet moderate and catholic Christian spirit; which everywhere recognizes the gospel as the word of God, and points it out as the true life of the world.

We rejoice to hear that this work has received the three thousand francs' prize from the Sorbonne, a decision not less honourable to that venerable body than to M. St. Hilaire.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Genealogy of the Brainerd Family in the United States, with numerous Sketches of Individuals. By Rev. David D. Field, D.D., Member of the Historical Societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. New York: 1857. 8vo. Pp. 303.

GREAT respect is due to those antiquaries who busy themselves about the materials of early American history, and Dr. Field merits and will receive the thanks not only of all the families whom he honours by mention in his book, but of all who venerate the names of David and John Brainerd, and admire the genuine poetry of Daniel.

The chief interest of this useful volume connects itself with the biography of the good Indian missionary, to which Dr. Field has made some important contributions. We are more gratified than surprised to find his investigations confirming what we have long been taught at this place concerning a connection between Brainerd's expulsion from Yale College, and the founding of a new institution in New Jersey. "I once," says Dr. Field, "heard the Hon. John Dickinson, Chief Judge of the Middlesex County Court, Connecticut, and son of the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, of Norwalk, say, 'that the establishment of Princeton College was owing to the sympathy felt with David Brainerd, because the authorities of Yale College would not give him his degree, and that the plan of the College was drawn up in his father's house.' Perhaps I have not given every word just as he uttered the declaration. But as I was then preaching in Haddam, where I have spent more than twenty-five years of my ministry, and as I have passed hundreds of times by the place where the house stood in which David Brainerd was born, the cellar of which is still visible, I am certain that I have declared the precise fact that Judge Dickinson uttered. Nor is this the whole proof of the fact. There is evidence that the Rev. Aaron Burr said, after the rise of Princeton College, that it would never have come into existence if it had not been for the expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale College. It is a significant fact that three of the men who were conspicuous in their sympathy and efforts for Brainerd were the first three presidents of Princeton College, Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, and Jonathan Edwards." Pp. 265, 266. Dr. Field further notes, that all the members of New York Synod were warmly attached to Brainerd, and

friendly to Princeton College. "President Clapp," he adds, "complained that they upheld members from Yale College who were under censure, evidently referring specially, if not solely, to Brainerd." The work is admirably printed, and contains a number of engraved likenesses. It is gratifying in no common degree to welcome such a contribution from one who in a green old age still dispenses the Word of Life in the very spot where the great Edwards penned his mightiest work, and who meanwhile looks around him on a group of distinguished sons. May his evening hour be peace!

An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, with an Outline Treatise on Logic. By Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., President of Franklin and Marshall College. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1858. Pp. 359.

The modern philosophy of Germany is in its terminology and mode of thought so different from that of Great Britain, that those trained under the latter are little prepared to comprehend the former. We have often read hundreds of pages in German books without the slightest glimmer of the meaning of a single sentence. We have known men of high cultivation read volumes of German philosophy in an English dress, (Hickcock's Rational Psychology, for example) without gaining an idea. This may be accounted for either by our obtuseness, or by the profundity of the authors, or by the unnatural, conventional, technical mode of exhibition and expression. The writers themselves, and their followers, intelligent and unintelligent, will no doubt think the first and second of the causes specified the real source of the difficulty. We are rather in favour of the third, not only because more grateful to our self-complacency, but also because we know that the German philosophy is as much a mystery to the mass of educated Germans as to us; and because the system becomes intelligible enough in the hands of those who choose to speak naturally. There is a class of authors who have a special interest for English readers; men who stand as interpreters between the German and English mind, partly because they occupy a middle ground, and partly because they write with the design to be understood. To this class President Gerhart belongs. He is a German by descent and training, but a German anglicanized; and he has sense enough to know that it is not necessary to be unintelligible in order to be profound. The object of a "Short Notice" is not to discuss the doctrines of a book, but simply to indicate its character and value. We therefore content ourselves with saying that Dr. Gerhart's volume, the title of which is given above, is a clear and intelligible exposition of the leading principles of his philosophy, and has both an inherent and an

adventitious value. It contains much that is true and important, and much which whether true or not is yet interesting, as revealing a mode of thought new to those whose training has been exclusively English.

Light from the Cross: Sermons on the Passion of our Lord. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Tholuck. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien, 608 Chestnut Street. 1858. Pp. 345.

The characteristic design of the English and American Sermon is to convince and instruct; that of the German to excite devotional feeling. A man may be years in Germany and never hear any great doctrine formally presented and discussed, or any great duty inculcated. The idea of worship controls all the exercises of the sanctuary. It is not only in the singing and prayers, that this idea is kept in view, but also in the sermon. The great object of the preacher, (when evangelical,) seems to be to call out the feelings of his hearers in gratitude for God's mercies, and admiration for his perfections, and especially to excite him to love and worship the Redeemer. Doctrines are taken for granted. It is assumed that the hearers are Christians, and that they come together not so much to learn as to worship. Perhaps both styles of preaching are carried too far. The Germans would be better if more didactic, and the English if more devout. The reader will find the remark above made verified in perusing this volume, although the sermons which it contains are less purely emotional than the ordinary discourses of the distinguished author. It is a delightful edifying book. The portrait of the writer given in this volume, looks very much as Tholuck did thirty years ago, especially about the forehead. He must now be a very different looking man.

Life-Studies: or How to Live. Illustrated in the Biographies of Bunyan, Tersteegen, Montgomery, Perthes, and Mrs. Winslow. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1858.

This book is founded on a happy idea. Bunyan stands as the representative of the Christian soldier; Tersteegen of the Christian labourer; Montgomery of the Christian man of letters; Perthes of the Christian man of business; and Mrs. Winslow of the Christian mother. It is a very attractive and useful work.

The Life and Labours of the Rev. T. P. Gallaudet, LL.D. By Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D. Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1857. Pp. 440.

Mr. Gallaudet was so early, so long, and so successfully connected with efforts for the education of the Deaf and Dumb, that

all who are interested in that important work of benevolence, must take an interest in the history of his life and labours. It is not, however, solely on this account that this volume is entitled to attention. Mr. Gallaudet was a man of eminent ability and attainments, and of a singularly attractive character. We have seldom known any one who sooner found his way to the confidence and affections of those with whom he associated.

Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Universal History, and Egyptian Archaeology. With special reference to Dr. Abbott's Egyptian Museum in New York. Together with a Translation of the First Sacred Book of the Ancient Egyptians. By G. Seyffarth, A. M., Ph. D., and D. D. New York: Henry Ludwig, No. 39 Centre street. 1857. Pp. 241.

The results of recent investigations into the antiquities of Egypt are commonly locked up in books so expensive and learned as to be beyond the reach of ordinary readers. Those results are so important and interesting, that any attempt to render them more generally accessible, is a praiseworthy work. Dr. Seyffarth appears to have devoted much labour to this subject, and to be thoroughly furnished with the necessary erudition. His volume contains a great body of important information.

The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By Eleazar Lord. New York: M. W. Dodd, No. 506 Broadway. 1857. Pp. 312.

The radical idea of Mr. Lord's theory of Inspiration is, that language is exclusively the medium and instrument of thought; that we think in words, so that without words we have no thoughts. From this it necessarily follows, that if there be any inspiration of thought, it must be in connection with words, thoughts being communicated only by and through the words. This is one way of reaching the conclusion in which the great mass of Christians agree, viz. that the Holy Scriptures are in such a sense the word of God, that they have the same authority as though uttered immediately by the lips of God. What David said, the Holy Ghost said. This is the important point. We should be sorry, however, to rest this great doctrine on any metaphysical theory as to the laws of the human mind, or as to the absolute necessity of words to the exercise of thought. Infants have thoughts before they have words, and so have the deaf and dumb. The views of Mr. Lord, however, are worthy of serious attention, and his work, as advocating a truth of primary importance, is to be welcomed by all to whom that truth is precious.

George Whitefield: a Biography with special reference to his labours in America. Compiled by Joseph Belcher, D. D. American Tract Society. Pp. 514.

Whitefield was, undoubtedly, the greatest of modern preachers. His labours in America are bearing fruit in all parts of our country to the present day, so that no man can understand the present state of the Church in America who is ignorant of what he did. The facts are to be found in this volume. So far as we know, there does not exist any thorough, philosophical, and scriptural exhibition of the great work which Wesley and Whitefield accomplished. The good and evil which marked their career have never been, to our knowledge, fairly discriminated. Biographies have been produced in abundance, but they have been either defamatory or eulogistic. These distinguished servants of God have been portrayed either as mere fanatics or as perfect saints. It would be a great service rendered to the Church, if some man, sympathizing with their piety and zeal, and at the same time alive to their great errors and defects, should so exhibit their career that, while grateful for the good which they accomplished, we might be warned by their errors.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity. In two Parts. Part I. The Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace. Part II. An Exposition of the Ten Commandments. By Edward Fisher, A. M. With Notes by Thomas Boston, Minister of the Gospel, Ettrick. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 370.

Few doctrinal or practical works have lasted longer, or exerted a wider influence, than the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. Written originally in the age of Cromwell, to compose the strifes which had arisen among the friends of evangelical religion, to counteract the tendency to Antinomianism which then prevailed, while it clearly presented the doctrine of gratuitous justification, it was itself condemned as Antinomian by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the early part of the last century, when that Church was under the control of the Moderates. Though designed and specially adapted to a different state of the Church from that which now exists, it retains its value as a concise exposition of the great truths of the gospel.

Memoir and Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown, Minister of the Gospel, Haddington. Edited by the Rev. William Brown, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 227.

The writings of Brown of Haddington, especially his Catechism, his Self-Interpreting Bible, Dictionary of the Bible, and his Concordance, have been among the most widely circulated of

modern religious works. He was for thirty-six years a pastor of the church in Haddington, and for twenty years Professor of Divinity in the Associate Synod. His Memoirs, therefore, are a part of the religious history of Scotland during an important period.

A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms, for the use of the Ministers and Laity of the Christian Church. By Augustus Tholuck, D.D. Translated from the German: with a careful comparison of the Psalm-Text with the Original Tongues. By J. Isidor Mombert. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien, 608 Chestnut street. Pp. 497.

This Commentary is devotional rather than either doctrinal or philological. These two latter elements are not wanting; they are only subordinate. The translation of the Hebrew Text here given is not Tholuck's, but that of the common English version modified. The translation of the German appears to be much better than we generally find in the issues of the British press.

A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship. Prepared and published by the direction and for the use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858. Pp. 340 and 66.

Every one knows that in Prussia, the two branches of the great Protestant body, the Lutheran and Reformed, have been united in one Church, called the Evangelical. In this body, so far as its religious life is concerned, the Lutheran element has obtained complete ascendancy. What in England is called Puseyism, is rampant in many parts of Prussia, under different names. This characteristic tendency seems, from various indications, to be developing itself in the German Reformed Church in America. The most serious assaults against the doctrines of the Reformed have proceeded from members of that communion; a theory of the Church, of Church power, of the priestly character of the ministry, and of sacramental grace, which the free spirit of Luther would have spurned, has been propounded in their accredited organs. With this, as a natural consequence, has sprung up a distaste for the simplicity of the Reformed ritual, and a hankering after the observance of "days and months, and times and years," and for complicated liturgical forms. A committee of the Synod of that Church has been for some time engaged in the preparation of a Liturgy, which has at length been published, although without "ecclesiastical sanction or approbation." "It carries with it," we are told, "in such form, no authority for the churches." After the "Primitive Forms," such as the Apostles', Nicene and Athana-

sian Creeds, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Ambrosian Hymn, the Litany, &c., we have the Church year divided into four periods, the Advent Season, the Easter Season, the Pentecost Season, the Church Season, with the prescribed lesson from the gospel and epistles for every Sunday, and the collect for each special service. The whole calendar is gone through; the First Sunday in Advent, Second Sunday, St. Stephen's day, St. John the Evangelist's day, Innocents' day, and so on to the end. This occupies 128 pages. Then comes the regular service on the Lord's day, extending from page 129 to page 147. Then come prayers for festival seasons, filling about thirty-two pages. The rest of the volume is taken up with the forms for the administration of the sacraments, for ordination, visitation of the sick, burial, &c., and with a collection of family prayers and of Psalms and Hymns. We do not doubt that this volume contains much that is truly excellent, but the whole thing is overdone. Unless we are greatly mistaken as to the prevalent sentiment of the Reformed Church, the liturgical spirit will be effectually smothered under these multitudinous forms. It would require years of drill, before minister or people would know how to use such a book, or feel themselves at home with it. Had the committee contented themselves with preparing a form for public worship, including the Creed, the Confession, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Litany, with prayers selected from the formulas of the Reformed Church, to be used when no clergyman was present, or by the clergyman himself, if he saw fit, with forms for the sacraments and funerals, they might, as we think, have done the Church good service, and compressed the whole in a volume of fifty pages. But in our humble judgment, they have run the whole matter into the ground. In the use of such a book as this, a man would become either an angelic saint or a religious machine. Which would be the most frequent result, history does not permit us to doubt.

God's Message to the Young; or, the Obligation and Advantages of Early Piety seriously urged upon Young Persons, in connection with Eccles. xii. 1.
By Rev. George W. Leyburn, late Missionary to Greece. New York: M. W. Dodd, 506 Broadway. Richmond: P. B. Price. 1857. Pp. 179.

Experience teaches, that of those who are gathered into the Church, the great majority are from the class of young persons. To the religious training and conversion of the young, therefore, ministers and parents have every encouragement to devote special effort and attention. Thorough doctrinal instruction, habits of devotion, attendance on the house of God, the observance of the Sabbath, separation from evil companions, the influence of parental piety and example are the means

which God ordinarily blesses to this end. Works such as that of Mr. Leyburn, addressed especially to the young, and designed to urge upon them the duty of remembering their Creator in the days of their youth, are also of great value. In this little volume the author has presented the claims of religion on those in the morning of life, in a way well adapted to produce the happiest impression.

How Much shall I Give? A series of Tracts on the subject of Systematic Benevolence. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut street.

This volume contains "The Duty of giving away a stated portion of our income," by Rev. William Arthur, A. M. "Systematic Benevolence," by Rev. D. V. Smock. "Address on Systematic Benevolence," by the General Assembly to the Ministers and Churches under its care;" and "The Great Giver," by the Rev. W. S. Plumer, D. D.

Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. By William Archer Butler, M. A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited from the Author's MSS., with Notes, by William Hepworth Thompson, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

These volumes reached us at the moment of going to press. We are obliged to postpone, therefore, to a future opportunity, all discriminating criticism upon them. The bare announcement of such a work to those who have known the author through the volumes of his sermons recently given to the public, will lead many among them to procure it, and learn its merits by personal examination.

Mental Philosophy, including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and the Will. By Joseph Haven, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blake-man & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1857.

A convenient and satisfactory compendium of Mental Philosophy, adapted to the wants of learners and the requirements of the class-room, has long been a desideratum, which, one after another, our Professors in this department have tasked themselves to supply. We have, on different occasions, indicated our opinion of these successive productions, and shown that the field is still open for new efforts to meet this want. This work of Professor Haven, though not without its faults and errors, is, on the whole, quite the most successful effort yet made in this department. It is clear and comprehensive in its method, perspicuous and elegant in style, and quite complete in its analysis and exhibition of the principal phenomena, operations,

and faculties of the human mind. We meet occasionally in various parts of the work with views which we do not endorse. We have not had time to read the important chapter on the Idea of Right, or the Nature of Virtue. The chapter on Logic, we think, were better omitted, unless the subject were more thoroughly treated. The chapter on the Will, although not free from exceptionable passages, we rejoice to say, contains a great deal more truth, and a great deal less error, than we expected to find. We hope we may be able, hereafter, to indicate more precisely the features of the book which we approve, and those to which we take exception. It has already attracted a public attention which establishes its claim to just and thorough criticism.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Eadie, *Commentary on the Philippians.*

P. S. Desprez, *The Book of Jonah, illustrated by Discoveries at Nineveh.* 12mo. pp. 130.

R. Gray, *A Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha; or an account of their several books, their contents and authors, and of the times in which they were respectively written; with a Key to the New Testament, by T. Percy.* 8vo. pp. 460.

Bengel's *Gnomon on the New Testament*, now first translated into English. Vols. I. and III. 8vo.

W. E. Jelf, *Christian Faith Comprehensive, not Partial; Definite, not Uncertain.* 8vo. pp. 268. Bampton Lectures for 1857.

H. James, *Christianity the Logic of Creation.* 12mo.

H. James, *The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism.* 12mo.

J. E. Cairnes, *The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy.* 8vo. pp. 194.

Analecta Nicæna, Fragments relating to the Council of Nice; the Syriac text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum; with a translation, notes, &c., by B. H. Cowper. 4to.

D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, during sixteen years' residence in the interior.* 8vo.

History of Herodotus, a new English version, edited, with notes and essays, by G. Rawlinson, assisted by H. Rawlinson and J. G. Wilkinson. 4 vols. 8vo.

S. Birch, Ancient Pottery and Porcelain, Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman. 2 vols. 8vo.

The Library of the British Museum received, during the last year, an addition of ten thousand four hundred and thirty-four volumes. The manuscripts obtained were also numerous; among them was a handsome copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, on vellum, of the date A. D. 1441. The antiquities received comprise, in addition to the collection of the late Sir William Temple, formerly minister at Naples, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five coins and medals, five of which are of glass, with inscriptions in the Cufic character. In the department of natural history, there have been added thirty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine Zoological specimens, and six thousand seven hundred geological and mineralogical specimens.

FRANCE.

The Serapeum of Memphis discovered and described, by A. Mariette. No. I. Fol. pp. 8, with 4 plates. This work is to contain 110 folio plates, presenting plans and views of the Serapeum, the principal bas-reliefs, vases, inscriptions, and the different objects found in the excavations. Each plate is accompanied by an explanatory text.

Tairn, The French Philosophers of the nineteenth century. 8vo. pp. 367.

The Academy of Inscriptions have offered prizes of two thousand francs each for the best exposition of the history of the Gauls, prior to the Emperor Claudius, and the best treatise on the text of the Koran, the former to be presented in 1858, the latter in 1859.

The distinguished Orientalist, Quatremère, Professor of Persian in the Imperial School of living Oriental Languages at Paris, recently deceased.

The collection of Tamil writings belonging to the late M. Ariel, of Pondicherry, and which contained upwards of five hundred MSS., was bequeathed by him to the Asiatic Society of Paris.

The first Russian journal was the *Gazette* of Moscow. Its publication was authorized by a ukase of Peter the Great, dated December 16, 1702, and the first number appeared the same day. The oldest copy known to be in existence is dated January 2, 1703.

ITALY.

The Albani Library, announced to be sold at Rome, is to be transferred to Mantua and Milan, by order of the government. The Alfieri Library also is shortly to be sold. This will cause the dispersion of two thousand manuscripts and eleven thousand four hundred printed books. The collection is rich in works relating to Italian history of the middle ages, and in the private correspondence of numerous ambassadors and cardinals, scions of this noble house. The Mezzofanti Library has been purchased by the Pope, and presented to the city of Bologna.

GERMANY.

Hengstenberg's Christology, Vol. III. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 223. This concludes the work.

The Condensed Exegetical Manual on the Old Testament. Vol. XII.

A seventh edition has appeared of Tholuck on John, a fourth of De Wette on the Gospel of Matthew, a second of Hofmann's Schriftbeweis, and a second of Ewald's History of Christ.

K. H. Graf, The Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.) Explained. 8vo. pp. 83.

J. G. Vaihinger, The Poetical Writings of the Old Testament translated and explained. Vol. III. Proverbs and Lamentations. 8vo. pp. 404.

P. Schegg, The Holy Gospels translated and explained. Vol. II. Gospel of Matthew. 8vo. pp. 576.

A. Bisping, Exegetical Manual to the Epistles of Paul. Vol. II. Part 1. 2 Corinthians and Galatians. 8vo. pp. 315.

F. H. Reusch, The Book of Tobias translated and explained. 8vo. pp. 144.

A new translation of the Bible is announced as in preparation by the Chevalier Bunsen.

P. de Lagarde, De Novo Testamento ad Versionum Orientalium fidem edendo. 4to. pp. 20. The writer proposes to publish an edition of the New Testament, paying more regard to the critical authority of ancient Oriental versions than has been hitherto done.

Rab. A. Geiger, The Original and the Versions of the Bible in their dependence on the wider development of Judaism. 8vo. pp. 500.

Neander's Theological Lectures. Section I. Part 2. The History of Christian Doctrine. 8vo. pp. 312.

A. Ébrard, The Doctrine of Vicarious Satisfaction founded

in Scripture, with special reference to Hofmann's theory of the Atonement. 8vo. pp. 100.

J. A. Ginzel, History of Cyrillus and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slaves and the Slavic Liturgy. 8vo. pp. 307.

E. F. Gelpke, Church History of Switzerland. Part I. 8vo. pp. 416.

Aurora, or Select Writings of those who sought to Reform the Church before Luther. Edited by F. Schöpff. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 61.

Meditations of Savonarola upon Psalms xxxi. and li.

H. Heppe, History of German Protestantism, from 1555 to 1581. Vol. III. contains the years 1574—1577. 8vo. pp. 738.

H. Heppe, Dogmatics of German Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Vol. III. (the last.) 8vo. pp. 434.

F. Zarncke, The German Universities in the Middle Ages. Contributions to their history and character. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 266.

The Berlin edition of the works of Frederick the Great is now completed in 30 vols. 8vo. One hundred copies have been printed in 4to.

Photii Constantinopolitani liber de Spiritus Sancti Mystagogia, quem nunc primum edid. J. Hergenroether. 8vo. pp. 36 and 338.

J. Kittseer, Contents of the Talmud and its authority, with a historical introduction. 8vo. pp. 203.

W. Gremin, The Fable of Polyphemus. 4to. pp. 30.

M. Uhlemann, Egyptian Archæology. 8vo. pp. 331.

H. Brugsch, Monuments of Egypt. No. 1. fol. pp. 26, and 18 plates. This is from the drawings taken during his expedition to Egypt in 1853 and 1854. The work is to be completed in about twenty numbers.

M. A. Levy, Phœnician Studies. No. 2. 8vo. pp. 115. This is occupied with the deciphering of various inscriptions.

The first number of Bernstein's long expected Syriac Lexicon has appeared. Fol. pp. 144.

F. Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar and Chrestomathy. 4to. pp. 403. A second enlarged edition.

W. Schott, On the Chinese art of Versification. 4to. pp. 26.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1858.

No. II.

ARTICLE I.—*Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und im Neuen Testamente.* Ein theologischer versuch von Dr. J. CHR. K. HOFMANN, Prof. Theol. in Erlangen. 8vo. pp. 362 and 386.

THIS work, which was published rather more than thirteen years ago, has been several times referred to in our columns. But its influence upon the opinions of an important class of continental scholars has been such, that we shall render, we doubt not, an acceptable service to our readers by presenting them with a summary of its contents. It should be distinctly stated in advance, that with whatever faults these volumes may be chargeable, they are free from all complicity with the principles or results of a sceptical criticism, which is upon proper occasions scored in a very wholesome way. Hofmann's aspirations after novelty have taken quite a different turn from this. The literal truth of the sacred narrative is everywhere adhered to, as opposed to all mythical conceits and legendary exaggerations. The integrity and genuineness of all the inspired writings, and in all their parts, are strenuously asserted, and the date to which unvarying tradition assigns them is unhesitatingly received. When even such men as Kurtz and Delitzsch have yielded to the torrent, it is deserving of commendatory mention that Hofmann should stand firm. While

for the most part he enters into no detailed discussion of these critical questions as foreign to his proper theme, his treatise is based throughout upon correct and well established views regarding them. And without such premises, manifestly no reliable examination could be instituted into the contents of the sacred volume, and of the divine scheme which they unfold. In fact there is some ground for our author's claim, that investigations such as he here conducts, though lying in a different field from critical inquiries, are sufficient to overturn their most boasted results. For if, by proceeding upon the assumption that the books of Scripture were written at the times and in the order that has been generally received, a regularly developed system can be traced in the whole, and each part be shown to fit precisely in its proper place; this is not far from a demonstration that the original assumption cannot be false. In the case of the book of Revelation, however, he departs from his usual custom so far as to spend eighteen pages in vindication of its apostolic authorship, and of the correctness of the tradition which assigns it to the reign of Domitian; for it was important to his interpretation of it to show that it could not have found its fulfilment in the Jewish war under Titus, which was already ended before the date of its composition.

The idea which lies at the basis of this work, and which with great ingenuity and boldness Hofmann endeavours to establish, is that of the organic unity of the Scriptures; that they are not only harmonious throughout, but they form one scheme, all whose facts and revelations from the very beginning conspire to one divinely purposed end. But this true principle is vitiated by a false philosophy, and by a reckless determination to make everything bend to the theory which he has adopted. According to him, it is history alone which is properly speaking prophetic; and the history of all nations is as really so, as that of the chosen people. The triumphal processions of Rome were predictive of the future emperor as truly as the paschal lamb was of Christ. The sole office of prophecy is to expound history, to interpret to the popular consciousness those germs of the future which are hid beneath the forms of the present. Nothing can at any time be included in its utterances, of which current events have not furnished in some way the indication.

The predictive element in both history and prophecy is evolved by the agency of the infinite and all-pervading and self-developing Spirit. The individuality and the personality of men are here distinguished. The former includes whatever is peculiar to any one as an individual, and in which he differs from others. In this he is not free; for a man's volitions have nothing to do with his physical or mental organization, with the original endowments of which he was possessed, or the influencing circumstances by which he is surrounded. The personality is the seat of freedom. Now in controlling men as God's Spirit does, to make them his agents in prophetic history, or in the utterance of predictions, he acts upon their individuality, not their personality, so that his control is absolute, while at the same time they are left in full possession of their freedom. This is illustrated by Caiaphas's prophecy of the death of Jesus, John xi. 49-52: "That he spake came from the Spirit who impelled him, and without whom man does nothing; that he spake in precisely these words came from his special characteristics being such as they were, and from his state of mind at the moment, both of which were the work of God: in other respects it was wholly his own word and not that of God, uttered with consideration and in the full use of his senses, without the suppression of his rational consciousness, or of any of the faculties of his soul." "Nothing can happen, great or small, which is not necessarily conditioned by the essential qualities of the Spirit, and the form in which he is to find realization; * * and no prediction is casual, or could have remained unspoken."

All history repeats itself in successive stages corresponding with the progressive forms, in which the union of God with man is effected. The purpose of the whole is the exhibition of Christ, the God-man, his prefiguration under the Old Testament, his actual life in the flesh, and the manifestation of his glorified nature in the Church of the New Testament. These are to be followed by the state of final glory, when the Church shall be perfectly transformed into Christ's image. The common relation of all these stages to the same subject induces a pervading mutual resemblance, so that each becomes prognostic of those that follow after. The characteristic of the

period prior to the advent, is the dominion of nature or of the flesh, under which men came by the fall, when their personal will became enslaved to their fleshly will, these terms being employed to express not so much a state of spiritual corruption as the domination of the bodily appetites. The prevailing experience of this period was that of sin and death, the inadequacy of natural good to satisfy the soul, and the incompetency of man unaided, to emancipate himself from their control. The imperfections and limitations apparent even in the best estate then reached, served to awaken expectations and longings for the time when they should be removed. Natural good pointed forward to spiritual good held in reserve; natural evil to that power by which it was to be overcome.

The incarnation was designed not to put away sin by an atoning sacrifice, nor to work out by Christ's obedience a justifying righteousness, but to bring down a new element of life into mankind. Personal communion with God is now first made possible. This is the bond of union in the Church, as the bond in Israel had been the merely natural relation appropriate to the preceding period. Through Christ, who was the Son of God because supernaturally born of the Holy Spirit, they are made sons of God. Individuality in the sense above explained did not belong to the person of Christ. He was a free Spirit; and any particular temperament, anything which was so but might have been otherwise would have implied limitations which are not supposable in him. His physical nature, however, as born of a particular mother, and a particular people, and organized in a particular way, was possessed of individual characteristics. These limitations in the earthly life of the incarnate Redeemer, are so many predictions of his state of glorification, in which they have all been done away. The Lutheran doctrine of the infusion of divine attributes into the ascended human nature of Christ is thus justified.

The experience of the Church, in which the glorified life of Christ is operative, is that of righteousness and life. They are personally brought into communion with God, but their carnal nature is not yet removed. They wait their transformation into the likeness of the glorified Christ, when all individual diversities shall cease. The earthly life of Christ, and the pre-

sent state of the Church, are thus at once fulfilments of what had been previously foreshown, and are predictive of what lies yet beyond them.

From this outline of the leading features of Hofmann's theory, it is not difficult to see that the idea was born in the school of Schleiermacher. The great and decisive objection to it is, that if it does not deny, it sinks out of sight the personality and free agency of God. His spirit, it is alleged, unfolds itself in history by a regular process; and prophecy follows the same fixed method of development. God can communicate nothing to a prophet which has not already presented itself in the gradual unfoldings of history. This conception is at an endless remove from the true one, that God is conducting all events in his providence conformably to that sovereign purpose which he has freely formed; and in the communications which he makes to men he is restricted by no laws of necessity, by no obligation imposed *ab extra*, but he freely selects such lessons, be they what they may, as are appropriate to the end he each time has in view, conditioned solely by his own wise and holy and gracious plan. The idea of inspiration finding place among the heathen equally with Israel, and the events of their history being equally predictive with that of the latter, is also at variance with the nature of God, who is not a force universally diffused and acting everywhere alike, but a free agent who operates here or there, in this way, or in that, agreeably to his sovereign pleasure; and it obliterates the distinction so broadly drawn in the Scriptures, and in actual fact between his gracious or supernatural and his ordinary providence. The distinction made between individuality and personality, however it may exist in theory, is impossible in actual fact: a person without the distinctive peculiarities involved in the very notion of separate existence, is a chimerical abstraction. And the attempt by this means to reconcile man's free agency and God's absolute control, amounts to a virtual abandonment of the former, and is chargeable with containing the seeds of fatalism. The denial that individual characteristics as not being free, and implying limitation, are to be perpetuated in the glorified saints, is either unintelligible, or it involves a denial of the continuance of their distinct personality. The

state of glory must then be an absorption into the infinite indistinguishable essence of an abstract Deity. It is an unjust depreciation of the Old Testament, when personal and living communion with God is denied to the saints of the former economy, or when their aspirations are limited to temporal good. Though he not very consistently goes also to the opposite extreme of unduly exalting the restrictive local and temporary features of the former dispensation, claiming that they are to be perpetuated under the New Testament, that the natural Israel are to repossess their ancient privileges in the Christian Church, and Canaan and Jerusalem to be again the chosen seat of the Most High. It is a perversion of the end of the incarnation, which is a grand remedial scheme consequent upon the introduction of sin, to make it independent of the fact of the fall, and to regard it as simply a stage in the development of humanity, which would in any case have been necessary. The seat of sin is not the body but the soul; and its formal nature is not a predominance of the physical over the rational powers, but rebellion against God and the transgression of his will. The only true thing in his system in fact, is that which was remarked in the outset. There is an organic unity in the plan of redeeming mercy unfolded in the Scriptures, and developed in God's great scheme of gracious providence. And in virtue of this, each of its advancing stages furnishes premonitions of those which are to follow, and in each God has kept his people advised of what was still future in his counsels, by that sure word of prophecy which shines as a light in a dark place.

In the detailed application of this theory, Hofmann evinces an unflinching determination to carry it consistently through at all hazards. Many clear predictions are by forced interpretations almost emptied of their meaning, because the germs of them are not yet visible in the history, and they do not square with his notions of progressive development. Such a procedure can never be sanctioned. God's ways are not as our ways. That man will assuredly run into error, who first forms his idea of what God ought to do, and then strives to bring what God actually has done into accordance with his own previous conceptions. The plans of the Most High can only be learned from their execution, or from the exposition which he has fur-

nished of them himself. In interpreting the disclosures which he has made to the prophets, we have no right to limit the Holy One by insisting in advance that no more than a certain amount can be conceded to have been made known at any particular time. But these inspired utterances must be allowed to stand precisely as we find them; they must be taken in their obvious and natural import, and our ideas of what was appropriate and accordant with the divine plan must be determined by the facts, not the facts by our ideas. The large reduction which he thus makes in the gross amount of Old Testament prediction, is an inevitable consequence of his theory, that the prophetic element in its primary sense lies exclusively in the history, to which uttered prophecy is subsidiary as furnishing its explanation, but without proceeding any faster than the history itself advances. Its function is to detect those germs of the future, which are hid in the present, but it cannot anticipate those germs. For the same reason he admits very few direct and unequivocal predictions of the Messiah, and denies utterly that his Deity is foretold, though he finds an abundance of indirect anticipations and obscure premonitions of his coming, and his work, in the restlessness manifested under what is unsatisfying, and the longings indulged for a yet unaccomplished good. Yet he does not hesitate to admit real and definite predictions when they fit into his scheme, and the supernatural appears to follow the law he has prescribed for it. Thus he says of Ezekiel's specific and minute predictions regarding Zedekiah, xii. 12, 13: "This cannot possibly be reconciled with the rule set up by Hitzig, that the alleged foresight of the prophets must be restricted to an anticipation or a deduction from existing facts, or from real or imagined truths. Or if this only came to pass by chance, this chance would be as remarkable as that the king who allowed the Jews to return home from the exile, bore the name of Cyrus, the very name predicted by Isaiah." He also allows predictions to stand which contain definite measures of time, such as that of the seventy years exile, the sixty-five years to the completing of Ephraim's desolation by Esarhaddon's heathen colonists, Isaiah vii. 8, and others of similar character. He even finds definite notes of time in some passages where most probably none was intended; thus he subjects the one

month, Zech. xi. 8, to a process of computation, and finds it to correspond with the event as he understands it. Strongly as we feel ourselves compelled to protest against many of his views, and serious as would be the injury resulting from their indiscriminate adoption, his remarks are often highly ingenious and striking; and they not infrequently contain a prevalently neglected phase of the truth, even when they cannot be accepted as a complete and satisfactory exhibition of it.

The predictive features of the Old Testament are arranged in twelve sections. The first is entitled Man and Woman. The preposterous view is here maintained, that if Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit before the creation of Eve, its natural effect would have been immediate death; after her creation its effect was to make both ashamed of their nakedness. The creation of woman was thus a safeguard against that doom which otherwise would have been the instant effect of his transgression. This was accordingly God's first act of grace. "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh," was an implicit prophecy, the first ever uttered. The joy at Eve's creation was soon dimmed by the fall; but the imperfect points forward to the perfect, there shall be one to whom the Church shall sustain this same relation without any remaining consequence of the fall, and with nothing to mar her gladness.

The "seed of the woman," which is the title of the second section, denotes all her descendants; the seed of the serpent is snakes, and this though the presence and agency of a seducing spirit is confessed in the first temptation. Thus the prediction of ultimate redemption, the announcement that the injury which man had suffered should be but partial while the tempter should be crushed, is frittered utterly away; and the only promise which is admitted to be found in it is, that instead of dying at once, as they had reason to apprehend, the species should be perpetuated, a thought embodied by Adam in the name he gave his wife, Gen. iii. 20. Clothing man's now defiled body was God's second act of grace, showing the divine favour and regard for it, polluted as it was. This covering, while an occasion of thankfulness, since it was furnished by the divine mercy, was humiliating, inasmuch as it reminded him of his nakedness: it therefore prefigures a covering so united with

man that his nakedness shall not be hid, but shall absolutely cease. A living animal must die to afford this dress; the contradiction between joy occasioned by the favour of God, who spared not this life for them, and sorrow on account of a life irrecoverably lost for their sakes, is resolved by one who liveth and was dead. Joy over woman's maternity, and shame at her nakedness, is a contradiction for the present, which points to a birth that shall be an object of joy but not of shame, to that of him who was born of a woman, but supernaturally conceived.

The third section is the Righteous Man. Abel offered an acceptable sacrifice on the borders of paradise, but was not allowed to enter thither. Enoch was translated to paradise, but carried none others with him. Noah delivered his family into a new world, but not into paradise; for his offering of clean beasts speaks of transgression as still continuing, and his need of an altar as a sacred place shows that the new earth was not everywhere pure and holy. There was a limitation in every case. But all limitation is removed, and the particular traits belonging severally to these righteous men are combined in him who is our Righteousness. He offered himself to God, has gone to God, and brings his people safe to God from the judgment inflicted on the world. In sending the flood, God had forsaken paradise, which till then had continued to be his earthly seat, a view which he supposes to be proved by Psalm xxix. 10. Noah predicts that this loss would be repaired, that he would return once more from heaven to earth, and would dwell in the tents of Shem.

The next predictive element is afforded by the seed of Abraham. The promise to Abraham is explained to mean, not that all nations should derive blessings from his seed, but that such a blissful estate awaited his posterity that their name should be throughout the world a synonym for blessing: no better fortune could be desired than should be possessed by them. Abraham has a promise of good things in the future: Melchizedek as king of Salem has an inferior good in actual possession. Isaac is the child of him that had the promises. Melchizedek is what he is, independent of any line of descent. These partial and divided traits must be combined in him who is the end of human history. The promise must be converted

into possession: sprung from the seed of Abraham, he must owe his consequence not to his descent but to the dignity of his own person. Israel had become a great people before Christ came; they possessed the land of Canaan, and were the bearers of a hope that should embody everything that could be desired. But nothing had been reached comparable with such a felicity as had been anticipated. The promise, therefore, was not yet exhausted, but looks to something still in reserve. The promise to Abraham is to be fulfilled to the Jews, not merely as it is to the Gentiles. "Israel shall alone of all nations partake of the future salvation as a nation, Rom. xi. 26, while from others, individuals enter as individuals into the communion of Christ." The future glory of Christ shall be revealed in Canaan, and Jerusalem shall be the special place of its manifestation.

Next follows the Redeemer. The promise of Jacob to Judah is explained to mean, that he shall continue to possess his princely position and insignia until he, as the champion of his brethren, comes into the enjoyment of rest, and whole nations are obedient unto him. Moses with his staff manifests to the heathen that the people are truly the people of God; with the blood of the paschal lamb (not offered in sacrifice but sprinkled as an act of obedience on the part of the people, and eaten as a meal to strengthen them for their journey) he saves them from the fate of the heathen; with the pillar of cloud he leads them forth from bondage. The redemption of Moses did not adequately fulfil the hopes of Abraham; and the deliverer himself needed to have his human imperfection supplemented by other aids. The true Redeemer requires the aid of nothing external to himself. He employs no rod but that of his mouth. The sprinkling of his blood saves from the fate of an ungodly world, whilst his flesh strengthens them who eat of it for the journey from this world to another. Like the cloud too he is not of earth, nor bound to earth. The angel of the Lord spoken of in connection with the exodus, and who reappears in numerous instances in the Old Testament, is declared in opposition to the great body of the ablest interpreters from the earliest times, in opposition too to conclusive proofs, which evidence the contrary, to have been a created angel. Hofmann even denies that the original form of expression necessarily

implies that one definite angel was intended; though he expresses his belief that the relation of Jehovah to Abraham and Israel was from the beginning of Scripture to the end, conducted by one and the same finite angel. As Judah was to be the first to reach a state of rest, it is implied that the second Moses and the true angel of Jehovah must arise from amongst his descendants, and that the ultimate fulfilment cannot take place, while the people are under other conduct.

The sixth section is the Lawgiver. Moses needed an angel between himself and God, Gal. iii. 19; the book of the law as a revelation of the divine will between himself and the people; and the blood of the covenant sacrifice to mediate between God and the people. The true Lawgiver knows the will of God in virtue of his community of nature; that will is revealed in his own person, not in a multitude of ordinances external to himself; and he is likewise the offering presented unto God. And as in the covenant sacrifice the blood of the victim belonged to God, but when the people entered into fellowship with him, part was given to them by sprinkling it upon them; so the people submitting to the great Lawgiver receive their portion from his sacrifice.

The seventh section is the Priest. In consequence of the people's readiness to receive God's law, he comes down to live with them in a house of his own. The view presented of the Mosaic service is an extremely low and unsuitable one, though ingenious, and presenting some worthy thoughts. Instead of seeing in the tabernacle a material representation of the relations which God sustained to men, and in the ritual an incorporation of spiritual worship, the former is represented to be a copy of human habitations, and the latter drawn from the usages of domestic life, and all idea of vicarious satisfaction is obliterated from the sacrifice. God's house has a seat or throne in the ark. It has a table, a candlestick, and an altar for a fireplace. These are separated from the throne by a veil, to intimate that though it was appropriate to have them in his house he did not need them. Incense was not a symbol of prayer, but was to make the house fragrant and delightful. As none but fragrant fire could be admitted in the house, there was a second altar without for sacrificial gifts. This was con-

structed of earth, and so belonged to the earth, yet was raised above it toward heaven. From the chosen people God chooses a family to be his special attendants, to be the ministers of his house, and to make atonement for the people, not as men but as Israelites, not for sins against the conscience, but against a law of outward ordinances. The obedience of an external act of penitence in bringing an animal as a victim, outweighs the previous disobedience of a law which has to do simply with external relations. The true priest, however, must effect an atonement for men as men, and in matters pertaining to the conscience; he must not only wear a sacred dress, and have a body free from physical blemish, but be possessed of inward and perfect holiness; he must be anointed not with oil but with the Spirit. The ideas of God's house and of his people are united in the Church. The true priest makes the Church a fit dwelling for God by kindling therein a fragrant fire, the warmth of love which is pleasing to God; by placing on the table an offering prepared from God's gifts, and fit to be presented to him though he does not need it; and by illuminating it with the light of truth and wisdom. He offers for himself in so far as by suffering he becomes a fit priest for man. His obedience in laying down his life outweighs man's disobedience in venturing his life at the suggestion of the evil one. As the mercy-seat covers the accusing law, so God's presence in the world becomes gracious by his claims upon it being covered by his Son. Christ is thus at once the mercy-seat, the high priest, and the sacrifice.

The predictions centered in the King are considered in two parts, first as represented by David and Solomon, and then by the anticipated second David. In the lack of unity and quiet for the first few centuries after the conquest, the law could not be set in unembarrassed operation. As no Asiatic nation was fully organized without a king, Balaam assumes in his prophecy that Israel would have a king amongst them. The idea of a king appears in the proposal of the people to Gideon, in the song of Hannah, and in the threatening of the man of God against Eli. In David and Solomon the hopes of Israel from this source found a brilliant though only a preliminary realization. The promise, 2 Sam. vii. 16, that David's house and

kingdom should be established for ever, need not in strictness mean more than for an indefinite period, without absolutely excluding a termination. If a new order of things should arise in which the kingdom of Israel had no place, this would limit it; but so long as Jehovah employs the instrumentality of kings in his scheme of grace, these shall belong to David's descendants. We are authorized, however, in looking for the ultimate fulfilment of the hopes awakened by the kingdom, but which David and Solomon failed fully to realize, in the line of descent from them.

The author of Psalm 78 concludes his account of God's gracious dealings toward Israel with the selection of David, which brings Judah into the place of Ephraim, and begins the realization of the blessing belonging to the former. The sufferings through which he came to the throne, and his trust in God, are depicted in Psalms 59, 52, 56, and 57. The extremity represented in Psalm 22 corresponds with 1 Samuel xxiii. 25, 26. Psalm 40 begins, verses 1-6, with a record of deliverance from danger, and ends, verses 13-18, with a prayer for complete deliverance from evils which still surround him: in the middle portion he declares that he has already shown his readiness to do God's will, verses 7-9, and to speak his praise, verses 10-12. These are the feelings with which he looked forward to his reign. Psalm 2 shows him already recognized as king, and just beginning an important war like that mentioned 2 Samuel x. 6, whose dangers are described in Psalms 60 and 83: the feelings of the better portion of the people in view of these perils are presented Psalms 44, 80, 79, 74, 89. "This day have I begotten thee," refers to the time of his anointing by Samuel, when the Spirit of the Lord came upon him. Whatever nations, he would ask, in the rightful exercise of his sovereignty, to have subjected to him, God would subdue under him. This, according to Hofmann, does not promise him universal empire, any more than the disciples actually removed the mountain and cast it into the sea, when the Saviour said that this could be accomplished by faith. The trial caused by Absalom's revolt is the subject of Psalm 41, where, verses 9, 10, refer to Ahithophel's treachery. Psalm 16 belongs to the same period: verses 9-11 simply promise deliverance from death. In Psalm

21, David gives a picture of the Lord's anointed, suggested by what had been realized in himself. He had sorrows indeed, but they were merited; and it was not given to him to do all that a king of Israel might hope to accomplish, but he knew that the work begun by him would be completed by his posterity. Enough was granted to him, and performed by him, to teach him all that he here says of the blessedness and success of the divinely constituted king.

The selection of Jerusalem as the seat of the kingdom, and the locating of the ark in Zion, exerted an important influence upon the view thenceforward taken of the relation of the people to Jehovah and its ultimate manifestation. Psalm 68 refers to these events. The hopes of Israel henceforth cluster not barely about a king but about Zion, the seat of God's habitation. The intimate connection between the king and Jehovah, in virtue of which his people, enemies and throne are likewise those of God, is set forth in Psalm 110. On the morning of the battle he feels revived by the dew of youthful vigour. "Thou art a priest for ever," does not imply the union of the kingdom and the priesthood. But David should be, as long as he lived, possessed of the priestly prerogatives, (not trenching at all upon those of the house of Aaron,) which were involved in the possession of royalty, such as representing the people before God, praying for them, and blessing them in God's name. Verse 7 refers to the foes refreshing themselves on the way, perhaps a figure for their being joined by auxiliary forces, and proudly lifting up their heads. But God has smitten the head of him who is over a great land. The triumph here achieved belongs to the war begun in Psalm 2.

What David won, Solomon enjoyed. From their different circumstances, their anticipations and wishes for the kingdom were different. David had asked for and expected victory in every conflict, Psalms 20 and 21. Solomon desires a righteous and peaceful sway in Psalm 72, which contains not a promise but a prayer. In Psalm 45, Solomon is introduced in his regal glory. The connubial estate of the king, mentioned along with other particulars in this Psalm, is presented alone in the Song of Solomon. Notwithstanding the clear proofs of the allegorical nature of this song, Hofmann denies it. It is, according

to him, a simply human relation which is set forth in it, only worthily adorned to befit the splendour of the monarch. The highest form of royal life brings us back to the first and most general of human relations, the love of man to woman. In his entire realm, Solomon finds nothing to yield him a higher degree of happiness than his love. In like manner, David, in Psalm 8, presents the calling and the destiny of man as he gathered it from the experience of his own life. Victory over God's foes, and rule over God's world, was the function to which David was called; he recognizes that of man in general to be the same. By their personal history, and by the history of the kingdom in Israel, David and Solomon were put in positions which enabled them to describe more fully and truthfully than had ever been possible before, or in the case of any other, these general good things conferred upon the race, what was given to man in his creation, what to man in the creation of woman.

The achievements of the kingdom of Israel, however, and all the glory to which it attained, lay in the sphere of natural life. It brought Israel into the possession of the promised good, so far as this was possible in temporal things, and then its splendour waned. The memory of it, which alone survived, served but to produce a longing for its restoration in a more permanent form. David was sinful, and conceived in sin. Solomon found a wearisome sameness in the experience of earthly pleasure. Ecclesiastes bears witness to this, "a book which, in spite of all contradiction, can only belong to this period, and must have been written by Solomon." The people were unholy, Psalm 14, and rested on external rites of worship, Psalm 50. David could only hope, Psalm 15 and 24, that Zion would one day be tenanted by the holy. Solomon's splendid rule was burdensome to his subjects. Judah's happy peace had come as the result of victorious strife; but it was not without remaining causes of uneasiness, and it had the seeds of corruption in its bosom. The kingdom was rent, and became the prey of powerful neighbours. In the ultimate fulfilment there must be a release from all these imperfections, and especially from sin and death, which were their cause. The true king must be one from the house of David, but

begotten of God, not to an office merely, which he should administer under the leadings of the Spirit, while possessed still of a sinful nature, but to a communion of his own life. He should be one from among the people, of the same nature with them, yet separate from sinners. He should pass through suffering to a crown; and needing no son to complete his work, he should be David and Solomon both in one. The ultimate like the preliminary fulfilment shall take place in Canaan and in Zion.

The second branch of this section discusses the further prophetic import of the kingdom under the title of the Second David. The prominent evils of the period subsequent to Solomon were the schism of the ten tribes, and the consequent encouragement given to the hostility of foreign foes. These evils point forward to the period of their removal. Hope was directed to a descendant of David's royal house to effect the reunion of the former and the chastisement of the latter. This is the key-note of the prophecies uttered in this period. This is the idea at the basis of the prediction of Azariah the son of Oded, 1 Chron. xv. 1-7. Obadiah, whose book is alleged, notwithstanding the order in which it stands in the collection of the minor prophets, to be the oldest of the prophetic writings, has for his theme the vengeance which Edom should suffer for their maltreatment of Zion. In verse 16, he intimates that other nations would in their turn injure Zion, as Edom had done, and suffer a similar penalty. Joel, who, according to Hofmann's ideas of the progress of prophetic announcement, should be placed next, predicts an assault upon Jerusalem, not by individual nations merely, but by all combined; the judgment which follows is not that inflicted upon the various nations successively in the course of God's providential government, but one final act, which shall free Jerusalem from all her foes, and which shall take place in the literal valley of Jehoshaphat, so named from the victory gained by the king of that name, 2 Chron. xx. 26. Amos ix. 8 predicts that God would destroy the sinful kingdom, i. e. that of the ten tribes, but not the house of Jacob, i. e. Judah. He speaks of the tabernacle of David as fallen, not with reference to the foreseen condition of his royal race when Christ should come, but because Judah had by Ama-

ziah's folly become a dependency of the house of Jehu. The family of David should arise from its depression, and exercise sway over Edom and "all the heathen which were called by my name," those who had once been subjected by David to the theocratic state.

The earlier revelations of Hosea are contemporaneous and to the same effect. Chapter first records a literal not a merely symbolical marriage; the prophet had to experience a treatment such as the Lord had received from Israel. He pays the woman, to whom he is married, iii. 2, the equivalent of thirty shekels or thirty ephahs of barley, that is, Ex. xvi. 16, 36, a sustenance for three hundred days. From the first of Abib to the feast of weeks commemorating the giving of the law, was sixty-five days: this sacred period sets forth the time that God lived with his people; during the rest of the year they must sit solitary and deplore his absence. Not till the next year should open would he return to them and the alliance be renewed. It was in the beginning of the year the people left Egypt; and in the beginning of the year they entered Canaan. Such a new year of reconciliation and favour should return again, but with no such sin to mar it as that of Achan; the valley of Achor should be turned, ii. 15, into a door of hope. The assurance of this renewed prosperity is not found in the ten tribes, however, but in Judah, i. 6, 7. The former must unite with the children of Judah under a common leader, and thus go up from the land of their captivity, i. 11. This leader, whom the captives appoint themselves to conduct their return, is not the Davidic king, iii. 5, who was of divine appointment. There had as yet been no prediction of a total captivity of Judah. As far as the people or the prophet knew, the king of David's line would continue to reign in Jerusalem without interruption. After this all existing evils would be exchanged for good, and the symbolical names are accordingly reversed. Hofmann admits no interregnum after Jeroboam II., and thus reduces to that extent the length of Hosea's ministry.

The early part of the ministries of Isaiah and Micah exhibit the corruption of manners which had resulted from prosperity; and a period is predicted which should consist with God's holiness, and a prosperity of another sort than that which accorded

with the lusts of these sinners. Micah ii. 12, 13, puts the blessings which he predicts in designed contrast with the words of the lying prophets, verse 11, who promise impunity to men walking in their lusts. In Isaiah iv. 2-6, it is declared, that after the nobles and women of Jerusalem have been punished, they shall find their beauty and glory, not in silver, and gold, and horses, ii. 7, and not in finery, iii. 18, but in what Jehovah causes to spring up from the land, its blessed condition. And instead of reposing their trust in their mighty men, captains and judges, all distinctions would be merged in the common title, "holy," given to all who were written unto life. Purity from sin, and a protection not human, but divine, should characterize Jerusalem. Isaiah ii. 2-4, is from an oral discourse of Micah, subsequently committed to writing, iv. 1-3. Right shall be as mighty in Jerusalem as now injustice. Instead of bribed priests, judges, and prophets, Jehovah himself teaches what is right. Zion becomes in consequence the metropolis of the earth, even physical changes being wrought to effect it. To establish this, Ezek. xl. 2 and Zech. xiv. 10 are compared.

The views of Judah's future have thus far been influenced by the internal condition of the kingdom. External events now occurred materially affecting its fortunes, and these give a new turn to the prophecies. Upon the Syro-Ephraimitic invasion, Isaiah assures Ahaz of the failure of the schemes of the confederate kings, and gives him the son of a virgin as a sign. The virgin is the house of David. The Lord is the husband to whom she is to be married. The Messiah is her child. His eating butter and honey, the products of an untilled land, denote the desolation of the country. The fulfilment of this began with the ravages of the king of Assyria; it was completed by the appearance of the Messiah in such a prostrate condition of Palestine as is here described. This extraordinary interpretation is in a later publication of Hofmann's, his *Schriftbeweis* exchanged for one more extraordinary and untenable still. The virgin is the people of Israel; the child miraculously born is "the people of salvation," formed out of the midst of them by the exercise of a divine agency. The evangelist applies "this law of the history of God's people" to the birth of the Saviour, in which it also holds good.

The mere multiplication of the nation, ix. 3, would not produce joy, but God's presence would; "they joy before thee." This joy is presented under three particulars, deliverance from foreign oppression, verse 4, the end of war, verse 5, and the reign of the second David, verse 6, who is to be a wonderful counsellor, a divine hero, and a father, whose paternal care shall never cease. To attain this result, three things are needed, the chastisement of Ephraim, ix. 7, x. 4, breaking the rod of Assyria, x. 5-34, and the shoot from the stem of Jesse, xi. 1-10. This descendant of Jesse shall possess the fear of God himself, and be pleased with it in others. Neither wicked men nor noxious animals shall be allowed to do any harm in God's holy mountain, i. e. in Canaan, which is here regarded as a mountainous country. This king shall also be a centre of attraction to the rest of the world, which shall seek unto him by whole nations. They that have been exiled shall likewise partake of these blessings, verses 11-16. They shall come back, Judah and Israel shall be once more united, and shall be again victorious over the nations once subjugated by David, and literal miracles shall be wrought on their behalf, removing every obstacle, and overcoming all opposition. These conquests are not inconsistent with the peace of Messiah's reign, since this embraces a long period of successive epochs. These same things substantially had been predicted by other prophets before. But the form of their presentation is modified now by the knowledge just gained of the fact that the power in which Ahaz preferred to trust, rather than Jehovah, would reduce the house of David to a state of abject weakness; and only in the moment when complete destruction seemed inevitable, would the son of David overthrow this oppressing power, and exalt his people, purified by their distress.

The same progress is observable in Micah. He speaks of the ruin which is impending from Assyria, i. 8-16, v. 5, declares that Jerusalem shall become heaps, iii. 12, and that her people shall be carried captive to Babylon, iv. 10. This is a preliminary condition to the return of her former prosperity. She shall there be delivered and redeemed from the hand of her enemies. The stronghold of the daughter of Zion must first become a "tower of the flock," iv. 8, be reduced to a mere

lookout for watching sheep. The royal house must sink to the shepherd-state of David before he was made king, and then the dominion shall come back; the second David shall be found in the same obscurity that the first was. The "tower of the flock" is more particularly named as suggestive to the house of David, not only of a former state of obscurity, but of a change for the better. It was at the tower of the flock, Gen. xxxv. 21, that Reuben forfeited his supremacy, which passed from him to Judah; thence also David was brought to be anointed king by Samuel. In iv. 9-13, are described the carrying away of the people to Babylon, and the oppression which they should suffer from many nations, followed by their glorious triumph over them, in which a reference is supposed, not to the successes of the Maccabees, but to the final conflict yet future. The "daughter of troops" in v. 1, is the daughter of Zion, as accustomed to attack, and now besieged. She is directed not to "gather herself in troops," but to "cut herself," in token of grief at her lamentable condition. Jerusalem thus besieged and humbled, is contrasted with Bethlehem, which shall give birth to the mighty Ruler, the place of whose issue is from everlasting, i. e. from the house of David, as it was long before, from its primitive Bethlehem-condition. To such forced interpretations does the attempt to explain away the Deity of the Messiah, from this and other passages, where it is clearly taught, necessarily lead. Hofmann adds, "How any one can find in the first verses of chap. 5, the manifestation of Christ, which has already taken place, is perfectly inconceivable." The whole belongs, according to him, to the ultimate future.

What Jeremiah and Ezekiel say of the second David, and Zechariah of the king coming to the daughter of Zion, is a simple repetition of what other prophets had predicted before. Assyria fell, but Chaldea came in its place, and depopulated Jerusalem. The hope of salvation then gathered about the view granted to Jeremiah, of a termination of the exile after seventy years. Those years were, however, enlarged to weeks of years. There was a new Jerusalem, but it was enslaved; a Judah, but without a prince of David's line. They gained a brief independence under the Maccabees, but soon fell under a fresh conqueror. The abortive attempt to throw off the Roman

yoke ended in a new destruction and dispersion from the holy land. The unhappy people still await the second David and his blissful sway.

The ninth section is entitled the Prophet. By the law and its priestly ordinances Israel became Jehovah's holy people; by its history it became under David and Solomon a kingly, and then, under the yoke of foreign oppression, a prophetic and teaching people. Deut. xviii. 15 predicts not an individual, but the whole line of prophets. The prophet is one from Israel's midst, who speaks not his own will but God's. Nothing can obstruct his fulfilment of his commission or the accomplishment of what he has declared. Still there are limitations, which point forward to their future removal. He is a sinful man whose lips need purging; his inspiration is not permanent, but occasional; it is not his person, but his utterances that are instructive; he is the herald not of present, but of future good; he cannot impart to others the good which he foretells, nor even the power of predicting it.

Moses wished that all the Lord's people were prophets. Joel announces that they shall be. The gift of a teacher of righteousness, ii. 23, (Eng. Ver. Marg.) is followed by rain and fruitful seasons; but the prophesying of the entire people, ii. 28, (by which is understood, not barely their sanctification, but that condition of things in which none shall have to teach his neighbour,) is followed by judgment upon their foes. The "servant of Jehovah," spoken of repeatedly in the latter part of Isaiah, and the description of whose vicarious sufferings in chap. 53, excludes any other than a messianic explanation, is nevertheless declared to be Israel in their prophetic character. What is said of him is consequently true of the prophetic order in which this function of the people was prominently represented. It is also true of Isaiah and other individual prophets, in as far as they belong to this order, and share its character and fortunes.

The tenth section is the Universal Monarch. Nebuchadnezzar was God's servant, and was raised up to represent an idea, which should find a final and complete realization in Israel. The image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the four beasts of Daniel's vision, symbolize the empires of Babylon, Medo-Persia,

Greece, and Rome. The "one like the son of man," who succeeds them, vii. 13, is not the Messiah, but a symbol of Israel's kingdom, though this of course implies a king. This is human, while those are brutal; this is celestial, seen in the clouds of heaven, while those are earthly, running or flying on the earth. This goes beyond previous predictions, simply in showing through what forms the empires of earth must pass before the final triumph of Israel. To this general outline are added, in chap. viii., some details respecting the approaching period of affliction under Antiochus Epiphanes.

His explanation of Daniel ix. 24-27, is one of the most wretched failures in his whole book. The seventy years foretold by Jeremiah as the period of the exile, must be counted from the final destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which, according to Hofmann, occurred B. C. 605. The seventy weeks of Daniel, chap. ix., come in their place, and must be reckoned from the same point. Of these weeks, seven extend to an anointed one, a prince, i. e. until Israel shall have a monarch of their own, not a vassal, but an independent and universal ruler. These weeks follow the sixty-two which are next mentioned, whether immediately or separated by an indefinite interval, is not foreshown. The event shows that such an interval must be assumed, or else, as is suggested, II., p. 280, an enlarged reckoning of these weeks as jubilee-periods must be coördinated with the other. During the sixty two weeks which succeed the destruction, the city should be built; not that the rebuilding should occupy all that time; but its condition should be the opposite of Zech. ii. 4, a city not needing walls for its protection, or unable to contain its inhabitants within such limits. These weeks reach to B. C. 171. After this, an anointed one (not the prince before mentioned) shall be cut off; not that he shall be put to death, but there shall cease to be a divinely appointed leader of the people. The phrase, "and not for himself," is rendered, "and there shall be no (such leader) to him" (the people.) The deposition of Onias is the event referred to. "The prince that shall come," is Antiochus Epiphanes. He shall make a firm covenant for one week with many who shall give in their adhesion to him. And during (the second) half of the week he shall abolish sacrifice and

oblation, even upon the abominable cover that maketh desolate, (this is referred to the idolatrous symbols put upon the altar, which effectually terminated all legitimate sacrifice,) until the end, and the decreed judgment which shall be poured upon the destined to destruction. Onias was deposed in the former part of the year 170 B. C. Antiochus died in the former part of the year 163 B. C. The altar was profaned the fifteenth day of Chisleu, 167 B. C.

God's servant Israel as a prophet, by suffering accomplishes the salvation of the world; glorified Israel shall, like Nebuchadnezzar, resistlessly rule the world. But even now Israel is not powerless; the prophet rules the world by his word. This lesson is found in Zechariah, chap. xi., of which the following novel and ingenious, but untenable exposition is given: Verses 1-3 are connected with the close of the preceding chapter; following upon the annihilation of the pride of Assyria and the sceptre of Egypt, they contain a general denunciation upon all that is lofty. The firs, cedars, and oaks, are symbols of worldly power. In verse 4, Zechariah, as a representative of the prophetic order, is told to act the part of a shepherd to mankind, who are called a flock of slaughter, because given over to be slaughtered by unfaithful shepherds, their wicked rulers. Obedient to the direction, he fed the flock of slaughter, and by consequence, "the poor of the flock," those who most needed care and attention, i. e. Israel, so called, as inferior to other nations in worldly advantages. The first staff, Beauty or Sweetness, is designed for the heathen nations, and denotes the nature of the treatment which they receive. They are led in the ways of worldly pleasure. The other staff was named Oppressors, and was designed for Israel; it was thus God corrected and guided them. The three shepherds cut off in one month, are the first three empires of Daniel, Babylon, Persia, and Greece. If by an extension of the principle of Daniel a week be made to mean, not seven years, but seven times seven, a month will be two hundred and ten; correspondent with which the period from the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, to the death of Alexander, was two hundred and fifteen years. The pay of thirty shekels, offered to the shepherd, was that of a hireling, a shekel per day for this month in which he laboured for all

mankind, and so, in a general sense, for Israel; but no account is made of what he did for them specially. The casting this price to the potter, implies an indignant rejection of it, as if it were as worthless as the clay in which he wrought. His casting it in the temple, implies that it is to be a potter's field; it is a threatening of destruction to Jerusalem. Breaking the staff with which he ruled the heathen, broke his covenant with them, and implied that he would have nothing more to do with feeding them. Breaking his other staff is not said to dissolve his relation with Israel, but to rend the people themselves into opposing factions. As the rule of the prophet is thus not accepted, the world is given up, verses 15-17, to the power of a fourth evil shepherd, the last monarchy of Daniel.

The Restorer is the subject of the eleventh section. The restoration under Joshua and Zerubbabel was partial, but it was prophetic of one which would be complete. All that was precious and costly was then in the possession of the heathen, but Haggai, ii. 7, predicts that it should come to adorn God's sanctuary; and, ii. 23, in the coming commotions, God would protect one prince, Zerubbabel or his descendant. Of the visions in the early part of Zechariah, the first teaches that the heathen, though now at ease, are to be punished for their ill treatment of Jerusalem. In the second, the powers that scattered Israel are driven away, so that the exiled people can return. In the third, Jerusalem in consequence has become populous. In the fourth, the personal sins of Joshua the high priest are forgiven. In the fifth, the candlestick represents the work which God would complete by his Spirit, viz. his temple: the two sons of oil are Haggai and Zechariah, who supply the Spirit to the people, in virtue of which they shall succeed in their enterprise. The sixth and seventh represent the removal of all that is ungodly from the holy land. The eighth represents those providential movements by which the peace and safety of Palestine were to be secured. The two mountains are Moriah and Zion. Brass is the metal of war. The four chariots are the four empires of Daniel. In verses 6, 7, the bay horses are not mentioned, (for "bay," Eng. Ver., the original has "strong,") because the empire of Babylon was already at an end. The black horses of Persia go into the north country of

Babylon. They are followed by the white horses of Greece. The grizzled horses of Antiochus Epiphanes, who stands between the third and fourth empires, as in some of the later revelations of Daniel, go into the south country of Egypt. The strong, who go through all the earth, are Rome. The import of the symbolical action that follows is, that the priestly and kingly offices shall be united in the true Restorer of the glory of David and Solomon. The predictive elements of this epoch reside in the facts that the priest and the prince are engaged together in building the temple; that this is carried on by the people at home, and furthered by the distant exiles.

The coming of Jehovah forms the concluding section of the Old Testament prediction. Jehovah had often visited his people in mercy or in judgment, but the full blessing of his presence had not yet been realized. He had visited them in Egypt, to redeem them from bondage, and on Sinai, to give them his law. He had given them rest through David, and peaceful security through Solomon. But many a day of sorrow had arisen since, and many oppressions had been experienced. When will the Lord, in the full sense of the word, dwell with his people and be their God? When will that be accomplished which his former deliverances have prepared them to expect? Zechariah, chaps. xii. and xiv. shows that a new conquest of Jerusalem by the gathered nations shall precede the Lord's appearance on the mount of Olives before Jerusalem, for the salvation of his people and the destruction of their foes. Ezekiel had seen in a vision the glory of God come back to the new temple, and make it his perpetual abode. The Lord, says Malachi, shall suddenly, at an unlooked for moment, come to his temple.

The result of the anticipations furnished by the facts of the former economy is summed up thus: "Out of Israel is to come forth a redeemer and a lawgiver, who shall separate them from the world, and make them the congregation of the Lord; a priest, king, and prophet, who shall make them perfectly and in spiritual things what Israel once was in natural things. With him God shall come to the congregation of Israel, and give them dominion over the human race. For in Israel is the salvation of the world. Israel is the man of God, the seed of

salvation, the righteous. And what is true of Israel in the midst of the nations, is true of the son of David in the midst of his own people." The history of the Old Testament is thus regarded by Hofmann as predictive throughout, and furnishing in each of its successive stages the theme which it is the province of the prophets, under the guidance of the same Spirit, by whom the history is itself controlled, simply to develope and expand. The New Testament history presents at once fulfilment and prediction. It introduces to a certain extent those good things, of which the shadows had been possessed before, and to which the unfoldings of the divine plan, both in fact and in word, had for ages been teaching Israel to look forward; while at the same time the absolute consummation was not yet reached. It was but a new step in the direction of the end, not the end itself; or rather it was but the beginning of the end. It brought a part of the destined inheritance into possession; it brought also fresh promises of more. So that thenceforward there was not only the unfulfilled residue of Old Testament prediction, which continued to point to a more distant future, but the fresh sense awakened of previously unanticipated wants spoke of supplies to be granted, and benefits never before enjoyed became pledges of larger gifts held in reserve.

It follows from the theory already presented that the ideal kept before the minds of the Old Testament saints, that towards which the history was pushing its constant advances, and that which the prophets were perpetually sketching is to be contemplated in its unity, being the sum of every perfection as far as the necessities experienced or the blessings imparted had taught the people of God, wherein perfection consisted. This is at one period surveyed from one side, at another from another; but it is throughout one and the same. In its actual fulfilment, however, this unit divides itself into a number of particulars properly embraced within its scope, which are separately brought out as the history advances, each representing a series of cognate predictions. As no one prediction covers the entire sum of what was to be fulfilled, so no single item in the fulfilment embraces the whole of what had been predicted; only those points dispersed over the Old Testament which relate to

the same individual trait of the future, will be found reproduced together in the New. Special pains are taken by our author to show, though frequently with indifferent success, that the applications made by the sacred writers of Old Testament prophecies to New Testament facts sustain his theory, or are at least reconcilable with it. The course of fulfilment is traced from the incarnation to the complete establishment of the Christian Church, under the various heads of the Son of God, the Son of David, the Child Jesus, the Baptist and the Son of God, the Prophet of Galilee, the Sufferings and Death of Jesus, his Resurrection and Ascension, the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the Hardening of Israel and the Calling of the Gentiles, and the Church of Jesus Christ.

The New Testament is likewise predictive, because, though it contains gifts never before paralleled, there is a remaining incompleteness which needs to be supplied; that is bestowed which implicitly involves while it does not as yet actually confer the full perfection of the future. This is presented under four particulars. First: Christ came into the world, but he did so as a helpless babe. A son of David's royal house, he was nevertheless born of a poor virgin, espoused to a carpenter. Possessed of an infinite nature, he was yet subject to the law of Israel, and to the magistracy of the heathen. But the divinity of his person assures that this contradiction of the inward reality with the outward appearance shall be reconciled by the final and evident mastery of the former. The weakness of his human nature, and the meanness attaching to his estate of humiliation shall vanish in the state of glory. He partook of flesh and blood, and entered into the conditions of human life in order to effect a union between himself and fallen men. But the triumph over sin and the evil one, of which his immaculate nature affords a pledge, shall secure the transformation of both the persons and the nature of his people into his own glorious image. And that the wise men from the far off East pay him their homage and offer him gifts, while the king of Judea seeks his destruction, foreshadows his acceptance by the heathen and his rejection by the leaders of the Jews.

Secondly. The Redeemer showed himself publicly to the people, but it was in the character of a prophet and a teacher.

He does not introduce the new world of salvation, but makes declarations respecting himself and his salvation, and to these declarations he demands faith instead of rendering faith superfluous by sight. Occasion of offence is left both in his doctrine and the circumstances of its delivery, for those who choose to take offence; while its purity of itself awakens the hostility of them that love their sins, so that this prophet shares the same fortune with those who preceded him in Israel; but the limitation experienced from this people shall be compensated by an extension of his doctrine beyond their bounds. His selection and mission of the twelve and the seventy show that his teachings shall be borne by his followers to those whom his personal ministrations would not reach. His miracles of deliverance from physical evil assure both believers individually and his Church collectively, of redemption from evil of every form, and even from all exposure to it.

Thirdly. Christ was glorified, but not without first dying, and arose from the dead, but not without ascending from earth to heaven. An indication is thus given that for his individual followers and for the collective Church as for himself, the path to exaltation and glory lay through sufferings, through crucifixion to the world and separation from all that is earthly. Christ's people shall partake of the life of his glorified nature. This was fulfilled when the Spirit was poured out, and when the apostles could say that they were dead with Christ, but raised with him to newness of life, or when they could say of the Church that it was the body of Christ, and one with him as a wife with her husband.

This incipient fulfilment, however, became itself a fresh prediction, which is unfolded under the fourth head of the Church of Christ in the world. The same contradiction here exists between the inward reality and the outward manifestation, as existed in Christ himself in his humiliation: so that in like manner its present temporary condition points forward to its future and everlasting state, and what befalls it now is a premonition of what shall befall it until that state is reached. Everything in the individual and in the world at large shall be ultimately made tributary to the service of the Lord. Diversities of every grade shall cease, their only use being the

temporary necessities of the Church, which shall then be all fully and for ever supplied. The Church now suffers in two ways from contact with an ungodly world, from violence without, and from false doctrine within; but her hope in both rests upon the fact that God's Spirit is mightier as a witness for the truth than Satan as a teacher of error, and that Christ has received all power in heaven and on earth. The contest between Christ and the evil one will continue to grow in intensity until nothing remains wherewith Satan has not tried to assault the Church. Persecution and false doctrine will be carried to their highest pitch; and the same will be true of the divine chastisement of the foes of the Church and her steadfast testimony to the truth, before the victory shall be completely and gloriously won by her change from mortality to immortality, and by placing the dominion of the world in her hands. This struggle between the Church and organized communities or governments of men ending in the triumphant sway of the former, does not however of necessity conduct human history to its absolute termination. The empire of Christ and of his glorified Church having come into the place of those worldly empires, to which the task had previously been committed of moulding men into homogeneous masses, a new process of like character is set in operation on the part of the glorified Church toward that portion of mankind still extraneous to it. The divinity of this Church is now manifest in its whole state and character, but Satan may be allowed to exert an influence upon unsanctified men that shall array them in hostility to it. With the ultimate crushing of this hostility comes the end of all things. The history of empires closed with the glorification of the Church and the establishment of Christ's sole and universal empire. The history of mankind now ends with a judgment of all the inhabitants of the world outside of the limits of the glorified Church, by which the bad are finally sundered from the good. "For there are good, who did not in their life-time belong to the Church of Christ, but only died desiring redemption from their sins." These are now added to the Church, while all others go into everlasting perdition. To these indications of the future gathered from the present condition and experience of the Church, as these developed themselves already

in the apostolic age, it is added as a lesson from the Old Testament, that the calling of Israel and the setting apart of Canaan will find their highest verification in the ultimate future. Israel shall again be in contrast with the rest of the world the Lord's peculiar people; and against them the chief hostility of the ungodly empire of this world shall consequently be directed, a type of which according to the prophet Daniel is afforded by the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Canaan and Zion shall also again be the chosen scenes of God's mighty acts, and in the revelation of the Church's glory this land shall be distinguished beyond all others.

The New Testament history being regarded as predictive in the manner and to the extent now explained, the verbal predictions of our Lord and his apostles are arranged under these several heads; and, as in the case of the prophetic utterances belonging to the Old Testament, the attempt is made to show that they simply clothe in words indications respecting the future already furnished by the existing present. The Revelation of the apostle John is classed under the fourth head: a sketch of the interpretation given of this book shall conclude this survey of Hofmann's system.

Without reckoning the introduction and the conclusion the book of Revelation consists of five series of predictions. The first contains the letters to the seven churches, and relates to the condition of the then present. The second containing the seven seals covers the entire future, and discloses whatever shall conduce to the introduction and the laying open of the divine mystery of eternal salvation. The next three series belong to the ultimate future. The seven trumpets of the third are the final warnings by which the world is summoned to repentance, as precursors of the judgment. In the fourth, chaps. xii.—xiv., is exhibited the final struggle between the Church and her antagonists, worldly empire which seeks to crush her from without and false doctrine which aims to destroy her from within, the acmé therefore of the same twofold struggle which is depicted as already begun in the letters to the churches. The fifth, xv. 1—xxii. 5, reveals the last outpouring of God's wrath upon the world and the full redemption of his Church.

The letters severally addressed to the seven churches in Asia portray their existing spiritual condition, and add appropriate encouragements and warnings. These same conditions shall be reproduced not as seven consecutive phases of the Church's life, but as coexisting features of that state in which she shall be found when the ultimate period of trial described in this book shall arrive.

The scene presented in chap. iv. is a grand celestial council over which God presides. The four-and-twenty elders are not the representatives of the Church of both dispensations. They are not men but spirits. Their number is the product of the four cherubs and their six wings; or of the four quarters of the globe and the six days of creation, intimating that they are assembled to deliberate and pronounce judgment upon the world of creatures. The four beasts represent the attributes of Him who sits upon the throne. Their forms are indicative of courage, strength, wisdom and swiftness; their being full of eyes, omniscience; the sea of glass, that all is transparent before him. The sealed book does not contain a record of the events of the future in general, nor of the ultimate future, as though the disclosures that follow were copied from it; but it has written in it the future glory, that new condition of things to which the events of the present state are preparatory. Each seal, as it is opened, does not permit a portion of the book to be read which John then records, but is accompanied by such events or symbols of events as shall take a correspondent place in preparing the way for its final unloosing. The whole seven seals must be opened before the book can be unrolled, and the blessed mystery which it contains of the future world and everlasting life be brought to light.

The first four seals prepare the way for the end, and the events which they portend occur not successively but together through protracted periods. The word of salvation must travel victoriously over the earth. War, famine, and death, though subject to specified restrictions, shall terrify and plague the earth; and then shall the end come. The fifth seal informs the slaughtered saints that the period of persecution consequent upon the triumphs of the word is not yet ended, and shall not be until the number of martyrs is complete. The sixth is not

premonitory symptoms but the actual coming of the day of judgment and of vengeance upon the ungodly. In contrast with this is set forth in two paragraphs, vii. 1-8 and verses 9-17, the protection of God's people who should live at that day, and the safety of such as had died in the tribulations that had preceded. The tribes of the former passage are to be literally understood; and it would seem, according to our author, that while martyrs out of every nation had gone to heaven, none were sealed on earth but the literal Israel. The silence which follows the seventh seal is not the stillness that precedes a storm such as is supposed to be found, vii. 1, but the quiet of the Sabbath period which then begins. The last seal of the book is removed, and the new world of glory is opened. John does not see nor read its contents himself; he only sees the impression made upon those who do. As the whole of the revelations of this book were made in one day, the half hour's silence is proportionally a long period.

With the trumpets blown as signals of command a fresh series opens. The scene is in heaven with the same background as before, but the action begins anew. They are the last summons to a guilty world to repent of their sins. Here as in the case of the seals the first four are cotemporaneous, and the last three successive. The earth with all its adjuncts in a literal sense is smitten. One third of whatever is upon the earth, its products, or beside the earth, the sea, or flows through or from beneath the earth, its waters, or above the earth, the heavenly bodies, suffer the precise changes described, though the agents in effecting them, e. g. the burning mountain and the falling star are figurative. The fifth trumpet brings up locusts from the abyss. The powers of the world beneath are let loose to afflict men in the way and to the extent specified, though the agents are here again figurative and are perhaps to be understood of pestilential diseases. The five months of their duration appear to be literally understood; though an "inner reason" is assigned for the specifying of that particular period. Days would be too short; years would be too long, for the greatest length of time occupied by any event of the last times is forty-two months. And the number five is yielded by the five sins to be chastised, ix. 20, 21.

The sixth trumpet looses the four angels of death held in readiness for the appointed moment in the Euphrates, which was the boundary between the promised land and that region in which the great empires of antiquity arose to spread destruction over the earth. From this same spot this mighty spiritual host go forth to the four quarters of the globe, not to torture but to slay. The prominent feature in this calamity is its suddenness, as in the preceding, its duration. Before the seventh trumpet, as before the seventh seal, two scenes are introduced of a preparatory character. The little book eaten by John contains the mystery of God, the final glory. It is sweet to man so far as he belongs to God, (the mouth is the organ of the prophet's office,) and bitter in so far as he belongs to this world. The meaning of x. 11, is not that the eating of this book was intended to qualify the apostle to utter the prophecies which now follow, but it simply recalls him to the interrupted duty of prophesying after he had had in this book a foretaste of the end. Faith in the angel's oath, that time should shortly cease, is greatly needed to sustain the constancy of those who live when the seventh trumpet is impending, for then the holy city even to the outer court of the temple shall fall under the power of hostile heathen, and God's two servants clothed with miraculous powers shall be slain and lie unburied in the street of Jerusalem, which, from the desolating judgment it had experienced before John wrote this book, is likened to Sodom and Egypt. These events, as well as the resurrection of the two witnesses and the succeeding earthquake with its effects, are literally understood. Then follows the seventh trumpet terminating this series with the final judgment upon the enemies of God, though as in the case of the seventh seal the event itself is not described but only the impression which it produced.

With chap. xii. a fresh action begins. The seer is still in heaven, but the scenery of chap. iv. is not continued. The woman is not the Jewish nation, nor the Christian Church, but the Church of Israel. Her child is the Messiah. The dragon is the devil, who shows his power in heaven by drawing the third part of the stars, and his power on earth by the crowns upon his heads. Seven is the number of divine, and ten of

human possibilities. The heads are the various seats of Satan's worldly empire, or the various forms in which it successively appears, of which there are as many as the decree of God determines or allows. The horns are the instruments by which he at any one time exerts or displays his power; and these are determined by the ability of men. This monstrous shape represents the worldly empire of Satan, not at any single period but in the most comprehensive sense. The one thousand two hundred and three-score days of the woman's flight into the wilderness is not to be reckoned from the birth of the child, but is mentioned by anticipation, xii. 6, for the sake of putting in connection the provision respectively made for the safety of the woman and her child. The flight properly succeeds the war of Michael, Israel's patron, and Satan, which issues in the expulsion of the latter from heaven, so that he can no longer accuse Israel there, and they are henceforth in no danger of being deprived of God's favour. The wilderness is Palestine, which is so called because desolated at the time this book was written. The period of her protection there is the same as the forty-two months and the twelve hundred and sixty days of chap. xi., the three years and a half reign of the personal antichrist, the last foe of God's people. As Israel was thus protected against his attacks, the dragon goes to make war with the remnant of her seed, viz. the believing heathen.

Wo had been pronounced, xii. 12, upon the inhabitants of the earth and sea because of the dragon having been cast down from heaven. A beast now arises out of each to execute his designs. In xiii. 1, Hofmann adopts the reading, He (the dragon) stood upon the shore of the sea, and I saw, etc. The sea is the agitated mass of mankind, as the earth is the symbol of firmness and repose. The beast arising out of the former is characterized by violence; it is identical with the fourth or nondescript beast of Daniel symbolizing the empire of Rome, and is here viewed solely in the form which it shall assume at the last under the rule of the personal antichrist. Hence, while the seven heads remain, those various tendencies which were developed in the different empires of the world still continue, the crowns are no longer upon the heads. The sway has

passed from those seats of empire and is vested in the ten horns, the princes of this last impersonation of blasphemy, the agents or instruments of his power. This beast combines in itself characteristics of the three preceding as seen by Daniel, the lion, bear, and leopard, though most resembling the third or Macedonian, to which Antiochus Epiphanes belonged. The head slain and healed means that a form of empire which had already perished is in this revived; the same thing is indicated by the statement, xi. 7, that this beast ascended out of the bottomless pit. Antichrist is, as it were, Epiphanes brought back to life. In the number of the beast, six carried through hundreds, tens and units stands opposed to seven, the number of divine possibilities, or of the completion of the divine counsel. The dominion of the beast is the last peril of the Church, the last period before the day of her perfection. The manifestation of Christ ushers in the sacred seven after the six of the beast, the Sabbath after the six days in which the Church, a new creation, has arisen and grown up under the hostility of the world. All that the world, which knows nothing of this Sabbath, can bring to bear against the kingdom of Christ, is found concentrated in the beast, whose number is therefore 666, as the number of the name *Ἰησοῦς* the new man, is in contrast with the seven of the first creation, 888. The second beast with the horns of a lamb, employing the two instruments which the Lamb employs, viz. the word and miracles, is the lying prophet of this blasphemous ruler.

While the world has fallen completely under the influence of the dragon and his two beasts, John sees the Lamb and the one hundred and forty-four thousand previously sealed, not in heaven, but in a sacred spot on earth, the literal Mount Zion. The Lamb is present with them. He is seen in the vision, but he is at the time referred to, no more visible than the dragon is, who is in the world. They are blessed with divine protection while the rest of men are exposed to those judgments which now begin. Seven angels successively appear; three prepare the way, four act as executioners. The first summons the world to repentance by the annunciation that judgment is at hand; the second holds up the fall of Babylon in evidence that

judgment has begun. The overthrow of his metropolis and that of antichrist himself are here distinguished as by Isaiah, xiii. 1, xiv. 23, xiv. 24—27, the fall of Babylon and of the Assyrian monarch. The third angel warns of the eternal doom of those who submit to the beast. Four angels execute the two works of harvest or the ingathering of the people of God, and the vintage or the crushing of his foes. The "son of man," xiv. 14, is not Christ as is shown by his receiving an order from an angel, which he obeys. The wine-press was without the city of Jerusalem, the very place indicated by Joel, who locates the final overthrow of God's enemies in the valley of Jehoshaphat, where it shall literally occur.

The fifth and last series begins with chap. xv. The vials like the trumpets are introduced by an occurrence in heaven. It is now, however, not the acceptance of the prayers of saints still on earth, but the triumphant song of faithful confessors upon the crystal sea of heaven, which as they look through it to the earth appears mingled with fire from the reflection of the judgments there taking place. The inflictions, which follow, are upon the kingdom of the beast now rid of all the confessors of Jesus. The first three vials are in recompense for the sins of wearing the mark of the beast and shedding the blood of the saints. Fire and darkness are a foretaste of the outer darkness and the lake of fire. The drying up of the Euphrates leaves Babylon defenceless and gives free admission to the kings of the East, who like Cyrus and Cyaxares will accomplish her destruction. Before the seventh trumpet John had heard the oath of the angel and seen the two witnesses of God. Before the seventh vial he sees three spirits, messengers of Satan and his two earthly representatives, go forth to gather the world to battle against the saints at Armageddon, and hears the voice, "Behold, I come as a thief." The seventh vial completes the judgment and annihilates this host; the account of this vial ends with the first clause of xvi. 18. The "great earthquake" in the second clause begins a second section in this last series with a view to a more detailed account of the sixth and seventh plagues just announced, viz. the fall of Babylon and the overthrow of antichrist.

The earthquake divides the great city, which is explained to be Jerusalem, into three parts corresponding to the three hills on which it is built. A physical change is here intended, as also by Zechariah's prediction of the cleaving asunder of the mount of Olives. Jerusalem is shaken and the cities of the nations fall: Babylon shall not escape. She is represented by the woman on the scarlet-coloured beast. The five heads or kings already fallen are the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Antiochus, who for a special reason is here separately counted. The sixth then existing, when John wrote, was the Roman. The beast itself which is the eighth, and is at the same time one of the seven, is antichrist, which is the fifth head revived. The ten horns are not kings in the same sense that the beast is, but they belong to the beast and are used by him. And they are his agents in destroying the metropolis, whose fall is celebrated, chap. xviii. Then follows the next display of judgment in which the Word of God, the King of kings, destroys the beast and his armies. The glorified Church, all whose deceased members and not the martyrs only are raised from the dead, shall then reign over mankind for one thousand years, the eighth thousand of the world's history, corresponding with the eighth or Lord's day of Christ's resurrection. Satan is after that permitted to rouse the nations to rebellion against the sway of the glorified Church and to an attack upon the holy city. This is miraculously quelled. Then follows the second resurrection and the judgment of men outside of the Church. The lake of fire is the portion of the bad. The Church with the accessions now received is admitted into the new Jerusalem, which unlike the former city is of heavenly origin and located in a new earth. With the description of its glory these visions end.

ART. II.—*Confucianism.*

THERE are two things which make the study of any heathen system of philosophy or religion important. First: These systems form the best key for understanding the peculiarities of any people. They are usually not so short-lived as political changes, but shaping the current of thought and action they often endure through successive generations. Mightier in their conquests than the sword, they outlive dynasties, often bringing the conqueror in submission to the conquered. Not generals, but philosophers have exercised the greatest control over the destinies of our race. This has been eminently true among the Chinese. For more than two thousand years Confucius has been the teacher of emperors. No other mortal ever impressed the leading ideas of his philosophy on so large a portion of the race, and for so long a time. Though never considered by his followers as anything but a man, he has for centuries occupied a place more prominent than any of their gods. His system, in its natural growth and modifications, has had its peculiar civilization—a civilization which had passed its highest point before modern civilization began; it has had its peculiar education, which made men officers of government instead of priests of religion; it has had its morality, teaching what is the practice of so many everywhere, that man's highest duties relate to earth; it has had its peculiar worship, that of ancestors, one of the oldest, and in China the most rigidly observed of all systems of false worship. Thus in its long sway have the main features of this philosophy become the main characteristics of the Chinese.

Another thing which makes the study of heathen systems important is the opportunity which it affords of tracing the modifications through which they pass, and also their effects upon those who embrace them. Few systems, certainly no erroneous ones, remain at the stand-point from which they commenced. False principles first modify and then supplant; and

these false principles have no very wide range. Error moves in cycles. Some new speculation it is fancied is brought forward, with all its claims of novelty and improvement, but oftener than its author imagines it is found to be the reproduction of some worn-out theory. Remarkably true in philosophy is the saying of the wise man, "There is nothing new under the sun." So that error investigated in one place is an index of its effect in another. It may be moving before us in the same cycle in which it has moved in another place thousands of years ago. As an illustration of these remarks, Confucianism affords us an example on a broad scale of the effect of the theory that man's nature is originally good; first, in modifying monotheism into practical atheism, and finally into materialism and pantheism. Second, the external effects of such a downward progress might also be traced in the direct and indirect contributions it has made to superstition and idolatry.

In giving some account of this system, we shall take Confucianism in its wide sense as a system which owes its leading features to Confucius, and of which he is its most distinguished representative. Historically considered, however, he was not its founder, and much has been supplemented to it which would never have gained his consent.

The most convenient method of treating the subject will be to divide it into three periods.

First, that before Confucius, which is represented in the Shoo-King or historical classic.

Second period, from Confucius to Mencius, represented by the Four Books—books which hold the same relation to the Chinese that the Shastres do to the Hindu, the Koran to the Mohammedan, or the Bible to the Christian.

Third period, that of the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, principally represented by Choo He or Choo-foo-tsze, who died A. D. 1200, and whose system is represented in the authorized commentaries on the Four Books.

The first period was an unphilosophical one. Its leading characteristic was monotheism. And what we know of it is mostly contained in the Shoo-King or historical classic, which was compiled by Confucius, and contains brief records relating

to the periods from the reign of Yaou, B. C. 2356,* to Ping-Wang, who died B. C. 721. As Confucianism became more

* It may perhaps be noticed that the first year of Yaou, B. C. 2356, or according to Gaubil, B. C. 2342, differs but very little from the date of the deluge as usually given in the margin of our Bibles. According to Usher, that event took place in the year B. C. 2348. Without going into the reasons for adopting a higher chronology as given by the Septuagint and Josephus, as corrected by Hales, it will be sufficient here to state the reasons urged in favour of the antiquity of the Chinese record. As a preliminary remark it should be stated that the well informed among the Chinese commence their chronology with the reign of Yaou, rejecting the fabulous period beyond.

The most convincing proof of the approximate correctness of the date above given is drawn from astronomical allusions in the Shoo-King. Gaubil, one of the Roman Catholic missionaries, has given an account of these in his translation of the Shoo-King. There is also a good *resumé* of the subject in an article on the credibility of Chinese early chronology, published in the *North China Herald* in 1853, from which the substance of this note is taken. So far as observations upon the stars are concerned, they were not made in those early times with sufficient exactness to fix the date with any precision. They only show the antiquity of the record. One of these astronomical allusions is in the first chapter of the Shoo-King, where it is stated that the group *Maou*, known by us as the Pleiades, culminated in the shortest days of winter. That constellation is now little more than a sign from the summer solstice, or nearly 150 deg. from the winter solstice. In order to make them 90 deg. from this latter point, an interval of 4000 years must be allowed, for the equinoctial points do not recede faster than a degree in 71.86 years.

Another allusion is contained in the names of two stars called *T'een Yih* and *T'ai Yih*, or the heavenly one and the great one. These two stars are about 60 deg. in advance of the present pole star, and are supposed to have received these significant names from having been the pole stars of early observers. If named for this reason, they must have been noticed as pole stars more than 4000 years ago. The star that was the pole star before these has no such significant name, thus furnishing a limit to the antiquity of these observations.

Gaubil arrives at the date of the first year of Yaou, the first authentic emperor mentioned by the Chinese, by means of an eclipse mentioned in the first part of the Shoo-King. The eclipse of the year B. C. 2155, fulfils more of the conditions than any other. It occurred in the ninth month, as required, and the sun at the time was in the constellation *Fang*, (Scorpio,) as is also required. But the eclipse, according to the tables which Gaubil consulted, was visible at Peking and not at Ngan-e-Heen, a place five deg. to the westward, which was the capital at that time. This discrepancy he ascribes to imperfection in the tables, and holds to the time indicated, B. C. 2155, and arrives at the first year of Yaou by adding the length of the intervening reigns as given in the Shoo-King.

The eclipses mentioned in the close of the Shoo-King, occurring 776 and 720 B. C., have been identified, and give certainty to this period of Chinese history, and strengthen the conviction of the correctness of the preceding dates.

fully developed as a social and philosophical system under the second period, we will confine our inquiries under this period chiefly to its teachings respecting God.

Any one reading the Shoo-King would be struck with its constant references to a superintending and controlling power, which is sometimes called *Shang-te*, or Supreme Ruler, and sometimes *Teen*, or Heaven. Thus Woo-Wang (a contemporary of Samuel, B. C. 1111) says, "I, who am but a little child, do not dare to set aside the decree of the Supreme Ruler. Formerly Heaven looked with favour upon the tranquillizing monarch, and elevated our small state of Chow to supreme authority." (Medhurst's Translation of Shoo-King, p. 219.) Here the two terms Heaven and Supreme Ruler occur as synonymous, and refer to a power above kings and emperors, and which disposed of their affairs. Intelligence, will, and personality, are necessarily involved in the way in which this power is spoken of. Thus it is said, "Heaven has formed mankind with various passions. * * Heaven has also produced the intelligent to regulate them. * * * Heaven has conferred on your majesty courage and wisdom," (Shoo-King, p. 131.) Again this Supreme Ruler is spoken of as rewarding virtue and punishing vice. Thus it is said, "The Supreme Ruler is not invariable in his decree, (that is, says the Commentary, the decree of Heaven sometimes leaves one family and is conferred upon another.) On those who do good he will send down a hundred blessings, and on those who do evil he will send down manifold calamities," (p. 143.) Again, "Heaven sends down calamities and confers blessings according to men's qualities," (p. 153.) On the same page it is said, "Heaven has a regard for single-eyed virtue." Passages like the above occur so frequently, and recognize in so many different ways the authority and control of one personal being, as to give a strong monotheistic character to this ancient historical classic.

There is a slight materialistic element in the name Heaven, which is so often used for the Supreme Ruler; but this is not made apparent until a later period. A single exception occurs in the phrase, "Heaven and earth are the parents of all things," which in later writings occurs so frequently, but only once here.

It is in the great oath of Woo-Wang, a name famous in Chinese history. "Heaven and Earth," he says, "are the parents of all things, the most intelligent of which are men; the most truly intellectual become the chief rulers, and the chief ruler is the parent of the people," (p. 182.) The Chinese are accustomed to speak of the Shoo-King as containing the seeds of all that is valuable in history, philosophy, and religion. Whether in such expressions we have the seeds of materialistic philosophy, it is difficult now to determine. The Yih-King, or Book of Diagrams, an obscure book written by Wān-Wang, the father of Woo-Wang, from whom the above sentence is taken, has had more credit for materialism than any other ancient book. It is probable, however, that in that it has been made more prominent by commentators than was at first intended. The Yih-King has been supposed to contain much recondite meaning in symbols of straight lines, which are changed and subdivided so as to bring out certain fundamental truths. Confucius, and since his day, some of the greatest minds in China have spent much time in commenting on this work. A famous sentence of Confucius in his comments has been the occasion of much discussion; and in the third period, that of the Sung, philosophers had a thoroughly materialistic meaning given to it. The sentence is as follows: "The *Yih* has the *T'ae-Keih*, which produced the two figures, which two figures produced the four forms, which four forms produced the eight diagrams." The expression *T'ae-Keih* occurs only in this place in all the classical books, but is usually explained in the recent commentaries as meaning the Great Extreme, and is used as synonymous with the principle of order, or as we would say, law of nature, and this is considered as Shang-te, or Heaven. The four seasons and five elements are then represented as coming from this great extreme. From it as the primary substance all things are produced. But the explanation given by some early commentators gives a different meaning to this enigmatical sentence, and that is, "that *T'ae-Keih* signifies the condition or period before heaven and earth were divided, when the original vapory matter was formless and one." This interpretation agrees better with another sentence in the Yih-King, which ascribes

the production or the bringing forth of all things to the Supreme Ruler. It is said, "The (Supreme) Ruler (causes things to) issue forth under the Chin diagram, (representing thunder and corresponding to the commencement of spring;) he equally adjusts them under the Seu-en diagram, (representing wind and corresponding to mid-spring;) he (causes them to be) mutually exhibited under the Se diagram, (representing fire and corresponding to the beginning of summer,") and so on through the four seasons.* This sentence would have a materialistic meaning to the philosophers of the Sung dynasty; but to those to whom Shang-te or the Supreme Ruler was a personality, the meaning was entirely different, and helps to sustain the monotheistic character of the Shoo-King, that the power which controls empires and punishes the wicked, also controls the changes which take place in nature.

The inclination to polytheism is more manifest in the Shoo-King than to materialism. Other beings, especially the spirits of ancestors, are recognized as objects of worship. In the very first part of the Shoo-King, at the commencement of the reign of Shun, the second emperor of China, we are told that "he offered sacrifice to Shang-te, or the Supreme Ruler, presented a pure offering to the six objects of veneration, looked with devotion to the hills and rivers, and glanced around at the host of spirits," (p. 17.) The host of spirits, the commentator says, refers to the ancient worthies whose graves were on the mounds and hills. Of one Chow-Kung it is recorded that he prayed to his three ancestors, saying among other things "that on you three kings depends your great descendant's cause with Heaven," (p. 211.) Of the founders of the Yin dynasty it is said that they were associated with Heaven in worship, (p. 268.) In one place (p. 165) ancestors are spoken of as having power to send down unhappy events, and to be able to save from death. These other beings worshipped are generally spoken of

* See Medhurst's *Theology of the Chinese*, p. 234; also *Notions of the Chinese concerning God*, by Dr. Legge; and *Defence of an Essay on similar subjects*, by Bishop Boone. These works grew out of the controversy as to the proper term to use for God in Chinese, and though controversial, contain much valuable information respecting the religious notions of the Chinese.

as subordinate to Heaven, and as executing its will. Thus Woo-Wang on going forth on a military expedition is spoken of (p. 193) as announcing his determination to imperial Heaven and empress Earth, as well as to the surrounding famous hills and great rivers. As he draws near to battle he says, "only may you gods (*Shin*) be enabled to help me in saving the millions of the people, and not bring disgrace on your divinity-ships." At the successful close of his expedition he offered sacrifices in the temple of his ancestors. But though he thus called upon and sacrificed to other beings, he speaks of having received the commission of the Supreme Ruler to go forth on this expedition, and that he was moved alone by Heaven's excellent decree.

One thing which must have tended very much to the development of polytheism among the common people was the restriction of sacrificing to Heaven and Earth to the emperor. This is said to have occurred under the renowned Shun, the second emperor of China, though we have no account of it till about 950 B. C. A reference is then made to Shun's method of dealing with the people of one of his provinces. At that time he commanded two of his officers "to cut off the communication between Earth and Heaven, interdicting (the pretended) descents and visitations (of the gods)." Upon this statement the commentator, who wrote A. D. 1200, and adopted the prevailing philosophy of that period, says, "the people did not know the grounds of the offences they might commit, and having no one to whom they could appeal, they went gadding after the gods, and sacrificing to improper demons: thus the canons relative to heaven and earth, the gods and men, became mixed and confused; superstitions sprang up, and mankind became depraved. Shun's first endeavour, however, was to correct men's minds, and therefore he commanded the officers mentioned above to arrange the sacrificial canons; after which the emperor alone sacrificed to heaven and earth, the princes to the hills and rivers, while high and low, superiors and inferiors, each had their limits; the communication between earth and heaven was cut off, the distinctions between the seen and unseen worlds were rigidly observed, superstitious notions ceased, and their princes

and their subordinates all aided in the maintenance of the constant principles," (p. 213.) Sacrificing* to heaven and earth is to the present time restricted to the emperor, and is performed twice a year; on a round altar at the winter solstice, and on a square one at the summer solstice. It is probable that oftener than otherwise, that sacrifice is now offered to the material heavens and earth. But in former times, in the *Chung Yung*, one of the Four Books, it is said, "The ceremonies of the celestial and terrestrial sacrifices are those by which men serve the Supreme Ruler." (Sec. 19th.) As before remarked, there was an incipient materialism in the use of the term Heaven for the Supreme Ruler, which led on gradually to associating earth with heaven as an object of worship, and finally to ascribing to earth a power coördinate with heaven.

The worship of ancestors, which was introduced in the earliest

* On the subject of *sacrifice*, one or two items of information may be of interest. In the *Shoo-King*, a red cow is said to have been offered on one occasion, in connection with which offering was drawn up a form of prayer or supplication, and a libation poured out, (p. 255.) In the *Book of Rites*, it is said that in the autumn the sacrificial animals are to be inspected to see that they are perfect and whole. The provender, &c., is to be attended to, for the ox intended for the Supreme Ruler is to be kept three months in the stall, (*Theol. of the Chinese*, p. 228.) In the *Book of Diagrams* we have a reference to the mode of preparing the sacrifice in the caldron. It is said the sages boiled flesh in it in order to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, (p. 233.) In sacrificing, the blood was not made prominent, and so the flesh was always presented cooked. The main idea was the thankful acknowledgment of favours, and not atonement or expiation of sin. Like other thank-offerings, sacrifice of animals was not necessarily prominent. Wine, silks, and gems, are often presented; and frequently the name of the being worshipped or prayers are written on paper and burned. In the collected statutes of the Ming dynasty, the emperor is represented as saying, "We have worshipped and written the Great Name on this gem-like sheet. Now we display it before the (Supreme) Ruler, and place it in the fire. These valuable offerings of silks and meats we burn also with these sincere prayers, that they may ascend in volumes of flames up to the distant azure." (*Notions of Chinese concerning God and Spirits*, by Dr. Legge, p. 31.) A sacrifice is not infrequently termed a feast, and such is the usual appearance presented to foreigners now, when the offerings are spread out on tables in their temples in front of the idol or ancestral tablet. The resemblance to a feast is made more striking by the use of music, which, though not very musical to western ears, is said in the *Book of Diagrams* "to have been invented by the ancient kings, in order to promote virtue; and they especially performed it before the Supreme Ruler." (*Theol. of the Chinese*, p. 233.)

period of authentic history, was greatly strengthened by the teachings of Confucius, and has become the most prevailing and obligatory form of worship among the Chinese. At first, as we have seen, ancestors were associated with Heaven, and supposed to express its will; but this connection has long since been lost sight of and forgotten. There is no surer road to idolatry than allowing the introduction of other objects of worship, however subordinate to the one Supreme God.

Another thing which was early introduced, and which has given rise to boundless superstition, was divination, which seems at first to have been used to find out the will of Heaven. When Pwan-Kang, who flourished B. C. 1400, was about to move his capital, and had consulted the oracle, he says that "Whenever the former kings had any important affair to manage, they respectfully and cautiously (consulted) the will of Heaven by divination," (p. 156.) The former method of divination was by reeds and tortoises. An answer from this source was not however to be considered sufficient. The king was also to consult the will of his nobles and people, and not unless they all agreed was an answer to be considered entirely favourable. Other omens were also to have their significance, as dreams, the weather, eclipses, &c. If the astronomers did not give notice of an eclipse in the proper time, they were to be punished with death, (p. 127.) In the case of change of government, nothing was considered to indicate the will of Heaven so clearly as the will of the people. One of the counsellors of Yu, the third emperor, said that "Heaven's approval and disapproval (may be known) from our people's approval and disapproval. There is a connection between the upper and lower world. Oh how careful should those be who rule," (p. 64.) Another says, "Heaven's views may be ascertained from our people's views." This is certainly an old form of the maxim, *Vox populi vox Dei*; and so far as divination is concerned, it is one of the most pardonable oracles which a ruler can consult.

The idea of the connection between the upper and lower world was not only early but strongly impressed on the Chinese mind. There may be occasion to speak of this more fully hereafter. All that is necessary here is to refer to one exhibi-

tion of this idea in the position given to the Emperor. He was the ruler below, as Shang-te was the ruler on high. He was called the Son of Heaven, and could assist the Supreme Ruler in the execution of his designs. One of the kings of the Chow dynasty said, "We have received from Heaven's glorious majesty a charge to carry out the royal inflictions, and arrange the affairs of Yin, and hereby completing the work of the Supreme Ruler," (p. 256.) A more extravagant expression is sometimes used, that the Emperor equalled Heaven. Thus it is said, in reference to one of the former kings, that he was perpetually exerting himself in rendering respectful his virtue, and thus he equalled the Supreme Ruler," (p. 151.) Another is said "to have attained merit equal to high Heaven," (p. 175.) If anything more than extravagant praise was intended by these expressions, it seems to have been that in their sphere or position they equalled Heaven. This exaltation of man became afterwards much more apparent, and man became associated with heaven and earth as one of the three powers.

This notice of the early theology of the Chinese would be much extended by examining later books, in some of which, notwithstanding the tendency to materialism and polytheism, shine out very conspicuously the authority and homage due to the Supreme Ruler. The great mass of the people soon sank away from monotheism. So far as this has been preserved, it has been principally in connection with the sacrifices of the Emperor at the winter and summer solstice. So late as the time of the Ming dynasty, in the sixteenth century, we find the Emperor in his prayer, or song, saying, "When *Te*, the Lord, had so decreed, he called into existence heaven, earth, and man." "Thy sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter hast thou made all living things. Great and small are sheltered (by thee.) As engraven on the heart of thy poor servant, is the sense of thy goodness, so that my feeling cannot be fully displayed. With great kindness dost thou bear with us, and notwithstanding our demerits dost grant us life and prosperity." "For ever he setteth fast the high heavens, and establisheth the solid earth. His government is everlasting." (Quoted by Dr. Legge, in his "Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits," (p. 29.) These expressions of praise to

the Supreme Ruler at so late a period in Chinese history, would surprise us did we not know that notwithstanding the downward tendency of their philosophy, there were occasional returns to the purer worship of antiquity. Just as in the last days of the Jewish State, there were occasional returns from the introduction of images and groves and false gods to the pure worship of Jehovah.

In one of the pamphlets published by the chief of the insurrection, who established himself at Nankin in 1853, we have a brief historical statement respecting the early worship of the Chinese, and their departures from it. He says that from the earliest antiquity down to the time of the three dynasties, (which closed B. C. 220) both princes and people honoured and worshipped the great God, (Shang-te.) Some innovation on this practice, however, occurred in the time of Shaou-haou, when Kew-le first believed in corrupt devils, and extended the mischief to the Meaonites, who followed his bad example. (It was on their account that the Emperor Shun restricted sacrificing to Shang-te to the Emperor, as related above, p. 16.) In the time of the three dynasties, there was occasionally some attention paid to corrupt spirits, and the error was fallen into of employing men to represent the ghosts of the departed when funeral rites were performed. (This was usually done by the eldest son or grandson, who put on the clothes of the departed.) Still, he says, during all that time both princes and people honoured and worshipped the great God, as from the first. When the Tsin dynasty arose, (B. C. 192) a dangerous step was taken in the superstitious regard paid to genii and hobgoblins; while the people sacrificed to Shun and Yu, and in the extremity of their mad perverseness sent men to the sea to look for the genii. The great God is only one, and besides him there is none other. Wan, of the Han dynasty, (B. C. 163) thought that there were five." (This is the commencement of the worship of the five *Te's* instead of one Shang-te, or Supreme Ruler.) He relates other departures from the worship of the true God—among them the Emperor Ming, who sent to India in the first century for the priests of Budha. He dwells especially upon the fact that Hwuy, one of the Emperors of the Sung dynasty, (A. D. 1100) changed the appellation of God

from *Shang-te* to *Yuh-hwang* Shang-te—the pearly Emperor God. This Emperor favoured the Taoists, and it is under the designation which he introduced that the Taoists worship Shang-te, and have erected idols to him and celebrate his birthday. The chief in his pamphlet goes on to speak of some who did not favour these corrupt practices. Among them was the Emperor Woo, who flourished A. D. 570, who prohibited Taoism and Buddhism, and abolished sacrifices not prescribed in the ancient ritual. Again, A. D. 684, one of the Emperors destroyed seventeen hundred idolatrous temples, and another of the Ming dynasty inveighed against the performance of idolatrous rites.

To return again to our review of Confucianism, we find that in this, its first period, it was religious, strongly monotheistic in its character, and, to some extent, this has been more or less maintained in form; that there were, however, sown the seeds of materialism and polytheism, which were afterwards more fully developed. The consideration of the philosophy of the second period will enable us to see the causes which tended to this change.

The first thing which attracts our attention in passing to the second period is, that it is a consideration of philosophy and not of religion. The divine element is much less conspicuous, and instead we have the human element. In the Four Books the term Shang-te, or Supreme Ruler, occurs only four times, and two of these are quotations, one from the Shoo King, and the other from the Book of Odes. T'een, or heaven, is, however, frequently used in the same sense as in the preceding period.

The period to which we now refer falls chronologically in the lifetime of Confucius and his immediate followers. Confucius himself died 479 B. C., at the age of seventy-three. None of the Four Books were actually written by Confucius himself; but three of them are considered to be a digest of his sentiments, one of them being made up from conversations with his disciples. Mencius, who was born B. C. 400, was the author of the last and largest of the Four Books. He was the disciple of Tsz-sze, the grandson of Confucius, who wrote the Chung Yung, the most elaborate of these treatises.

The main features of what might be termed the moral philosophy of the second period may be arranged under the following queries: 1st. What does it teach concerning man's nature? 2d. What are the main principles of the virtue recommended? 3d. What are the duties urged? 4th. What are the motives by which they are enforced?

One of the main reasons why so little prominence is given to the divine element in the Four Books, seems to be owing to their teachings about man's nature. If man's nature is originally good, and if, though fallen, he may recover himself by his own exertions, what need is there of any superior power to assist him? Mencius (and still less Confucius) did not ignore all dependence on the decree of heaven, but inculcation of virtue or morality was their main object, and that they maintained was to be attained by man's individual exertions. "Man's nature is originally good," is the first sentence of the *Trimetrical Classic*, a book which is placed first in the hands of Chinese youth at school. There are many incidental references to this subject in the Four Books, but it is brought out more prominently than anywhere else in the 11th chapter of Mencius. In the 12th section Kaou-tsz says: "Human nature is like water. Cut a channel to the east, and it will run east. Cut a channel to the west, and it will run west. Man's nature does not originally incline either to virtue or vice, just as water naturally inclines neither to the east nor west." Mencius replied, "True, water inclines neither to run east or west, but has it no inclination to run up or down? The virtue of man's nature is like the downward flowing of water. As there is no water that does not flow downward, so there is no man that is not naturally virtuous. If you strike water and leap in it, you may cause it to rise above the head. Dam its course, and it will rise to the hills; but is this the nature of water? It is forced to do so. Man's nature may in the same way be impelled to do that which is wrong." This conversation is again taken up by a disciple called Kung-too-tsz, who quoted what Kaou-tsz said, that human nature is originally neither virtuous nor vicious. "Some," he added, "say that nature may be led to virtue or vice—others say that the nature of some is radically good, while that of others is bad," at the same time adducing ex-

amples to prove these statements. To which Mencius replied, "If you observe the disposition, (the original word means the acting out of the nature,) you may see that it is virtuous, hence I say that the nature is virtuous. If any practise vice it is not the fault of their natural powers." To prove this statement, Mencius brings an argument, first, from man's loving and approving that which is right. "All men," says he, "have compassionate hearts—all men have hearts which are ashamed of vice—all men have hearts disposed to show reverence and respect, and all men have hearts which discriminate between right and wrong. A compassionate heart is benevolence; a heart which is ashamed of vice is rectitude; a heart which respects and reveres, is propriety; a heart which distinguishes right from wrong, is wisdom. Now benevolence, rectitude, propriety, and wisdom are not melted into us from without, we certainly possess them of ourselves." Another argument urged is from the similarity of men in reference to smell, taste, &c. If they resemble in these, they do also in other things. This seems specially directed to the idea advanced by his pupil, that some had good and some bad natures. As men are alike in the organs of sense, then as the sages were considered perfect, it was inferred that other men were originally like them.

It is interesting to see how Mencius accounts for men losing this good disposition. He introduces the illustration of a mountain once beautiful from its growth of trees. But as it was near a city, these were cut down. Yet the sprouts came up again, but were eaten by cattle and sheep until the mountain was a naked waste. The means by which man loses his virtuous heart resembles the cutting down of the wood by the axe. If you daily cut it down, how can it look well? The good feeling which he acquires at night, (alluding to the dews which descended upon the trees) are dissipated, checked, and destroyed by the pursuits of the day. At last the nightly feeling is not sufficient to keep his heart, and he is not far from being a brute. When men are such they suppose they never possessed a virtuous nature.

It will be seen that the proof of the goodness of our nature, relied upon by Mencius, is principally that a man approves and loves that which is right. It may be suggested by some that

this was all he intended to prove, and not that our nature or disposition was itself good. In fact, the distinction which we make between conscience and disposition does not appear to have been kept in mind by the Chinese moralists. To approve of right is, however, a very different thing from doing what is right. That Confucius and Mencius intended that we are able to do what is right, is evident from their whole system of philosophy. Virtue is practicable, attainable. Some preserve it, some lose it; but all can by dint of their own efforts attain it. One of Mencius's disciples remarked that it was said all might become Yaou's and Shun's, is it so or not? Mencius answered in the affirmative. * * "Why should men grieve themselves about want of ability? It is in want of exercise that the evil lies." (Mencius, chap. 12th.) Again he says, "That every man has the four principles of right action just as he has four members, two hands and two feet. These four principles are, 1st—benevolence, the germ or principle of which is compassion; 2d, justice, the germ of which is to be ashamed of vice; 3d, propriety, the germ of which is humility and modesty; 4th, wisdom, the germ of which is a sense of right and wrong. All have these four principles, and to have them, and yet say we are unable to act well, is to rob ourselves; and to say that a prince is unable to act right, is to rob him; or he that says he has not ability, robs himself, and he that says his prince has not ability, (i. e. to do that which is right,) rebels against him." (Chap. 3d.)

Since man's nature is upright and naturally tends to virtue, we would inquire, 2dly. What is the virtue recommended? Their definition of virtue includes only those principles which belong to the duties we owe to our fellow-men; and may be divided into the four principles given above, namely, benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom. Fan-che, one of Confucius's disciples, asked what benevolence was? He replied, To love men. What is meant by loving men will be best seen by a few extracts. In the Ta-Heo, it says, "that which you hate in superiors do not practise in your conduct towards inferiors; that which you dislike in inferiors do not practise towards superiors." In the Lun-Yu, chap. 12th, Confucius says, "What you do not wish others to do to you, do not to them."

Again, chap. 14th, some one asked, "what may be said of rewarding hatred by kindness? Confucius said in that case with what will you reward kindness? Reward bad treatment with justice, and kindness with kindness." Again, Tsze-kung asked if there was any one word which expresses the conduct proper for one's whole life? Confucius replied, Will not the word *Shoo* do it? (i. e. do not to others what you do not wish them to do to you.)" Mencius says, "Let us vigorously exert ourselves to act toward others as we wish them to do to us." (In the original *Keang-Shoo*, i. e. be diligent in carrying out the precept of Confucius contained in the character *Shoo*.) Again he says, "The benevolent love all, but love the virtuous with the greatest ardour." There is a letting down of this precept in the *Chung Yung*, section 20th, where it says, "the highest exercise of benevolence is tender affection to relatives."

The second principle of virtue is said to be justice. By this is meant "what is right or proper." (*Chung Yung*, section 20th.) The word translated *justice* seems at times to correspond to our word, according to the definition just given, but immediately after this definition it is said that its highest exercise is to honour men of virtue and talents. Again, Mencius says to reverence superiors is justice. (chap. 12th.) There is connected with the idea of right which is prominent in our idea of justice, that of public spirit.* The teachings of the Four Books were so much directed to government, that morality and moral definitions have a political bearing. Thus Mencius says, "it has never happened that the just have been slow in serving their king." (chap. 1st.) As an exemplification of the meaning of both words, benevolence and justice, and the importance attached to them, let us take another example. "Teen, son of the king of Tse, asked what the business of the scholar consists in? Mencius replied, in elevating his will or inclination. What do you mean, he inquired, by elevating the will? It consists solely in being benevolent and just. To kill an innocent person is not benevolent. (This it will be noticed is addressed to the son of a king in a despotic country.) To take

* The idea of public spirit attached to the word justice is still more prominent in later writings. It is even applied to public granaries, charity schools, &c., where the term translated justice is used as the adjective.

what is not one's own is unjust. Where is the scholar's abode? It is in benevolence. Where is his road? It is in justice. To dwell in benevolence and walk in justice is the whole business of the great man."

The third principle included in virtue was propriety, the germ of which is said to be humility and modesty; or, as Confucius says, "Propriety of conduct has its foundation in respect." (Heaou King, sec. 12th.) Perhaps no nation has had a higher regard for, or more universally practised this principle of virtue than the Chinese. Confucius seems to have been a model in this respect. He is represented by one of his disciples as having been "benign, upright, respectful, polite, and condescending." (Lun Yu, chap. 1st.) Another says, "Confucius was perfectly void of four things; he had no selfishness, no prejudice, no bigotry, no egotism." (Ib., chap. 9th.) In all the externals of right behaviour, he is held up as irreproachable, as he was considered to be correct in his doctrines. And it must be confessed that his maxims for regulating the conduct are full of sound wisdom, and show an intimate understanding of the human heart.*

One of the five Classics, the *Li Ki*, or Book of Rites and Ceremonies, is entirely taken up with this subject, giving particular directions as to all the proprieties of life. It enters into the details of polite behaviour, and is interspersed with truly

* The course to be pursued by the superior or model man, in case of disrespectful treatment, is well put by Mencius: "That by which the superior man differs from other men, consists in keeping his heart. The superior man keeps his heart by benevolence and propriety. The benevolent love others, and the polite (lit. propriety men) respect others. Men constantly love those who love them, and he who treats others with respect is always respected by others. If any one treat the superior man in an unreasonable manner, he will turn around on himself, and say, I must be deficient in benevolence or propriety, else why should I meet with such treatment? If after self-examination he finds that he is both benevolent and polite, and that the other still treats him rudely, he will again turn around on himself, and say, I must be unfaithful, or why should I be treated thus? If on turning around and examining himself, he finds that he is faithful, and the other still treats him rudely, he says to himself, This wild fellow, in what respect does he differ from a brute? Why should I trouble myself with a brute? Hence the superior man has not one morning's distress from wrangling with others." (Collu's translation, chap. 8th, p. 115.) A much better code of honour this, than that practised by some of higher pretensions to morality.

excellent observations regarding mutual forbearance and kindness in society. (See Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, vol. i., p. 509.)

The fourth point or principle of virtue enumerated by Mencius, is wisdom, the germ of which he says is a sense of right and wrong. Wisdom and knowledge appear to be used interchangeably. Learning, with the Chinese, is not science, not acquisitions of what we term great stores of knowledge, but it is understanding the principles of human nature, and of knowing what is right. Thus, in the *Lun Yu*, chap. 1st, Tsze-Hea said, "He who esteems the virtue of others, and turns his mind from the love of lust, who with his whole might serves his parents, devotes his person to the service of his prince, and is sincere in his intercourse with friends, although he may be deemed unlearned, I must esteem him truly learned." Confucius describes the lover of learning as one who does not seek to pamper his appetite, nor live at ease; who is diligent in the practice of his duty, cautious in his words, and comes to men of right principles, that he may be corrected." (*Lun Yu*, chap. 1st.) A little further on he says, "Be not sorry that men do not know you, but be sorry that you are ignorant of men." Not to know men, the Commentary says, is not to be able to discriminate between right and wrong, true and false.

In the *Chung Yung*, Sec. 20th, knowing men is connected with knowing Heaven: "As it is necessary, in order to serve our parents aright, to know men, so in order to know men, we must know Heaven." In the passage of which this is a part, personal virtue is traced back through its various steps to knowing Heaven; right action is made to depend on right knowledge. What Confucius really meant by knowing Heaven, he does not explain, and there is no parallel passage in the *Four Books* with which to compare it. Mencius has a passage which bears a nearer analogy to the later philosophy. He says, "He who employs his mind to the utmost, will know his nature; he who knows his nature, knows Heaven." (Chap. 12th.) Here, knowing himself, makes a man acquainted with Heaven, while in the *Chung Yung*, the very different idea is taught, that in order to know himself, man must know Heaven; which last statement lies at the foundation of the Christian and of all true

morality. It is possible that Confucius spoke out a truth here, which in other places both he and his disciples too much lost sight of. He himself knew and worshipped Heaven; he acknowledged that Heaven rewarded the good, and punished the wicked; but the whole tenor of his system was to inculcate the plain and the practical, leaving out the obscure and mysterious. Said he to one of his disciples, "If not able to serve men, how can you serve spirits? and if you do not know life, how can you understand death?" His teachings related to duties instead of speculations, to morality instead of religion. He made the experiment, the failure of which ought to suffice for all future experimenters in the same direction, of building up a system of high-toned morality and virtue, without that wisdom the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord. Virtue was traced up in the neighbourhood of its source; but the last and important link was lost, or spoken out once, and then forgotten. Thus, in the beginning of the *Ta-Heo*, the dependence of right action on right knowledge is elaborately traced out. But when we would know what the knowledge is, then we find it is lost or wrongly given. The passage in the *Ta-Heo* is as follows: "The ancient princes, who felt desirous that virtue in its purity should shine through the empire, first established order in their provinces. Wishing to establish order in their provinces, they regulated their families. In order to regulate their families, they first adorned their own persons with virtue. In order that they might adorn their persons with virtue, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they looked to the sincerity of their motive. Wishing to be sincere in motive, they extended their knowledge to the utmost. The perfection of knowledge consists in understanding the nature of things." The root of the matter, the way in which the heart is to be rectified, and the motive made sincere, is by knowledge. But unfortunately the knowledge here stated to be necessary, is of the nature of things; and the section which was intended to illustrate what was meant by that, has been lost. The commentator, Choo-foo-tsze, attempts to supply its place, but in doing so, brings in a later philosophy, which will be considered hereafter, and says it refers to the knowledge of the *le*, or animating principle, which pervades all things.

But, to return again to the more usual definition of knowledge, we find in the *Lun Yu*, chap. 12th, Fau-che asking Confucius, "What is knowledge? He replied, To know men." Fau-che, meeting Tsze Hea, said he had just had an interview with Confucius, and asked what knowledge is. He replied, "Elevate the upright, and dismiss the depraved; thus you may make the depraved upright." It will be seen that the kind of knowledge here referred to related to human nature, and that its object was, especially on the part of the ruler, to select suitable persons to administer the affairs of government. Thus when Yaou selected Shun, instead of his own son, as his successor in the empire, vice is said to have fled to a distance.

From the definition of the elements of virtue given above, it will be seen that the superior or model man, so often mentioned, is one who has a knowledge of man, and can therefore discriminate between right and wrong in human conduct; who in his sentiments and feelings is just, public-spirited, unselfish; who in his dealings with others is benevolent and kind, dutiful to parents and superiors, faithful to friends;* and who governs all his conduct by the established rules of propriety and politeness. Such, according to this system, is the truly great man. "The great man," says Mencius, "is one who follows his superior faculties; the low are those who follow their inferior faculties." "There is a divine, and there is a human nobility," he says. "Benevolence, justice, uprightness, fidelity, and delighting in virtue without weariness, constitute divine nobility. To be a prince, a prime minister, or a great officer of state, constitute human nobility." As it was not station, so neither was it great talents which constituted greatness. The model man must be great morally, as well as and more important than intellectually. Confucius, with reference to this, says, "A fine horse is praised, not for his strength, but for his docility and

* "Faithful to friends," is sometimes enumerated as another principle of virtue, making five, especially by the later philosophers. Confucius usually enumerated but three, namely, wisdom, benevolence, and fortitude. "He who loves study," he says, "is near knowledge or wisdom. He who acts vigorously is near benevolence, and he who knows shame is near bravery or fortitude. He who knows these three, knows by what means to cultivate personal virtue."

tractableness." (Lun Yu, chap. 14th.) How much more virtue was to be esteemed than wealth, may be seen from what Confucius says in the Lun Yu, (chap. 7th:) "Coarse rice for food, water for drink, and one's bended arm for a pillow, even in the midst of these there is happiness; but riches and honour gained by injustice are to me light as the fleeting cloud." Again he says, "The superior man fixes his mind on virtue, the worthless man thinks on a comfortable living; the former regards the sanction of law, the latter regards gain." Mencius, in his visit to King Hwuy of Leang, shows that benevolence and justice are first to be sought for, before the profit and glory of his kingdom. With all their reverence for superiors, they were far from inculcating any compliance with authority at the expense of virtue. Confucius says, "Maintain virtue, and yield it not even to your teacher." (Lun Yu, chap. 15th.) And so when "iniquity lies in the way of one's parents, a son may not refrain from remonstrating with them." (Heaou King.) Kings and emperors were also to be reproved. Mencius inculcated this by example as well as by precept, and many times since his day has it faithfully been carried out. Perhaps no government, certainly no despotic government, has allowed the liberty of reproof so much freedom as the Chinese, or held so clearly to the right of the subject. Mencius was once asked by the king of Tse, how a prime minister should act. "If of the blood royal and a prince was guilty of great errors, he should reprove him. If, after doing so again and again, he does not listen, he ought to dethrone him and put another in his place." At this the king suddenly changed countenance. "Be not astonished," said Mencius. "When your majesty asked me, I dared not do otherwise than give a correct reply." The king again asked what was the duty of a prime minister of a different family name. "If the prince be guilty of errors, he should reprove him; and if after he has done so repeatedly, he is not listened to, he should leave his place." (Chap. 10th.)

The above will serve as a specimen of the many excellent things that are said in praise of virtue. Many of the maxims given are worthy of all commendation. Our only wonder in respect to the inculcation of virtue between man and man is, that they have come so near the truth. The great radical fault

is that the divine element is overlooked in the cultivation of virtuous feeling. And, as will presently be seen, in the enumeration of the duties incumbent on us, those which man owes to his Maker are left out. Had these been inculcated, even as they are sometimes alluded to, the teachings of the system in regard to the purity of our nature and ability to perform good actions in our own strength, might have been different.

3d. Let us pass on, however, to notice the duties, which, according to this system, are considered as especially incumbent on man. They are given by Confucius in the *Chung Yung*, (section 20th) "The path of duty for all men embraces five branches. These are the respective duties of prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and the treatment of friends." These, he says, "constitute the rule of life for all men." These are the channels in which virtue is to flow; as Mencius says, "Benevolence is the duty of father and son; justice of the prince and minister; propriety or politeness of host and guest, and wisdom of the virtuous." (Chap. 13th.) Of these different duties none is reckoned so important as filial piety. This, as has already been seen, is considered as the highest exercise of benevolence or philanthropy. As their teachings on this subject constitute one of the main peculiarities of Chinese morality, and have had great practical effect upon the customs and institutions of the country, it is necessary to consider the subject with some particularity. A treatise on filial duty, (**Heaou King*) mostly compiled from the sayings of Confucius, makes one of the Five Classics, and shows very fully the importance which the sage attached to this subject.

"Filial duty," he says, "is the root of virtue and the source from which religion springs." (Sect. 1st.) Religion, according to the Confucian school, consists in the duties which we owe to our fellow-men, and these are traced in their origin or source to filial duty. A similar sentiment to that quoted from sec. 1st is found in the 9th sect. "Of all things which derive their

* The character *Keaou*, translated religion, is derived from *Heaou*, filial duty, and *Wan* to urge, that is, the urging or inculcation of filial duty is religion. This is one of the many instances which might be adduced in which the philosophy has moulded the language of this people.

nature from heaven and earth man is the most noble, and of all the duties which are incumbent on him, there is none greater than filial obedience." In the 7th sect. it is called "the law of heaven, the justice of earth, and the prescribed duty of man." The nature of filial duty is thus explained in sect. 1st: "The first thing which filial duty requires of us is that we carefully preserve from all injury and in a perfect state the bodies which we have received from our parents; and when we acquire for ourselves a station in the world, we should regulate our conduct by correct principles, so as to transmit our names to future generations, and reflect glory on our parents; this is the ultimate aim of filial duty. Thus it commences in attention to parents, is continued through a course of services rendered to the prince, and is completed by the elevation of ourselves. It is said in the Book of Odes,

" 'Think always of your ancestors,
Talk of and imitate their virtues.' "

(See trans. of Heaou King in Chinese Repository. Vol. 4th, p. 345.)

The connection of this duty with other duties is shown first, in regard to the emperor. "If he loves his parents, he cannot hate other people; and if he respects his parents, he cannot treat others with neglect." And on the other hand, it is said, "If the scholar respect his parents, he will his prince." Care also in reference to themselves and the practice of economy is enforced on the common people, that they may have sufficient to support their parents. "Those who perform aright the services they owe their parents, if they are in elevated stations will not be proud; nor insubordinate if in inferior ones; nor contentious if they are among the multitude." "For teaching the people to love one another, there is nothing better than the practice of filial duty." Propriety is founded upon respect, and that is taught by the duties which we owe to parents and elder brothers.*

* The high estimate placed upon filial duty is well illustrated in a supposed case put to Mencius by one of his disciples. "Tao Ying asked, saying, When Shun was Emperor and Kaou Yaou was minister of penal law, suppose Koo Sow (Shun's father) had killed a man, what ought Kaou Yaou to have done? Mencius replied, Why, he would have seized him, to be sure. But would

Not only are the relative duties connected with filial duty, but also that which we owe to Heaven. Thus, in sect. 16th, Confucius said, "The ancient kings served their fathers with true filial respect; hence they could serve Heaven intelligently. In the same way they honoured their mothers, and hence could honour the Earth with an understanding mind."

But in order to enforce the feeling of respect still further, the worship of ancestors is inculcated. In sect. 9th, it is said, "that of all the duties there is none greater than filial obedience, and in performing it there is nothing so essential as reverence; and as a mark of reverence there is nothing more important than to place our ancestors on an equality with Heaven. Thus did the noble lord of Chow, (the brother of Woo-Wang, who founded the Chow dynasty about 1100 B. C.) Formerly he sacrificed on the round altar to the spirits of his remote ancestors as equal with Heaven; and in the open hall he sacrificed to Wán-Wang (his father) as equal with the Supreme Ruler."*

not Shun have prohibited him? How could Shun have prohibited him when he had received power from the laws? What would Shun then have done in this case? He would have viewed relinquishing the imperial throne, like casting away a pair of grass shoes, and would have stolen his father, put him on his back, fled to the sea-coast, and lived there the remainder of his days in joy, forgetting the Empire." (Mencius, chap. 12th.) A much more doubtful example is given in the Lun Yu, (chap. 13th.) The Governor of Yih, conversing with Confucius, said, "In my village there is a truly upright man. His father stole a sheep, and he proved the theft." Confucius said, "The upright in my village differ from this. The father conceals the faults of the son and the son those of the father—uprightness lies in this."

* At the death of parents, the following are the instructions in the 19th sect. "At the death of parents, filial sons will not mourn to excess; in the ritual observances, they will not be extravagant, nor too precise in the use of language; they will not be pleased with elegant dress, nor enchanted with the sound of music, nor delighted with the flavour of delicate food. Such is the nature of grief. After three days they may eat. The sages taught the people not to destroy the living on account of the dead, nor to injure themselves with grief. The term of mourning is limited to three years, to show the people that it must have an end. When a parent dies, the coffin and a case for it are made ready, and the corpse wrapped in a shroud is laid therein. The sacrificial vessels are arranged, and lamentation is made for the deceased. The members of the family, moving by the side of the coffin, weep as they advance. A felicitous burial-place is selected, and the body is there laid down to rest. Then an ancestral temple is erected, and offerings are there made to the departed spirit. And in the spring and autumn, sacrificial rites are performed,

To the Chinese moralist, man seemed placed in the centre of several concentric circles; over the inner one presided a man's ancestors, and over the outer one, Heaven, or the Supreme Ruler. Between the two lay the circle of relative duties—duties to his superiors and to the emperor. All that was needed in the outer circles was to expand the duties which belonged to the inner.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the manner in which the other duties are to be performed. They are all connected in their practice with filial duty. The peculiar features of the system will be better seen by considering the motives urged for the practice of virtue. The motives urged are the renovation or perfecting of one's self, and the renovation of others. What is meant by these is more fully explained in the *Chung Yung* than in any other of the Four Books. This treatise commences with the radical principle that man's nature is derived from Heaven, and therefore good. To preserve this nature, or to bring back a man's practice to accord with it, is the primary duty of man. To accord with nature is called *Taou*, which primarily means a path or road, and is used abstractly for the way or path in which this Heaven-derived nature acts. Some preserve this nature; they never depart from *Taou*. Such are born sages,* or holy men. "They hit the due medium without effort, obtain it without thought, and practise it spontaneously." Others only acquire this state by long exertion and continued effort; yet it is within the reach of all. It is to be cultivated by attention to the duties already referred to.

The *Taou*, or path in which the superior man is to walk, is compared to going a long journey, where you must commence at the nearest point; or to the climbing of an eminence, where

in order to keep the dead in perpetual remembrance. Thus, with affection and respect, to serve parents while living, and mourn and lament for them when dead, constitute the fundamental duty of the living; and thus the claims of parents, both while living and when dead, are fully satisfied. This is the accomplishment of filial duty." A note in the *Shoo-King* (p. 154) says, that after seven generations the relationship ceases, and the shrine is removed.

* Of such sages, the Chinese only reckon six, namely, Yaou, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wăn and Woo-Wang, and Confucius. Wăn and Woo-Wang are reckoned as one, the son having completed what the father began. Confucius is the only private individual in the list.

you must begin at the lowest step. (Sect. 13th.) "*Taou*," says Confucius, "is not far removed from man. The ode says, Take one handle to cut another, that is, we are to take man (i. e. what is in man) to reform man. He who is faithful and benevolent is not far from *Taou*. What he himself likes not, he does not do to others." In every situation in life he is to act according to it. If rich, as a rich man ought to; if poor, as a poor man ought. If in a superior station, he is not to treat those below him with contempt; and in an inferior station, he is not to court the favour of superiors. He corrects himself, and blames not others. He feels no dissatisfaction. Above, he grumbles not with heaven; below, he feels no resentment towards man." Such is the easy but difficult path of duty. The ignorant come not up to it, and the well-informed pass over it. "All men eat," says the sage, "but few know the true flavour of things. There are those (he says) who can govern a country with equity, refuse a lucrative salary, and tread on the edge of the sword, who are still unable to reach the due medium." To encourage those who would walk in *Taou*, or the right path, the example of the sages is referred to. "How great," said Confucius, "was the filial piety of Shun. In virtue a sage, in honour the son of Heaven; as to riches, possessed of all within the four seas. He sacrificed to his ancestors in the ancestral temple, and his posterity maintained the throne." Such eminent virtue could not but obtain the throne, riches, fame, and longevity. Therefore Heaven, in producing and nourishing things, regards them according to their true nature; hence what is upright it nourishes, what is bent and inclined to fall it overthrows. * * Hence great virtue must obtain the decree," (i. e. the empire.) Here by example is taught the benefit of the practice of virtue, especially of that which has its foundation in filial piety, of which Shun is cited as a renowned example. Heaven also is said to have rewarded him with blessings in this life; for Confucius is always silent about any life to come. He brings no motives from that source to stimulate men in the performance of duty.

The practice of personal virtue results not merely in benefit to himself, others also are renovated or reformed. This is usually exemplified in reference to government. Next to the attainment

of high personal virtue, the great end of the practice of virtue was to secure good government. It was often set forth as the expected reward, and always as the best preparation to rule. "He who knows wisdom, benevolence, and fortitude," says Confucius, "knows by what means to cultivate personal virtue. He who knows how to cultivate personal virtue, knows how to rule men. He who knows how to rule men, knows how to govern the whole Empire." Good laws were felt to be of little value without good men to execute them. Thus Confucius said, "That while men like Woo Wang reign, good laws flourish, but when they are gone then the laws cease to operate. The principles of such a man naturally produce good government, just as the earth naturally produces trees."

Thus far Confucius: but his grandson, in enlarging upon his words, and showing their excellence, carries the doctrine respecting the *Taou* still further. He introduces another term nearly equivalent to *Taou*, and which he frequently uses for it. It is possible that the use of *Taou* by other philosophers, especially the Taoists, led him to substitute another term. This new term, *Ching*, so far as it differs from *Taou*, seems to mean its complete realization. It is *Taou* complete. The commentators define it "as the true, the real, the naturally right—it is the radical nature of the fixed order of heaven." "*Ching* is the fundamental characteristic of the sage or holy man."* Tsze Sze says of it that "It is only the man possessed of *Ching* that can perfect his own nature; he who can perfect his own nature, can perfect the nature of other men; he who can perfect the nature of other men, can perfect the nature of things; he who can perfect the nature of things, can assist heaven and earth in producing and nourishing things. When this is the case, then he is united with heaven and earth in equality;" or as the Commentary says, he stands equal with heaven and earth, so as to form a triad. (Sect. 22d.) The two

* Meadows, in his "Chinese and their Rebellions," (p. 366,) gives other definitions of *Ching*, taken from the *Sing Le Tsing e*, or Essence of True Philosophy, which bring this term into correspondence with the later philosophy. "That which makes the holy man holy is nothing but his complete personal realization of the real order of the universe; it is what is called *Tae Keih*, or the ultimate principle."

reasons for this remarkable statement are to be found first in the exaltation of humanity. In praising the ancient sages even Confucius had compared them with heaven, (as in the *Heaou King*—see above, p. 250,) and in the *Lun Yu*, chap. 8th. “How great,” he says, “was the regal conduct of Yaou! Vast and extensive, equalled only by heaven.” The next reason is to be found in the connection which was supposed to exist between the upper and lower world. Hence heaven as well as man was conceived of as acting according to *Taou*. “*Ching*” is said to be the *Taou* of heaven, and to aim at it, the *Taou* of man.” (Sect. 20th.) That is, perfection or truth (we have no one word to express what is meant by *Ching*, or conformity to a right nature,) is the *Taou* or path of heaven; it is the way in which heaven manifests itself, and to aim at the same perfection or conformity to a right nature is the *Taou* or right way for man. Heaven, then, does possess and man ought to arrive at this state expressed by the term *Ching*. Some have, according to their ideas, arrived at it, and hence they equal Heaven. This comparison is repeated more than once. In sect. 30th Confucius is said to have taken his principles from Yaou and Shun, and elegantly exhibited those of Wău and Woo Wang. He imitated the season of Heaven above; and below the laws of water and earth. He may be compared to heaven and earth in their supporting, containing, and overshadowing all things; to the regular revolutions of the seasons, and to the successive shining of the sun and moon. The Commentary says, “He united in his own person all the virtue of heaven and earth. * * The revolutions of the seasons are fixed, and move on with self-existent power, hence the sage made them his pattern. There exists nothing whatever which is not supported, overshadowed, and nourished by heaven and earth; in the same manner the astonishing, all-moving virtue of the sage pervaded the universe. Thus it is evident that Confucius united in his own mind all the virtue of the holy gods, and in his conduct all the laws of the ancient and sacred kings.”

The complete realization of the *Taou*, or when it is perfected in *Ching*, is said to enable those who possess it to foreknow things, so that they are said to be equal to the gods. (Sect. 24th.) A kind of inherent efficacy is ascribed to this *Taou*. It will

endure long, become manifest, extend far, rise high, and shine forth. It is compared to earth in its thickness and substantiality, and to heaven in its height and splendour. He who possesses it will shine forth without showing himself, and will without moving renovate others. (Sect. 26th.)

It is unnecessary to quote further. We have here the seeds of that philosophy which sprung up in the Sung dynasty, and has its type in Choo-He, or Choo-foo-tsze, the principal commentator on the Four Books, who died A. D. 1200. Confucius began by exalting human virtue, by comparing it to heaven; Tsz-sze made them equal. The *Taou* of the one could be obtained by the other. It ended by making the *Taou* of each the same; the same immaterial principle which works in nature and in man.

The third period brings us back again into the range of Theology. In the first period, the prevailing characteristic was monotheism—a constantly recognized dependence on one personal being. In the second period, practical atheism prevailed. Morality and virtue were largely dwelt upon, but man was considered sufficient in himself to perform all good. This developed a philosophy which was not only practically but theoretically atheistic; the perfect man embodied within himself the perfection of the universe. There was no higher principle than that which was found in man. The perfect man was equal to heaven and earth. That which was found equally in both was an immaterial principle. This immaterial principle was called by the term T'ae Keih, or great extreme, the same term which Confucius once used (p. 11) in his comments on the Yih King. This term was now used "to express the extreme point to which man's speculations on the nature of existence have been able to reach." (See Meadows' Chinese and their Rebellions, p. 342. The 18th chap. of this work contains a valuable exposition of the philosophy of this period.)

In stating more particularly the character of this philosophy, we might begin by tracing the influence of erroneous doctrines concerning man's nature and perfectibility back to errors in theology; but the more simple and natural way will be to begin with the T'ae Keih, or great extreme, and trace its actings out in mind and matter.

The consideration of this philosophy is made the more important, as it is that of authorized commentaries on the Ancient Classics, and its interpretation is received by the great majority of the literati of China. The exposition in many cases is so necessary, and often so clear and well expressed, that its philosophy has been generally received without question. Opposition has occasionally been excited against it, and expositions exist more in accordance with the teachings of the ancients; but the undoubted ability with which Choo-He and those of the same school wrote, has left other expositions in comparative obscurity.

Choo-He, and the philosophers of that school, evidently intended to bring the classics into harmony with one another. They saw also the unity of design which there is in the works of creation and providence, and felt the desire which exists in the human mind to harmonize and classify separate facts and truths under general laws; and they therefore attempted a logical and consistent theory which would explain, first, all the facts in the universe, and, second, the teachings of the ancients, which, to say the least, were founded upon a philosophy differing from their own. The grand principle which was to harmonize all, was that all things in the universe were only the various forms and modifications of the one ultimate principle which, in its highest and most unresolvable manifestation, was called *T'ae Keih*, or, as has usually been translated, the Great Extreme. In the 4th sect. of the Book of Rites, with the comment upon it, we have the method stated in which all things are derived from the Great Extreme. "Ceremonies," it is said, "date their origin from the Supreme One; he, dividing, constituted heaven and earth; revolving, he produced light and darkness; changing, he brought about the four seasons; and arranging, he appointed the *Kwei Shins*, or spirits." The Commentary says, "that which is infinitely great is called Supreme, and that which is undivided is called one; this is the principle of the Great Extreme, (*T'ae Keih*), which including three consists of one."* This expression, "including three, consists of one," probably means the three powers, heaven, earth, and man, which may be traced up to this one Supreme. In further explanation of this

* Quoted by Medhurst, in his *Theology of the Chinese*, p. 82.

process of development, we are told, in the Commentary on the Yih King, that "when the Great Extreme moved, it produced the male principle;* when it had moved to the uttermost it rested, and in resting produced the female principle. After it had rested to the utmost extent, it again moved, and thus went on in alternate motion and rest without cessation." (Theology of the Chinese, p. 115.) By this alternate motion and rest, all things animate and inanimate were produced. It is thus that the five elements of the material world were produced, viz. fire, water, wood, metal, and earth. Things immaterial come under the same general law, the alternate motion and rest of the ultimate principle. This ultimate principle is sometimes considered as a breath or essence, which advancing or expanding is called *Shin*, and returning or resting is called *Kwei*. Choo-He says "there is not a single thing between heaven and earth which is not *Kwei Shin*; for all the first advancements of the breath of nature belong to the male principle, and constitute *Shin*; while all the revertings of this breath belong to the female principle, and form *Kwei*. Thus the day during the forenoon is *Shin*, and in the afternoon *Kwei*; the moon in its waxings is *Shin*, and in its wanings *Kwei*; trees just budding forth are *Shin*, and when withering and drooping, *Kwei*; man from youth to manhood is *Shin*, and in old age and decrepitude is *Kwei*." (Comments on 16th sect. of Chung Yung, quoted in Theol. of Chinese, p. 9.) This male and female principle, or positive and negative essence, pervade all things, and the spiritual beings of the ancient classics are thus reduced to the alternate pulsations of the breath of nature.†

* Meadows translates these terms, "positive and negative essence," which in most cases would be the better rendering of the original terms.

† It has been a matter of much controversy among the missionaries in China, to determine what is the best term to use for God. The Romanists introduced the combination *T'een Choo*, or Lord of Heaven. Protestant missionaries are generally divided between the use of *Shang-te*, or Supreme Ruler, which occurs so often in the Shoo-King, and *Shin*. It has been contended that *Shin* means spirit, and is not properly applicable to God. The truth of the matter seems to be that *Shin* is used in different senses, according to the writer's philosophical views. Choo-He's idea of *Shin* is, that it is the male principle, or positive essence in nature. It is the acting out of the ultimate principle, and is found everywhere in the sun and moon, trees and man. In the ancient classics, the *Shin* seem to be considered as a class of spiritual beings, subordinate to the

According to this philosophy, man consists of this positive and negative essence in the same way with immaterial things. The finer part is the *Shin*, and the grosser the *Kwei*. As one of the commentators says, "the *Kwei Shin* of any one person are the *Kwei Shin* that are sacrificed to in ancestral worship, and the *Kwei Shin* that are the object of sacrifice are the *Kwei Shin* of the breath of nature, or the primordial substance, which is declared in other places to be the same with the *T'ae Keih*, or ultimate principle. At death this distinction is generally spoken of as more apparent; the body and grosser parts of the man descend to earth, and are the *Kwei*, while the finer part mounts aloft, and becomes the *Shin*."* Confucius, in

Supreme Ruler. They were the spirits of the hills, of ancestors, the gods of land and grain. In the popular belief of the present day, apart from the influence of Choo-He's philosophy, *Shin* is any object of worship, be it an image of wood or stone, or a spirit properly so called. The objection to *Shang-te*—apart from its use by the Taoists, and application to one of their chief idols—is the difficulty of its use as an equivalent for *Elohim* and *Theos*. Both of these terms are used in their plural signification, and are applicable to false gods. *Shang-te* can only be used in the singular, as there is only one Supreme Ruler. And an inveighing against false Supreme Rulers, aside from the incongruity of the expression, touches but a small part of the idolatry of the Chinese, while the worship of false *Shin* has been their sin from the beginning. *Shang-te*, in its original signification as Supreme Ruler, is undoubtedly a good term, and it would not be surprising if both terms should be used; *Shin* as equivalent for *Elohim* and *Theos*, and applicable to true and false gods; while *Shang-te* is often a peculiarly appropriate term, and ought not to be lost in bringing the Chinese to a purer monotheism than that of their forefathers.

* The Chinese classics dwell but very little on the *immortality of the soul*. Their views are mostly contained in such allusions as the one just quoted. There is a similar allusion in the Shoo-King, recording the death of Yaou, the first emperor of China. The expression used for his departure is, to ascend and descend, which the commentator says denotes that at death the intellectual spirit ascends to heaven, and the animal soul descends to earth. Of Shun, the second emperor, it is said he ascended far away and died. Han-tsze, one of the commentators, says, in the annals of the bamboo books, "the death of kings is always called an ascending, meaning that they ascended to heaven." (Shoo-King, p. 40.) Dr. Medhurst says the most distinct reference which we have in the Chinese classics to the intelligent soul, is in the following quotation from the Book of Rites, sect. 4th: "When people die, the survivors go up to the house-top, (whither the spirit mounts aloft,) and call out, saying, Oh you! (such a one,) come back, (to the body you have left.) (But if that prove unavailing,) they offer the unboiled rice and raw flesh, (of high antiquity,) or the boiled dumplings (of latter ages) to the manes of the departed: thus they look towards heaven, (whither the spirit is gone,) and store up in the earth,

his anxiety to uphold ancestral worship, approaches to this semi-deification of the human spirit. In fact, it is a natural growth of his system, that a man who is worthy of worship after death, should have the same elements of divinity in him before death. This making men gods, helped to prepare the way for making God man. Polytheism and pantheism, the widest apart of all extremes, meet.

But to go on with the doctrines of the Sung philosophers respecting man. Not only do the *Yang* and the *Ying*, the positive and negative essence, enter into the constitution of man, forming the constituent elements of his body and mind; they also enter into and determine the quality of his actions. In the *Yih King*, (quoted in *Theol. of the Chinese*, p. 115,) it is said, "The *Yang* and the *Ying* may be called the *Taou*. The connection of these two constitutes goodness, and the perfection of them constitutes the virtuous nature." When the essence or primordial substance is spoken of, it is called the Great Extreme, or ultimate principle. Moving and resting, it is called the *Yang* and *Ying*, or positive and negative essence. The rule or method of its action is called *Taou*; the positive and negative are both united in *Taou*, and constitute goodness. Thus, the Commentary says, "the activity of benevolence constitutes the positive principle, and the sedateness of wisdom

(the corpse of the deceased.) They do this because they suppose the body and the grosser parts of the animal soul descend (to earth,) while the intelligent spirit mounts aloft." The commentator says that "knowledge is all-pervading, and the spirit is in no case divested of knowledge; both these are light and pure, and belong to the male principle of nature, therefore they ascend and mount aloft." (*Theol. of the Chinese*, p. 76.) The argument presented by the commentator from knowledge, in proof of the immortality of the soul, aside from revelation, is certainly one of the best which can be presented.

The belief in the immortality of the soul, however, made so little impression upon the Confucianists, that in their controversy with the Buddhists they did not hesitate to deny it. One of them, writing A. D. 483, says, "The soul is to the body as sharpness to the knife; the soul cannot continue to exist after the destruction of the body, any more than sharpness can remain when the knife is no more." A Buddhist, writing in the time of the Sung dynasty, says, "The instructions of Confucius include only a single life; they do not reach to a future state of existence, with its interminable results." This writer brings forward an imaginary Confucianist, who argues, "that to be urged by the desire of heaven to the performance of virtue, cannot bear comparison with doing what is right for its own sake." (*Notices of Buddhism in China*, by Rev. J. Edkins.)

the negative principle." These are united in the good man, and constitute the virtuous nature. Thus the *Taou*, or right order of things both in nature and man, inheres in the *Yang* and the *Ying*, or the all-pervading motion and rest of the Great Extreme.

We are now prepared to see the connecting link between this philosophy and that of the preceding period. We must again refer to what is said in the commencement of the *Chung Yung*, that "man's nature is derived from Heaven, and therefore good; that to preserve this nature, or to bring it back, is the primary duty of man." (See above, p. 250.) The accordance with this Heaven-derived nature is there expressed by *Taou*—the right path—and afterwards by *Ching*—perfection, or truth. This *Taou*, or path of man, was considered first as according with Heaven, and then spoken of in its complete realization as equalling Heaven. Now this *Taou*, this perfection of goodness, is explained by the union of the *Yang* and the *Ying*, the positive and negative essence. When united, the *Taou* of man not only equals, but is the same with the *Taou* of Heaven. Wisdom and benevolence are the motion and rest of the Great Extreme.

Instead of this term, *Taou*, the way or path, the Sung philosophers often used the term *le*, or principle of order. This *le* in man is his *sing* or nature, which is to be cultivated to the utmost. The mind or heart (for the Chinese term *sin* includes both) contains this *le* or principle of order, just as heaven is the place from which this *le* originates. Man thus forms a complete organism or microcosm. Hence, by pushing this complete organism to the utmost, he carries to the utmost the *le* of Heaven, and there is nothing beyond he does not know. Knowing this *le*, he knows whence it originates; and there is nothing beyond or outside of this. As there is nothing beyond or outside of this *le*, or principle of order, he who knows it in his own nature, knows all things—knows Heaven. This explanation occurs mostly in the Commentary on the beginning of the 46th sect. of Mencius, in which he says, that "he who employs his whole mind or heart, knows his nature; he who knows his nature knows Heaven. To keep the mind or heart, and cherish the nature, is the way to serve Heaven. To cultivate nature with undeviating singleness of intention, is the way

to fulfil the divine decree." These last two sentences appear to be Mencius's explanation of the former, though it must be confessed that the expression, "he who knows his nature knows Heaven," is too near akin to the later philosophy. According to this system, the knowledge which is to rectify the heart, is the knowledge of this *le*, or principle of order, which enters into and constitutes the nature of all things. (See above, p. 244.)

It will be seen that these views of man's nature are essentially pantheistic. Man is but the alternate pulsation of the Great Extreme; his nature or disposition is the same with the principle of order which pervades all things; and the moral quality of his actions is only this same inanimate pulsation of the immaterial principle. Each man is a microcosm "having the divinity within," (Commentary on 46th sect. of Mencius,) just as heaven contains it, and therefore knowing himself he knows heaven.

There are two ways in which pantheism may arise. One from reasoning abstractly about existence and God, until man is forgotten and God considered the only being in the universe. This would seem to have been the more usual method with the German philosophers, and with the Brahminical philosophy of India. Chinese pantheism, on the other hand, grew up in an opposite direction, out of the exaltation of man. Man was first considered sufficient to all good, then equal to, and finally the same as Heaven. Though in the end the result of the one is just as much pantheism as the other, yet the process through which the latter was reached had the advantage of a previous philosophy which dwelt upon man's responsibility. This sense of individuality, arising out of the responsibility of every man to cultivate virtue, restrained it from some of the grosser forms of pantheism. Thus the harmony and unity which was sought by reducing all things to the actings out of the Great Extreme, placed the moral quality of actions on the same level with its actings out in inanimate nature. This was the logical conclusion to which the Sung philosophers were brought. But the morality and intrinsic excellence of virtue had been too strongly insisted upon by Confucius and Mencius to be thus blotted out. In fact these logical conclusions of pantheism, so repugnant to the common sense of mankind, are its best refutation.

The insufficiency of a pantheistic philosophy to meet the wants and cravings of the human soul have been abundantly manifest in China. Though it professes to be the development of a system which had its origin forty centuries ago, harmonizing the wisdom of ancient sages, yet the Chinese unsatisfied with its teachings, have resorted to other systems to find some guide about death as well as life, some knowledge of spirits as well as men. Morality has been found a poor substitute for religion; and Atheism has followed up the disowning of God with deifying its founder; while the unsatisfied cravings of the multitude have gone after gods many, seeking in Taouism and Buddhism what they have not found in Confucianism.

ART. III.—*Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy.*

By WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER, M. A., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, with Notes, by William Hepworth Thompson, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

THESE two volumes of Lectures on Ancient Philosophy by Professor Butler show him to have been one of the most gifted men of his day. With all the disadvantages of posthumous publication, many of them having been not only not designed for publication, but prepared in haste to meet the immediate emergencies of his class, they betray rich learning, and keen philosophic insight, brightened by a certain poetic glow, and a rhetorical magnificence—often too gorgeous and diffuse for topics which rather demand a severe simplicity of style. This defect, however, may attract a class of readers to the great subjects of which he treats, who would be repelled by the dry light of exact and concise philosophic diction. At the same time it interferes with the clear and direct evolution of abstract truths, and often hinders the reader's ready apprehension of the

successive steps of the author's reasoning, in their mutual connections. This fault is more obtrusive in the first volume, whose contents are far more fragmentary, immethodical and immature, than those of the second, which consists chiefly of a thorough and masterly review of the Platonic philosophy. This bears evidence of being a ripe product of the author's mind, and affords the true gauge of his philosophic power. Viewed as a whole, we know not its equal or rival in our language, as an exposition of Platonism. It will remain a durable monument of the author's genius. The lectures on the preceding schools of Grecian philosophy are also searching and valuable. Those which follow on Aristotle and Neo-Platonism, though less exhaustive, are yet profound and luminous, and form a worthy contribution to our means of understanding these subjects. We will add that the disadvantage of not being prepared, nor, to a great extent, designed for publication by the author, is compensated, as far as possible, by the high qualifications of the accomplished editor, who gives unmistakable evidence of his accomplishments as a scholar and metaphysician. We have only repeated his own declared judgment, in regard to the comparative fitness of the lectures in the first and second volumes, to represent the author's power in this department of inquiry. It would have been his choice, had it been in his power, to omit the introductory and some other lectures.

Yet, although they do poor justice to their author, both in themselves, and especially considered in their relation to the unity and completeness of the whole, they are not without value. They offer many solid as well as brilliant suggestions in support of the possibility, the utility, and the royal preëminence of mental and metaphysical science. Whether we view this as culminating in theology, as the science of the first causes and reasons of things, as the knowledge of the power which gives birth to all science, and investigates the grounds and validity of all our knowing, or as a gymnastic and tonic for the intellect of the student, it readily takes the rank so often accorded to it, and so eloquently claimed for it by Professor Butler, of *Prima Philosophia, Scientia Scientiarum*.

Beyond this, he discusses, in the introductory part, the appropriate spheres of Psychology, Metaphysics, and Ontology.

His contributions toward a just apprehension of their mutual boundaries and relations are important, and, with some qualifications, just. Various circumstances have led to more or less confusion of thought and language on these matters. A common idea of Metaphysics has been that they simply stand in contrast with Physics, and comprise every department of inquiry but the physical sciences, or that world of matter which we cognize through the senses. In short, they are regarded as the science of immaterial, or the genus under which all the non-material sciences range as species. Viewed in this light, they of course include Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, the principles of Jurisprudence, Political Economy, and Civil Government, and eminently, Christian Theology, which, in any view, has its strong metaphysical side. There has been no age in which the reigning theology and metaphysics have not exercised a powerful reciprocal influence. Accordingly, the study of Mental Philosophy has been deemed very commonly to be simply and purely the study of Metaphysics. Yet those who recognize not the distinction between them, here as elsewhere, often show that they are possessed by it, if they do not possess it. They imply it in their use of language, if they have never stated it clearly to themselves, just as idealists will show that they believe in an external world, although they have reasoned it out of being. Let any man speak of proving a proposition by metaphysical reasoning, and he means something quite different from what he does when he speaks of ascertaining any point psychologically, or by an analysis of the faculties and operations of the soul. He means that he proves it by evidence, *a priori*, and not by induction, observation, testimony or experience. If one argues that the essence of Deity is incommunicable to creatures, because self-existence cannot be predicated of the created and dependent without a contradiction, his argument is metaphysical, and recognized as such by all who have any notion of the word metaphysical, but it has no special relation to mental philosophy or psychology; no more than the argument that salt preserves meat by detaching its moisture, because it always effects this, and moisture is found to promote animal putrefaction. In either case the mind pronounces the judgment, in accordance with its

own laws, as it does in every act of knowing, in any science. But in neither case is there any special relation to Mental Philosophy, more than in any judgment in any sphere of human investigation.

As the distinction between metaphysics and the mere science of mind has come to be more distinctly discerned and defined in philosophic thinking, the term psychology has grown into very general use to denote the latter distinctively. It has the advantage of sharply defining its significate, the science of the mind or soul; of indicating it by a single word; of affording the convenient and indispensable adjective psychological; and of being less vague in relation to the term *metaphysics*, than the broader and vaguer phrases, philosophy of the mind, of the intellectual powers, &c., popularized by the Scotch school of philosophers. Reid and his successors had reason for introducing these titles. He found himself called partly to combat and partly to harmonize two opposite tendencies in philosophic method, each of which, employed exclusively of the other, had been pressed to the most extravagant results. The one, of which Descartes may be taken as a strong type, was the metaphysical. His ignoring all original knowledge but the simple *cogito*, and erecting the whole superstructure of belief by *a priori* reasoning from this one datum of consciousness, is a simple method of spinning out a universe from a single subjective fact of personal experience. This single fact is no more a fact than innumerable others pertaining to our souls, our bodies, or the external world, attested by evidence equally certain and immediate. And the chances of success in such a method are about as great as they would be to reason out, *a priori*, a system of astronomy from one observation of the sun, without observing any of the immense number of facts equally certain and equally accessible in the stellar universe. This method of reasoning out *a priori* what is matter of fact ascertainable only by observation and experiment, had vitiated not only mental, but physical science, until Bacon put forth his *Novum Organum*, which established the great principle that all conclusions relative to the sphere of *contingent* truth or existence, are to be founded on duly ascertained facts, must be tested by facts, and harmonize with all known facts. This principle, as all know, regen-

erated physical science. The simple principle of founding it on duly ascertained phenomena has inaugurated that career of marvellous and magnificent discovery, which has vastly widened man's original dominion over nature.

This inductive method is clearly applicable to the phenomena of consciousness, which are in their nature, facts contingent and ascertainable. Under the prevalence of the metaphysical method, psychology was, like physical science, overborne before the Baconian era. The inductive method in relation to the mind was first displayed most signally by Locke, whose *Essay on the Human Understanding* gave a most decisive impetus to the psychological investigations of cotemporaneous and subsequent philosophers. But while Locke developed a real, and in many respects true psychology, it was nevertheless too exclusive and destructive. In his zeal against innate ideas, he swept away all *a priori* truths, jeopardized some of the first principles of morals and religion, annihilated the groundwork of metaphysics, and, so far forth, taught a false psychology, by giving a false view of what is contained or implied in the indubitable facts of human consciousness. Yet, while maintaining that the mind obtains all its ideas through the senses, and through reflection upon its own operations upon the sensuous matter thus furnished, he teaches that, even in regard to these, "the mind hath no immediate object but its own ideas, which it alone does or can contemplate;" and therefore "the mind knows not things immediately but only by the intervention of the ideas it has of them. Our knowledge, therefore, is real, only so far as there is a conformity between our ideas and the reality of things." But how is it possible to be sure of this "conformity between our ideas and the things themselves," unless we have an immediate knowledge of the things themselves? It is not possible. All certain knowledge of any thing material or immaterial, outside of our own ideas, is annihilated. Nothing remains but pure subjectivity or idealism, an odd finality for what was begun with an assault on original, or *a priori*, under the title of "innate ideas." This is a type of the exclusive psychological method, in its way resolving all certain objects of knowledge into mental states or acts—modifications of the percipient or sentient Ego. The idealism of

Berkeley and the scepticism of Hume were easy and inevitable superstructures on such a foundation. This hyper-psychological extreme thus met the hyper-metaphysical, which has tended in all ages to turn the actual universe into an ideal structure formed out of the *a priori* ideas and reasonings of the mind. All systems whether psychological or metaphysical in their germ, whether Buddhist, Grecian, Transcendental, or Sensual, whether advanced by Locke or Hume, Kant or Hegel, which confound object and subject in knowledge, or which resolve all the objects of knowledge into ideas or feelings of the mind knowing, do so far forth tend to scepticism. In most cases they end in that Pantheism which makes All One, and One All, of which Professor Butler's lectures on Ancient Philosophy only afford numerous striking and instructive illustrations.

Dr. Reid entered the field when this sceptical chaos, arising from an exclusive and exaggerated use of either the metaphysical or psychological methods, by their respective masters, reigned. Without tracing the minute philosophic causes, he discerned the fact that nearly all philosophers agreed that the mind has no immediate knowledge of external objects, but only of some ideal images, or subtle media, which represent them. He saw that if we do not cognize external objects immediately, we do not know them at all with any certainty. So a basis is laid for scepticism. He further saw that certain first truths, not derived through the senses, are intuitively perceived by the mind, with as much certainty as external objects through the senses; that they embrace the first principles and conditions of ethics, theology, mathematics, logic, and indeed of substantial existence: and that these first truths were undermined or imperilled by the principles of Locke, especially as developed or perverted by the sophistical art of Hume. The great work which he undertook was to bring order out of this chaos, by showing that, within their proper sphere, our faculties are trustworthy, and the knowledge they afford sure. This he attempted chiefly by a psychology more exact than Locke's, the cardinal feature of which lay in proving incontestably that we perceive external objects immediately, and not mediately through some vicarious idea or other representation; that in touching a stone, we touch a stone and not a mere idea of a stone. This sim-

ple and impregnable truth, which it requires the astuteness of a philosopher to unsettle or mystify, it is the great merit of Reid, not to have discovered—all the world knew it before—but to have rescued from the assaults of speculatists, who reared and still continue to rear upon the denial of it, in various forms, their fabrics of scepticism, idealism, and pantheism. While his system required to be perfected in some points by his successors, yet the service he rendered in putting the doctrine of Sensitive Perception on a right footing, has won for him an enduring and deserved renown. But beyond restoring the senses to their normal authority within their own sphere, it was necessary to recover those intuitive *a priori*, metaphysical truths and ideas which underlie all reasoning, all supersensual knowledge, and, in a sense, all existence, from the uncertainty in which Locke, Hume, and the Materialists had shrouded them. This also he accomplished by a psychological process, showing that the universal human mind is conscious of affirming that every event must have a cause, all qualities a substance, &c., with the same confidence as it affirms its own existence. Here he found his psychology passing into metaphysics, as all sound psychology must. But in the same sense, if not to the same extent, physics have their root in psychology. For what true science of material things can exist, if we have no sure and immediate perception of material objects, of aught beyond our own ideas or sensations? Physical science also has its root in metaphysics. For what valid science of matter can there be, if events have no cause, and qualities no substance? So it is impossible fully to analyze the operations of the mind in vision without reference to the laws of optics, or its mode of apprehending the primary and secondary qualities of matter, without reference to some principles of Natural Philosophy. But this does not make psychology natural philosophy, although they are to this extent mutually related. In this way, and to this extent, Reid's work was both psychological and metaphysical. As his work was the organizing of a sound philosophy out of the confusion produced by metaphysics overdone at the expense of psychology, and by a psychology overdone at the cost of a metaphysical truth, and to reclaim it from the disrepute arising from both these sources, by founding it on undisputed facts of the univer-

sal consciousness, (*communis sensus*,) he and his followers adopted the convenient titles, Philosophy of the Intellectual Powers, of the Active and Moral Powers, of the Human Mind, of Common Sense, to indicate their sphere of operations; including not merely psychology proper, but as much metaphysics as they saw fit to deal with. Owing to the fortunate ascendancy of the Scotch school in Britain and America, these terms have continued in use to denote indiscriminately metaphysics and psychology, so that many confound the two, not knowing where one ends and the other begins.

Mental Philosophy *strictly understood* is indeed simply Psychology. And Psychology is simply *the science which investigates and determines the operations, laws and faculties of the mind, as these are given in, or inferrible from the phenomena of consciousness*. It is therefore a science of phenomena, of facts, of contingent truths. It classes therefore with the inductive sciences. In this respect it classes with the physical sciences, and has even by some writers been styled physical. As such, its province is, first, to ascertain the facts of consciousness, and next, to propound that and that only concerning the mind, which is fairly implied in these facts. Its simple function is to find and teach what the mind *does* and *suffers*, and thence what it *is*; not what by any *a priori* reasoning it may be shown that it ought to be. This, it may be remarked in passing, rules out all claims of Phrenology to be in any sense a philosophy of mind, since, whatever may be its uses, it never can give us a single phenomenon of consciousness. It may serve a great many good purposes, to map out the skull, and take the mensuration of its parts, but this can never reveal a single mental act. On the other hand, it rules out the pretensions of Rational Psychology, which some transcendentalists elevate above that derived from consciousness, and insist upon as a method of demonstrating *a priori* the possibility and validity of the latter. This method culminates in cosmogonies *a priori*, showing how potential, infinite, absolute being becomes actual, finite, and conditioned in the mere process of existing, instead of finding what the creation really is, and thence deducing those "invisible things" of its Creator, which are clearly seen and known from the things that are made.

And thus Psychology as a science of the phenomena of consciousness is effectually distinguished from Metaphysics, which is the science of *a priori*, necessary, meta-phenomenal truths. There are those who deny that there are any such truths. We shall not now stop to dispute with those who deny that every event must have a cause, all qualities a substance, that no two substances occupying space can occupy the same space at the same time; or that these are not phenomena; or that, however originally suggested by experience, they go beyond experience, are affirmed by the mind *a priori* with a certainty and necessity independent of experience. These characteristics broadly separate this class of truths from Psychology. True, Psychology shows that the mind affirms them, and that this affirmation is valid. But so it shows that the mind cognizes matter and that the cognition is valid, that the memory recalls past events, but it is not therefore the science of material objects, or of the past.

At this stage, it is important to observe that metaphysics are only in a partial and subordinate sense, (although a most important sense,) a science of real existence. For all real existences, except the Supreme God, are contingent on his sovereign will. Had he not seen fit to exercise his creative power, there would have been no created universe, and its non-existence would have involved no contradiction or absurdity. The necessity which characterizes metaphysical truths, so far as it affects real existence, is *hypothetical, conditioned on facts of actual existence otherwise proved*. It is a necessity of relation or consequence whereby, on the supposition that certain forms of existence are otherwise shown, certain other forms of existence must or must not be admitted. This proposition seems to us important and pregnant, and therefore we dwell a little upon its illustration.

For example, the propositions that every event must have a cause, all qualities a substance, that what may be predicated of a whole class can be predicated of every individual included in that class, that every equilateral triangle must be equiangular, do not of themselves prove any fact of actual existence. They only prove, in case events, qualities, classes having common properties, equilateral triangles, exist, then, *quoad hæc*, ade-

quate causes, substances, the possession of these common properties by each individual of the class, equiangular triangles exist. The propositions that of two contradictories both cannot be true, and that one must be true, and that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same moment, of themselves prove no fact of real existence, or non-existence. But if one of two contradictories be otherwise proved true, the other must be false, and *vice versa*; if one body is shown to fill any given space, at any time, no other fills it at the same time. But let no one deem this principle unimportant, though thus hypothetical, as a means of proving actual existence. It is true that the principle of causal necessity proves no fact, till some other fact is proved. But the facts of creation being proved, and the most important of them perceived intuitively, or without the aid of science, this principle demands the admission of a Great First Cause adequate to the production of such effects. It gives us the Invisible God, the greatest of real existences. The highest of all truths, even the divine power and Godhead, is a non-phenomenal truth, deduced by a metaphysical principle, from phenomena. Rom. i. 20. We thus know that things seen are not made of things which do appear, *μη ἐκ φανομένων*. Heb. xi. 3. On such principles rest the whole sciences of Mathematics and Logic, which are justly styled Formal and Hypothetical science, as distinguished from those that refer to real existence. Yet, while Logic of itself can prove no fact till facts are given it, it can give laws for determining indefinitely what other facts are implied or denied in such facts as are given. Mathematics alone could not determine a single fact or principle of Astronomy. Yet, when sufficient facts were ascertained by observation, to afford a basis for mathematical computation, how immense is the number of astronomical truths which mathematics have proved to be necessarily consequent upon those otherwise discovered, till it has become as much a mathematical as an inductive science?

If there is any exception to this, it is found in the case of Space and Time, of which we cannot conceive as non-existent or limited, although we do not know them as actual phenomena. They are indeed first suggested to the mind by the phenomena of bodies which we see must be in space, and of events which

we see must be in time. But when once suggested to the mind, its conviction of their existence and infinitude is not dependent on or derived by inference from bodies or events. Whatever become of bodies or events, it conceives of time and space as existent and unlimited irrespective of them. Nor can we, without violence to our intellectual constitution, follow Kant in denying them objective reality, and evaporate them into mere ideas or necessary forms of thought. And yet again, if we undertake to define what they are, it seems difficult to regard them so much as substances, as the spheres or containers of all substance. If nothing had existence but space and time, how much of existence would there be? But we are only indicating the difficulties which beset us when we attempt to carry our speculations beyond the narrow limits for which we are fitted. They only show us how soon we confront heights which our intellects are not winged to reach ;

How short the powers of nature come,
And can no further go.

It is hard to think time and space mere relations of other things, much less mere ideas or forms of thought ; we can say no less than that they are illimitable, contain all else in their capacious bosom ; we cannot conceive their non-existence, nor yet dare we think them independent of the Creator, who made all things and fills eternity and immensity ; yet what they are, with Reid, we cannot say.

With just views of Metaphysics, we can readily dispose of Ontology, or the science of Being. If by this we meant simply the solution of questions as to the validity of our belief in the actual existence of ourselves or other objects known by our cognitive faculties—in other words the science of objective reality as assailed by sceptics and idealists—it is past all doubt that there is a room for such a science. There is a valid Ontology to this extent. It emerges immediately from the first principle of a sound psychology. That principle is simply this: All acts of intelligence suppose an object known as well as a knowing subject. The reason why we *know* objects as such and such, (if we know at all,) is that they *are* such and such, not that the mind makes them appear so, when they are not so.

These objects determine the mind's differing apprehensions more than the mind itself. A horse and a barley-corn are apprehended differently because they differ from each other, not because the mind differs or causes them to differ. When we know objects therefore, it is simply because they are present to our intelligence. All mankind live and act on this faith. They have no idea that all objects are mere mental phantasies. It takes philosophers who overfly their own humanity, to make nature a lie, and intelligence a sheer delusion, a grand transcendental imposture. As then we know that things exist without us, we learn by observation and induction what they are; and from things so known we go by legitimate metaphysical deduction to non-phenomenal truths, "things invisible," that do not "appear." Heb. xi. 3. So far as by Ontology is meant finding ground for a valid belief in what is certified to us by sense, reason, or revelation, so far it is to be admitted. The grounds for such a belief are abundant and indisputable.

There is another idea of Ontology, according to which we have no faith in it. We refer to attempts to explain the nature, grounds, or genesis of being by metaphysical and *a priori* reasoning: which usually amounts to a process of attempting, not to find what the universe or any part of it is, in the legitimate use of the faculties given us for that purpose, but to show *a priori* how it *must* be, either as to some of its particulars, or how it must have been evolved into actual existence from some vague potentiality called the Absolute, some "Brahma sleeping on eternity." Metaphysics, as we have seen, do not, of themselves, give immediate and original knowledge of actual existence. They only furnish formulas by which, from actual existence otherwise ascertained, we may and must conclude something else. In the study of Being, therefore, we are first to find in the use of the faculties given for this purpose, what is, and how it is, as far as possible. Then we are to find what necessarily results therefrom, taking due care that our conclusions contradict no known facts. This is one thing. To show first metaphysically what must or should be, and then to strain all known facts into a forced consistency with it, is quite another. It is one thing, to ascertain that the world is full of objects, having a distinct yet dependent existence, which imply

a self-existent creator. It is quite another, to reason out metaphysically that all things are manifestations or forms of the Infinite become finite in the process of becoming actually existent, and to turn what we have taken for a distinct man, horse, or tree, into a phenomenon of God. Metaphysics have no commission, no competency for such a work. It is sheer transcendental fatuity. This sort of Ontology has run into pantheism or close approximation to it in all ages. It is the staple of that continental philosophy which has shot its poison through so much of our current literature, history, and theology. If we open a German history of philosophy, we are very apt to find that it is largely a history of the progress of the solution of the question, how Being passes into Becoming, and that little else is recognized as appertaining to philosophy. One of these,* with a prefatory recommendation from a prominent theological professor, pronouncing it "one of the best works for a text book in our colleges, upon this neglected branch of scientific investigation," comes to this grand summation of past philosophic discovery in its closing paragraph; that in Christianity, "stripped of its form of religious representation, we have now the stand-point of the *Absolute Philosophy*, or the thought knowing itself as all truth, and reproducing the whole natural and intellectual universe from itself, having the system of philosophy for its development—a closed circle of circles!" This is enough. We have no difficulty in disposing of this volume, without further notice. It is in no proper sense a history of philosophy, or valuable, except to show how astute minds may mistake nullities for ultimate truths—*lucus a non lucendo*. We heartily agree with the repugnance felt by so many eminent physicists to this kind of metaphysics and ontology. But we see no reason why some of them, because of this abuse, should denounce all metaphysics, and repudiate all *a priori* and necessary truths. The inductive sciences themselves imply the meta-phenomenal at their base, and employ it in rising to their summit. One of their most eminent cultivators, Dr. Whewell, in his *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, has shown this with sig-

* *A History of Philosophy in Epitome*, by Dr. Albert Schweglcr Translated from the original German by Julius H. Seelye, with a prefatory recommendation by Prof. H. B. Smith, of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

nal ability. To abjure metaphysic because false, destructive, or ridiculous theories have been propounded by its abettors, is about as rational as it would be for us to denounce physical science, because a Comte and Mill pervert it into a support of atheism.

If the foregoing analysis is just, it follows that Psychology and Metaphysics, as dealing, in diverse ways, with the thoughts of the mind, are, on one side, the science of the ideal, while, on the other side, they go deepest of all sciences into reality and the ground of all reality. This interferes not with the supremacy of Christian theology, which largely interpenetrates and interlocks with both these sciences. Viewed on the former side, some, though with indifferent success, have sought to have them all included under the comprehensive title of Ideology. But viewed from the other side, as the science of Truth, Reality, and Being, they, and more especially metaphysics, have in all ages obtained the title of Philosophy, not as it is used to denote the philosophy of this or that subordinate department, but philosophy in general, *eminenter*, underlying all particular philosophies, *Prima Philosophia, Scientia Scientiarum*. Thus, while psychology deals with the operations of the mind or ideas, it at the same time deals with the most indisputable of realities, for whatever else may be brought in doubt, no one can possibly doubt that his own consciousness and its phenomena are what they are. But when we inquire whether these phenomena belong to any thinking substance, we resort to metaphysics for proof. The principle that all qualities, accidents, or phenomena must belong to some substance is metaphysical and ideal. It does not of itself prove the existence of phenomena or substance. But phenomena of thought being otherwise proved, this principle proves the existence of a mind or thinking substance, which, though not itself a phenomenon, is evinced by the phenomena of conscious intelligence. So metaphysics, though conversant, in the first instance, about principles which are mere ideas or necessary forms of thought, and do not, of themselves, prove real existence, yet, when phenomena are actually proved, conduct us necessarily to the substantial being which underlies them.

This brings us to the sempiternal, archetypal ideas, which

form the salient point of the Platonic philosophy, so ably and beautifully treated by Professor Butler. Probably no word has been impressed into such varied and onerous service, or is liable to greater vagueness of meaning than *idea*. To be sure, it is always employed to denote some act or object of intelligence, or some synthesis or relation of the two. Yet within this limit Reid defines *idea* as a thought of the mind, while Coleridge says, "a distinguishable power self-affirmed, and seen in its unity with the Eternal Essence, is, according to Plato, an *Idea*." In its true and proper sense, it is essentially one with conception which, in the first instance, signifies a mental image *εἶδος* of an external object before perceived, and thence almost any intellectual apprehension whatever. But as the mind itself and its acts may become objects of thought, so those metaphysical truths, which show themselves in the form of mental affirmations that some things exist, on condition that other things exist, are often called *ideas*—as the *idea* of cause, substance, &c. In this phrase, we often refer, not only to the separate notions of cause and effect, substance and accident connected in the mental affirmation, as subject and predicate, but to the judgment connecting them. So also in regard to the properties which distinguish any individual or class, whatever in the view of the mind constitutes the essence of it, is often and properly called the *idea* of that thing or class.

Plato's system was a natural exaggeration of this, resulting from his lofty effort to rise above the transient, variable, and manifold, to one Great Supreme, the fountain of Good, of Life, of Being. All his perplexities at this point would have been solved by a single ray of Christian light, showing us what instantly, when clearly suggested, commands the assent of reason, that the Almighty at his sovereign pleasure creates, upholds, and destroys all things by the word of his power, whether material or immaterial. But to Plato's eye, matter, because subject to change and dissolution, was hardly a substantial and real existence. It was rather a transient and shadowy phenomenon of the real, which was spiritual and eternal, and was obscured and disparaged by its sensuous embodiment. This spiritual and eternal element, which was the only real substance of things, was, in another view, according to Professor Butler,

their "mental ground," yet not merely the constructive plan in the mind of God, according to which he made them; although in a sort distinguishable from the divine essence, while inseparable from and participant of it. Such, for substance, were Plato's ideas, the archetypal essential of things, the only genuine realities. In the apprehension and contemplation of these, especially in their unity with God, we have genuine knowledge and philosophy. The perfection of the soul is attained by rising above the sensuous and phenomenal to these eternal ideas, until, at last, cleared of its material integuments, it resumes its normal state, (whence it had inexplicably fallen,) in the sphere of the super-sensual and eternal. It is easy to see that this system had strong Pantheistic leanings, although Plato was careful to maintain, often vaguely, the distinction between God, man, and nature, which parts of his philosophy tended to confound. Nor can we wonder that the germs thus developed flowered out subsequently into complete pantheism in the hands of Plotinus and the Neo-Platonic schools. Nor can we doubt the substantial accuracy of Coleridge's terse and pregnant account of the Platonic idea, as a "distinguishable power self-affirmed and seen in its unity with the Eternal Essence." He impressed it into good service in his efforts to anglicise the philosophy of Schelling. His most feasible method was to take the Platonic idea as a solvent, and he used it not in vain upon some of the finest intellects in Britain and this country. Still, when we compare Plato with preceding heathen philosophers, we wonder, not at his errors, but at the caution with which he guarded them against their worst consequences, a caution which many of those who aspire to be the philosophic leaders of our own age, have not had the wisdom to imitate. We wonder at his pure and lofty ethics, the glimpses he caught of some of the sublimest spiritual truths, approximating sometimes to the highest mysteries of revelation. Extravagant, and therefore perilous, as was his antagonism to matter, yet this is a noble error in an age which deified flesh and blood. It is nobler to rise above our nature than to sink beneath it, an alternative to which philosophy is ever doomed when it either has not, or scorns, the light of divine revelation. Hence whenever there has been a reaction from a dominant sensism or

materialism, Plato's writings have commanded high regard, and he has never failed to elicit a genial and sympathetic admiration from the most lofty thinkers and accomplished scholars. This is well on the part of those who, like Professor Butler, see his defects as well as his merits, and master his philosophy instead of being mastered by it. His able analysis and vindication of the merits of Plato's philosophy is happily concluded with the following summation of its faults, which we quote for the purpose of giving our readers a specimen of what they will find in these volumes, and as an expression of our own judgment.

"In the first place, then, there runs through Plato a want of any distinct apprehension of the claims of divine justice in consequence of human sin. Even in his strongest references to punishment, it is still represented mainly, if not entirely, under the notion of a purificatory transition, a severe but beneficial *καθαρσις*. This arises partly from his conception of the divine character, partly from his theory of the human soul itself. From the former, inasmuch as he considers the attribute of indignant wrath or its results inapplicable to the Deity; from the latter, because, in considering the soul essentially in its higher elements divine, he could only look upon the misfortunes of its bodily connection as incidental pollutions which might delay, but could not ultimately defeat its inalienable rights. He must be a very uncandid critic who could censure Plato severely for these misconceptions; but he would be a very imperfect expositor who should not mention them as such. There is probably no single point in the moral relations of the creation for which we are so much indebted to revelation as this of the enormity of sin and the severity of the divine judgment. Thus instructed, it is possible that the demands of the divine justice may be demonstrated accordant with the antecedent notices of the moral reason. But there is a wide difference between proving a revealed principle and discovering it before it has been revealed. We are not then to blame Plato for overlooking that mystery of divine righteousness which even the reiterated and explicit intimations of Inspiration can scarcely persuade even ourselves practically to adopt. But we *are* to censure those (and it is for this reason I mark the matter distinctly) who labour by un-

warrantable glosses to dilute into the disciplinary chastenings of a wise benevolence the stern simplicity with which the Scriptures declare the awful anger of a rejected God. These teachers have abounded in every age, and in one remarkable era of our English Church history were so closely and avowedly connected with Platonism (especially in its later and more mystical forms) as to have thence derived their ordinary title. Gifted with extraordinary powers of abstract contemplation, and a solemn grandeur of style, they abound with noble thoughts nobly expressed, but they are all marked with the characteristic defect of a Platonized Christianity—a forgetfulness, or inadequate commemoration, of the most tremendous proof this part of the universe has ever been permitted to witness of the reality of the divine hatred for sin—the fact of the Christian Atonement.” (We add that this tendency is quite as conspicuous in Coleridge and nearly all the schools of transcendental theology in our day, as in rationalistic and ritualizing Cudworth, More, John Smith, and other Platonizing divines of the seventeenth century.—*Reviewer.*)

“The next point in which the exclusive cultivation of Platonism may become injurious, is its indirect discouragement of *active* virtue. I need not say that no moral teacher can recommend in higher terms the usual exercises of social duty; but the true influences of any moral system depend less on the duties it verbally prescribes than on the *proportion* it establishes between them. And no one that remembers the Platonic conception of the contemplative ‘philosopher’ as the perfection of humanity, can hesitate in pronouncing that Plato inclines the balance to that very side, to which the students of his writings, from their reflective and sedentary habits, may be supposed already too much biassed. The results of this tendency are obvious. To contemplate ideas is, in a certain sense—if the soul and its ideal objects are ultimately blended—to introvert the mind *upon itself*; to do this exclusively, or as the main excellence of man, is—if constitutional temperament combine—to endanger sinking into moral egotism, intellectual mysticism.” . . .

“Nor can it be denied again, that Platonism is defective in those engagements for *the affections*, which no system of human

nature can omit without fatal imperfection. We saw how, in the scheme of social life advocated in the *Republic*, the whole body of domestic affections are annihilated by a single provision, (the community of wives)." . . .

"Much, doubtless, of this practical deficiency in Platonism arose from its illustrious author's extravagant conceptions of the essential evil of *Body*, in all its possible *human* forms. Wholly engaged with the immortal essence it imprisoned, and attributing to matter the organization of almost all which restrains that glorious stranger from asserting its native skies, Plato was accustomed to regard with coldness and suspicion every principle which could not trace its connection directly with the rational part of our complex constitution. . . . In proclaiming the bodily organization, the Christian system has for ever dried up the source of those delusive dreams of super-human purity, which proceed, more or less, upon the supposition that there is something inherently debasing in the very possession of a material frame. And when we enumerate the internal proofs which establish the fact that this divine system never could have been the natural growth of (at least) the fashionable or popular philosophy, we ought not to forget that, so universal and so deep were these impressions of the ineffaceable malignity of body, that the earliest internal dissentients from the general creed of the Christian Church were those who could not believe it possible that an Immaculate Redeemer could have been invested with an earthly body, and therefore maintained that the Divine Sufferer was but the shadowy apparition of a human frame."

"After all—it must be said in behalf of Plato—and I rejoice in a qualification which allows me to close this subject in that tone of sympathy and admiration in which I began it—after all, it must in fairness be allowed that these errors are rather the tendencies of his system, than his own original representation of it." Vol. ii., pp. 281–5.

ART. IV.—*Old Redstone ; or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism, its early Ministers, its perilous times, and its first records.* By JOSEPH SMITH, D. D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1854.

2. *The History of Jefferson College ;* including an account of the early “Log Cabin” Schools, and the Canonsburg Academy. By the same author.

THE first of these books is a very important contribution to the history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The author deserves the thanks of the community and especially of Presbyterians, for the labour and care with which he has rescued from oblivion important facts respecting the individuals through whose labors churches were established West of the Alleghenies.

Few if any now survive whose memory reaches to the period when the Gospel banner was first unfurled west of the mountains: yet there are those living who were personally acquainted with the men who permanently located themselves and their families west of the mountains, and collected congregations and organized churches on the borders of civilization. They can testify to the accuracy with which the characters of those heroic men who carried the gospel over the mountains, are delineated in the work before us. This testimony, together with the records of the first Presbytery formed in Western Pennsylvania, leaves very little to be supplied by uncertain tradition. And when it was necessary to use tradition, only a single step was to be taken: the actors reported to their sons what the historian communicates to us.

The author gives to his work the quaint name of “Old Redstone;” because Redstone was the name of the first Presbytery formed west of the mountains. A stream of water which empties into the Monongahela near Brownsville is called Redstone; because the stone or clay on its banks is of a reddish color. This stream is the first which travellers meet in descending from the last mountain (Laurel Hill) near Union Town. As this was the road usually travelled in early times, when any one was going to cross the mountains, he was said to be going

to Redstone; so that the part of Pennsylvania and of Virginia west of the mountains was called Redstone. The name "Redstone," was therefore very appropriately given to an ecclesiastical body extending over a territory which now constitutes several counties. At present Redstone has a much more limited signification. The first Presbytery organized west of the mountains before other Presbyteries were formed from it, is what the author calls "Old Redstone." And it is the history of this original Presbytery before it was divided that the author has given us. And no man has a better right to speak, or had better opportunity to become correctly informed than the author of "Old Redstone;" for he is the grandson of two of the original members of this Presbytery. His father was the son of the Rev. Joseph Smith, of Buffalo, Washington county, and his mother the daughter of the Rev. James Power, of Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. As early as 1760, with the approbation of their Presbytery, the Rev. A. McDowel and the Rev. H. Allison went as chaplains with the Pennsylvania forces, and probably were the first who preached the gospel west of the mountains. Their services were confined chiefly, if not altogether, to the army. So sparse were the inhabitants at that time west of the mountains, that it would have been difficult to collect at any one place, twenty persons to hear the gospel. In 1763, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, the highest judicature of the Presbyterian Church at that time in this country, appointed the Rev. Messrs. Beatty and Brainerd to visit the frontier settlements in Pennsylvania to preach the gospel, and to report the spiritual condition of the people. At that time the frontier was the eastern foot of the mountains; so that Chambersburg, Shippensburg, and Carlisle were within the reach of savage foes. This mission was not fulfilled, because at the time they were to have commenced their mission, a most violent and destructive Indian war broke out. Families residing in the valleys between Chambersburg and Bedford were murdered, their cabins burnt, their cattle and grain destroyed and every thing laid waste. The Indians having been chastised and become more quiet, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia appointed the Rev. Charles Beatty and the Rev. George Duffield on a mission of

three months. They visited the military station at Fort Pitt, preached to the small settlements on the way, and extended their journey as far as Muskingum, and preached to the Delaware Indians collected there. In 1767, the Rev. Messrs. Cooper and Brainerd reported that they had not fulfilled a mission to which they had been appointed, because they had heard unfavourable reports respecting the Delaware Indians, for whom their mission was chiefly intended. Every year, for several years, with very little success, attempts were made by the same ecclesiastical body to send missionaries over the mountains. In 1771, the Rev. James Finley, brother of the Rev. Samuel Finley, D. D., the fifth President of the College of New Jersey, crossed the mountains and spent one or two months as a missionary. From that time the heart of this good man was fixed on the West, and he several times passed the mountains, and in 1777 he asked his Presbytery to dismiss him, with a view of removing his family west of the mountains; but his request was refused, in consequence of the strong remonstrance of the congregation of which he had been pastor several years.

In 1775, Mr. John McMillan, having obtained license to preach the gospel, made a tour through the great valley of Virginia, crossed the mountains, and entered the western country through Taggart's valley, on the borders of Virginia. The year following he accepted a call from the congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek; but he did not remove his family and reside permanently with his congregations until 1778.

The Rev. James Power removed his family west of the mountains in 1776, and resided on Dunlap's creek, about four miles from Brownsville, Fayette county, and preached in different places until 1779, when he became pastor of the congregations of Mount Pleasant and Sewickly.

The Rev. Thaddeus Dod crossed the mountains in 1778, preached to the people of Upper and Lower Ten-Mile, living the greater part of the time in block-houses, to protect themselves from the attacks of the Indians. The following year he removed his family, which he had left in Virginia, and became the pastor of the congregations of Ten-Mile.

The Rev. Joseph Smith became pastor of the congregations of Buffalo and Cross Creek, in Washington county, in 1780.

In May, 1781, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia directed the Rev. Messrs. Joseph Smith, John McMillan, James Power, and Thaddeus Dod, to form themselves into a Presbytery, to be called the "Presbytery of Redstone." The first meeting, appointed at Laurel Hill, Fayette county, was transferred to Pigeon Creek, Washington county, on account of danger from the Indians; and the Rev. Joseph Smith was prevented from attending at Pigeon Creek for the same reason. In 1782-3, a quorum of the members of the Presbytery could not attend at the time and place appointed, on account of incursions of the Indians.

In 1781, the Rev. James Dunlap and the Rev. John Clark removed their families west of the mountains. The former accepted a call from the congregations of Dunlap's Creek and Laurel Hill, in Fayette county, and the latter from the congregations of Bethel and Lebanon, west of the Monongahela, about twelve miles from Pittsburg. The Rev. James Dunlap became a member of the Redstone Presbytery in 1782, and the Rev. John Clark the year following.

The Rev. James Finley, although he had removed his family over the mountains in 1783, and located them between the Monongahela and Youghogany rivers, where he spent the remainder of his days, did not become a regular member of the Presbytery until 1785, on account of delay in obtaining a dismission from his Presbytery east of the mountains.

All the ministers above named were graduates of the College of New Jersey, except James Finley, who had received a good classical education in a school under the direction of the Rev. Robert Smith, or at what was called the Log College. If the College of New Jersey had done nothing more than send forth six such men as Joseph Smith, John McMillan, Thaddeus Dod, James Power, James Dunlap, and John Clark, it would have been an ample recompense for all the labour and expense employed in its establishment. Through their instrumentality, very extensive and powerful revivals of religion took place in Western Pennsylvania; many were converted; schools and colleges were established; young men of talents were prepared for usefulness in various departments of public life, and especially in the gospel ministry. The influence of these pious men, who formed

the Presbytery of "Old Redstone," is felt to this day through the vast regions west and south-west, reclaimed since their day from barbarism. Members of the churches established by these men emigrated farther west, carried with them gospel principles and gospel habits, and enabled the ministers who followed, trained under the same teachings with themselves, to collect congregations, and to raise up churches in new regions; and at the same time, enough remained on the old ground to maintain more than double the number of the original churches.

In order to estimate the self-denial and labours and dangers of the ministers of the gospel who first located themselves and families west of the mountains, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the state of the country at the time the enterprise was undertaken and executed. Our author has entered into some detail on this subject. And his work is valuable for the secular information which it contains of the state of that part of the country, from the time it was first trodden by the foot of civilized men. We can give only a brief summary, hoping to excite a desire to read the work before us. We omit the whole period preceding the time the members of the "Old Redstone" Presbytery went to the region appropriately called the "Back Woods." From 1775 to 1785 was the most trying time that this country ever witnessed. Every part of the country was exposed to the dangers and sufferings of the Revolutionary war, but peculiar dangers and sufferings awaited those who fixed their residence west of the mountains. To pass a hundred and twenty or thirty miles over mountains, on a path dangerous for men on horseback, was no small undertaking, when women and children were a part of the company. The cabins on the mountains would scarcely afford room to spread a bed on the floor at night, or to give shelter in case of rain or snow. When the travellers arrived at the end of their journey, accommodations very little better awaited them. A cabin of the roughest kind was the best residence that could be expected, and even that was not always found prepared when the minister with his family arrived. No household furniture of any kind could be obtained in that country; and nothing except what could be carried on horseback could be brought over the mountains.

Dr. John McMillan, in a letter to Dr. Carnahan, has given a

graphic, and we doubt not a true account of his accommodations when he arrived with his wife at the place of his residence in 1778. We quote his words, as they are probably descriptive of more cases than his own. "When I came to this country, the cabin in which I was to live was raised, but there was no roof on it, nor chimney or floor in it. The people however were very kind, assisted me in preparing my house, and on the 16th of December I moved into it: but we had neither bedstead nor table, nor chair, nor stool, nor bucket. All these things we had to leave behind us, there being no wagon road at that time over the mountains, we could bring nothing with us but what we carried on pack-horses. We placed two boxes on each other, which served as a table, and two kegs served as seats, and having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread a bed on the floor and slept soundly till morning. The next day, a neighbour coming to my assistance, we made a table and stool, and in a little time we had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes we had no bread for weeks together, but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the necessaries of life, and as for luxuries we were not much concerned about them. We enjoyed health, the gospel and its ordinances, and pious friends, and we were in the place where we believed God would have us to be, and we did not doubt but that he would provide for us everything necessary; and glory be to his name, we were not disappointed." The reason why Mr. McMillan and his family had no bread for weeks, probably was that the streams on which the first mills were built in that country, failed in the summer and autumn, and wheat and corn could not be ground. Several causes checked the prosperity of that country, and kept the people poor and unable to contribute to the support of ministers of the gospel.

For a long time it was uncertain whether what is now Fayette, Green, and Washington counties, belonged to Virginia or Pennsylvania; and for that reason the titles to land were uncertain. The Legislature of Pennsylvania gave three or four different kinds of land titles; the consequence was that controversies and lawsuits respecting land were multiplied and permanent improvements neglected. Articles such as iron and salt, indispensable in carrying on farming operations, had to be

carried on horse-back over the mountains, and could not be procured except at a high price. Trade was cut off by the mountains on the one side, and hostile Indians on the other. In many parts of the country farmers placed their families in block-houses, and cultivated their crops and harvested their grain in parties, some keeping guard while others performed the work. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the people however willing, could contribute very little towards the support of their ministers. It was not expected, nor was it possible, that ministers could remain at home and labour on their farms. All of them had charge of two, and some three congregations, some ten or fifteen miles apart; of course they were frequently from home, and when at home they were at their studies, for they did not appear in the pulpit without preparation—some of them wrote their sermons in full and delivered them without notes, from memory. The care of their farms, for they all lived in the country, was left to their wives and children, and such help as they were able to hire.

The following extract, taken from an account written by the Rev. James Miller, and quoted by the author of "Old Redstone," will give the reader a clearer idea of the pecuniary embarrassments of early ministers and of the general state of the country, and also of the remarkable interposition of divine Providence for the relief of one of these ministers, than anything that we can say. "Our story," says Mr. Miller, "will carry the reader back to the period when all north of the Ohio river was almost an unbroken wilderness—the mysterious red man's home. On the other side, a bold hardy band from beyond the mountains had built their log cabins, and were trying to subdue the wilderness. To them every hour was full of peril. The Indians would often cross the river, steal their children and horses, kill and scalp any victim that came in their way. They worked in the field with weapons at their side, and on a Sabbath met in a grove or rude log church to hear the word of God, with their rifles in their hands. To preach to these settlers, Mr. Joseph Smith, a Presbyterian minister, had left his paternal home, east of the mountains. He, it was said, was the second minister who had crossed the Monongahela. He settled in Washington county, Pennsylvania, and became the pastor of

Cross Creek and Upper Buffalo congregations, dividing his time between them. He found them a willing and united people, but still unable to pay him a salary which would support his family. He, in common with all the early ministers, must cultivate a farm. He purchased one on credit, promising to pay for it with the salary pledged to him by his people. Years passed away. The pastor was unpaid. Little or no money was in circulation. Wheat was abundant, but there was no market. It could not be sold for more than twelve-and-a-half cents in cash. Even their salt had to be brought across the mountains on pack-horses, was worth eight dollars per bushel, and twenty-one bushels of wheat had often to be given for one of salt. The time came when the payment must be made, and Mr. Smith was told he must pay or leave his farm. Three years salary was now due from his people. For the want of this, his land, his improvements upon it, and his hopes of remaining among a beloved people must be abandoned. The people were called together, and the case laid before them, and they were greatly moved; counsel from on high was sought; plan after plan was proposed and abandoned; the congregations were unable to pay a tithe of their debts, and no money could be borrowed. In despair they adjourned to meet again the following week. In the meantime it was ascertained that a Mr. Moore, who owned the only mill in the county, would grind for them wheat on reasonable terms. At the next meeting it was resolved to carry their wheat to Mr. Moore's mill; some gave fifty bushels, some more. This was carried from fifteen to twenty-six miles on horses to mill. In a month word came that the flour was ready to go to market. Again the people were called together. After an earnest prayer, the question was asked, 'Who will run the flour to New Orleans?' This was a startling question. The work was perilous in the extreme; months must pass before the adventurer could hope to return, even though his journey should be fortunate; nearly all the way was a wilderness, and gloomy tales were told of the treacherous Indians. More than one boat's crew had gone on that journey and had come back no more. 'Who then could endure the toil and brave the danger?' None volunteered; the young shrunk back, and the middle-aged had their excuse. At length

a hoary headed man, an elder in the church, sixty-four years of age, rose, and to the astonishment of the assembly said, 'Here I am; send me.' The deepest feeling at once pervaded the whole assembly. To see their venerated old elder thus devote himself for their good, melted them all to tears. They gathered around Father Smiley to learn that his resolution was indeed taken; that rather than lose their pastor he would brave danger, toil, and even death. After some delay and trouble, two young men were induced, by hope of a large reward, to go as his assistants. A day was appointed for starting. The young and old, from far and near, from love to Father Smiley and deep interest in the object of his mission, gathered together, and with their pastor at their head came down from the church, fifteen miles away, to the bank of the river, to bid the old man farewell. Then a prayer was offered up by their pastor, and a parting hymn was sung. Then said the old Scotchman, 'Untie the cable, and let us see what the Lord will do for us.' This was done, and the boat floated slowly away. More than nine months passed and no word came back from Father Smiley. Many a prayer had been breathed for him, but what was his fate was unknown. Another Sabbath came; the people came together for worship, and there, on his rude bench, before the preacher, composed and devout, sat Father Smiley. After service the people were requested to meet early in the week to hear the report. All came again. After thanks had been returned to God for his safe return, Father Smiley rose and told his story:—That the Lord had prospered his mission; that he had sold his flour for twenty-seven dollars a barrel, and then got safely back. He then drew a large purse and poured upon the table a larger pile of gold than most of the spectators had ever seen before. The young men were paid each one hundred dollars. Father Smiley was asked his charge. He meekly replied, that he thought he ought to have the same as one of the young men, though he had not done quite as much work. It was immediately proposed to pay him three hundred dollars. This he refused till the pastor was paid. Upon counting the money it was found there was enough to pay what was due Mr. Smith, to advance his salary for the year to come, to reward Father Smiley with three hundred dollars, and then have a

large dividend for each contributor. Thus their debts were paid, their pastor relieved, and while life lasted he broke for them the bread of life. The bones of both pastor and elder repose in the same church-yard; but a grateful posterity still tells this pleasing story of the past."

In some respects there was a general similarity in the character of the first ministers of the gospel who fixed their permanent residence west of the mountains. They were all, except Thaddeus Dod, of Scotch-Irish descent. They were all men of good education, graduates of the College of New Jersey, except James Finley; all had the same theological views; all animated with the same spirit of piety; all inspired with the same zeal for the glory of God, and for the salvation of men; all possessing the same self-denial, and willingness to labour and suffer in the cause of their Lord and Master. Yet the individual character of these men was vastly different. The apostle Peter was not more different from his fellow disciple, John, than the character of any one of these men was from that of any other. Each one had his peculiar natural temperament and acquired habits. Each one had a particular work to perform, suited to his natural disposition and special gifts. And notwithstanding the vast difference in their characters and gifts, all acted together in perfect harmony. No two men could be more different in their habits and acquirements than Joseph Smith and Thaddeus Dod, and yet they were special friends, more attached to each other and more frequently associated together than any other. In Mr. Smith we have a zealous, flaming preacher, who poured torrents of divine wrath upon the conscience of the impenitent sinner, opening to his view the lake burning with fire and brimstone; or if the future happiness of the believer was his theme, he seemed to open the gates of the celestial city and let you hear the songs of the redeemed. Mr. Dod presented the same doctrines in a more subdued manner, causing every sentence which he uttered to contain a clear, distinct proposition, expressed in words so simple as to be understood by every hearer. The discourses of Mr. Smith produced an immediate effect, causing the sinner to tremble or to rejoice. The discourses of his friend were lodged in the memory, recurred to the hearer after he had withdrawn from

the public assembly, and afforded him a subject of meditation for days and weeks. Mr. Smith, like all his brethren associated with him, was a good Latin and Greek scholar, as well as an impassioned and eloquent speaker. Mr. Dod, in his knowledge of the Hebrew language, and also of mathematics and natural science, was superior to all his associates. The estimation in which his mathematical talents and acquirements were held, when a student in college, is learned from the following incident. When the late Albert B. Dod was nominated as a candidate for the mathematical chair in the College of New Jersey, Chief Justice Kirkpatrick, one of the Trustees, remarked, that he was not acquainted with the candidate, and did not know his qualifications as a mathematician; nevertheless, he would vote for him. "When," said the Judge, "I was a student in the College, there was one Thaddeus Dod, a student at the same time, who seemed to understand mathematics by instinct; all the students applied to him when anything difficult occurred in their mathematical studies. I presume," he continued, "the candidate is of the same stock, and I will vote for him."*

The contrast was still greater between the Rev. John McMillan and the Rev. James Power. The former in his aspect was austere, in his dress negligent, in his manners rough. The latter was graceful in his person, polished in his manners, and always dressed in a neat and becoming manner. The style of preaching of these two men was as variant as their personal appearance. When fairly under way, Mr. McMillan was loud, boisterous, rolling out his words in a torrent, without regard to emphasis or natural pauses, manifesting an earnestness in what he uttered, to the neglect of all the rules of correct speaking. The elocution of the Rev. James Power was clear, distinct; no rambling, inarticulate sounds were heard; every word and every syllable was uttered with a distinctness which left no

* The Judge did not err in his conjecture. Albert B. Dod was elected Professor of Mathematics in the College of New Jersey; and in the few years that it pleased a sovereign and righteous God to permit him to remain on earth, he attained an eminence, not only in mathematical knowledge, but also in mental, physical, and theological science, such as few men of his age, in any country, have reached.

room for mistake on the part of the hearer. Although the volume of his voice was less, he could be heard and understood at a much greater distance than his friend and fellow-labourer. We have said Mr. McMillan was rough in his address, and forbidding in his aspect, yet justice requires us to say, that connected with this unfavourable external appearance, he had a heart as kind and a hand as liberal as ever fed the hungry or clothed the naked. We could name many instances of his kindness to indigent young men, who were preparing for the gospel ministry, giving them both food and clothing. One case of his benevolence, not generally known, but which we have heard from the lips of an eye-witness, we must be permitted to record. One year, we think it was in 1784, there was a great scarcity of grain in Western Pennsylvania. Until about the first of May, it was supposed there was abundance of grain in the country. Those who wished to purchase, began to inquire; and it was found that those who usually had abundance, had not sufficient for themselves. The alarm was great, and more than four times the usual price was offered for wheat or corn. It so happened that Mr. McMillan had a large quantity of wheat on hand. When persons came from a distance, wishing to buy, Mr. McMillan would ask, with a stern countenance and a harsh voice, whether or not they had money to pay for wheat. If they said they had, he would reply, that he had none for them; they could go and buy elsewhere. That he knew many who had no money, and his wheat was not more than sufficient to keep them from perishing. And to persons of this description, it was added, that he distributed all his wheat, on condition that after harvest they would return to him the same quantity of wheat, equally good.

The Rev. James Finley and the Rev. John Clark were farther advanced in years than any of the other pioneers, and they had both had the pastoral charge of congregations east of the mountains several years. Both of them were men of exemplary piety, not remarkable for talents or pulpit eloquence, but they were very useful as pastors and members of Presbytery; especially Mr. Finley, who by the mildness of his disposition and conciliating manners, secured the confidence of all who knew him. In conducting the discipline of the church, in reconciling

persons at variance, and in giving instruction to young persons his services were invaluable. The Rev. James Dunlap who had been two years a tutor in the College of New Jersey, under Dr. Witherspoon, excelled all his brethren as a Latin and Greek scholar. As a preacher he was didactic—presented the doctrines of the gospel in a regular systematic way, without any appeal to the heart, except through the understanding. Yet his ministry was greatly blessed in the edification of believers and in the conversion of sinners. These seven men may be considered as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania, west of the mountains. They received no aid from abroad of any value until after 1790, when the dangers and trials were chiefly past. During the Revolutionary war, very few young men turned their attention to the gospel ministry. The schools and colleges east of the mountains were nearly broken up, and those who became preachers during these troublous times, were not sufficient to supply the churches established east of the mountains.

In view of the wide field opening before them, and despairing of receiving labourers from abroad, these good men, at a very early period, turned their attention to the education of young men for the gospel ministry. Who was the first to open a school for this purpose, has been a subject of controversy. This honour has been claimed for Messrs. Smith and McMillan, and Dod and Dunlap. Our author has discussed this subject, and has assigned reasons for believing that his ancestor, the Rev. Joseph Smith, was the first who opened a Latin school west of the mountains. The fact is, all these men were competent to teach what in those days was usually taught in academies and colleges, and all of them opened a school as soon as the providence of God called on them to do so. It was from no motives of honour or profit that they undertook to teach young men having the gospel ministry in view. The young men who offered were generally poor, and had to be boarded as well as taught, without reward by the minister under whose care they were; thus imposing on the wives of these ministers a very heavy burden; for let it be remembered, that they had to perform with their own hands all the kitchen work, until their daughters were able to assist them. Mrs. Smith gave up a cabin erected

for a kitchen, to the young men studying with her husband. And these pious heroic women made these sacrifices, and performed these labours joyfully, thanking God that they had an opportunity of doing these menial services. The pious John Newton has somewhere said, that if an angel were sent on a mission from heaven to earth, he would obey the mandate with equal alacrity whether it were to sweep the streets of London or to rule the empire. That good woman, Mrs. McMillan, is said to have expressed a similar sentiment, who, after hearing a young man, for whom she had done gratuitous services, preach, remarked that she had had the privilege of glorifying God by patching clothes, wrestling with pots, and washing dishes.

The devoted men who carried the gospel west of the mountains, convinced of the importance of an educated as well as a pious ministry, did not hurry ignorant, uncultivated young men into the sacred office, on the ground that labourers were greatly needed. They required their candidates to be able to read the sacred Scriptures in the original tongues, and they provided the best means in their power to give a good education to all who sought it. Several young men, educated and trained by individual ministers were licensed and ordained by the "Old Redstone" Presbytery, became able and efficient labourers in the gospel field. What the Presbytery of Redstone thought of the importance of education in ministers of the gospel will appear from the sarcastic reply of Mr. T. Dod to a friend in Morris county, New Jersey. A few ministers in Morris county separated from their Presbytery and formed an independent Presbytery, not because they differed in doctrine, but because so few men of education offered themselves as candidates for the gospel ministry, they thought it necessary to license as preachers men who had very little education or knowledge of theology. Several such were licensed, and remained unemployed. A friend in Morris county wrote to Mr. Dod, who was from that place, inquiring whether or not some of those young men could not be usefully employed in Western Pennsylvania. Mr. Dod replied to this effect: That Western Pennsylvania was a very rough, hilly country, and that the roots of trees still green required a very strong, well-trained

team to break up the ground, and he did not think that two-year old steers would answer!

We learn from its records, that the Presbytery of Redstone only in three cases departed from the general rule of requiring a knowledge of the languages in which the sacred Scriptures were written, and also of the elements of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. And in these cases they had no reason to regret their departure from their general rule. The three men introduced into the holy ministry without a full course of classical study, were above thirty years of age, were married, had children, and were also in straitened worldly circumstances. Besides, they were men of more than common talents, of ardent piety, and had a good English education, and withal, a large share of common sense. These men were Joseph Patterson, Samuel Porter, and Thomas Marquis. Their memory is still precious in Western Pennsylvania.

The Rev. Joseph Patterson collected two large congregations, had several extensive revivals under his ministry, and continued to preach to the same people with acceptance and profit, until the infirmities of age compelled him to retire; and even then he did not cease to labour in the cause of his Lord and Master. In Pittsburgh he went about doing good, distributing Bibles and tracts, and talking to boatmen and travellers on the margin of the river, and saying a word in season to all he met. How kind, how appropriate, how solemn were his words! "Father Patterson"—not without meaning—was on the lips of many who spoke of him with reverence and affection. He was a native of Ireland.

So also was Samuel Porter. He was a bold, frank, open-hearted Irishman, and withal, a man of humble and devoted piety. He was an able and popular preacher; and the more attractive, because he had a natural vein of humour which he could not entirely conceal in the pulpit, and which caught the attention of a large class of hearers. He was one of those few men who could tell in the pulpit an anecdote that would excite a smile and yet not destroy the solemnity of the occasion.

The Rev. Dr. Elliott, in a biographical notice prefixed to the writings of Mr. Porter, has given an interesting sketch of

his character. We add two or three incidents showing the peculiarities of this remarkable man.

His congregations were in Westmoreland county, on the borders of the white population, and for some time were exposed to the incursions of the Indians. Alarms were sometimes given when the people were assembled for worship. Mr. Porter would come down from the pulpit, take up his rifle, mount his horse, and with the young men of his congregation, pursue the savage foe. In debate he was able, and in Presbytery and other judicatures of the Church he indulged his natural turn for pleasantry more freely than in the pulpit. He was a commissioner to the General Assembly convened in Philadelphia, when it was proposed to raise a general fund to aid in defraying the expenses of members from distant parts of the Church. A member from a Presbytery east of the mountains remarked that the expenses of commissioners from distant Presbyteries need not be much, if they would act as ministers of the gospel ought to act; that is, if they would let their character as ministers of the gospel be known, and call together the families with which they lodged, read a chapter in the Bible, give a short comment and make a prayer; that, if this were done, no family would be so unreasonable as to charge them for their meals and lodging. Mr. Porter rose, and in a few words gave such a graphic and ludicrous description of the people in whose houses the western members were compelled to lodge, in passing the mountains, and of the treatment clergymen and their prayers would receive, if prayers in the family were offered, that several members burst out into an immoderate laugh. The Moderator rapped and called to order, and in the act of doing so, although a very grave man, he had himself to laugh. Mr. Porter then turned from the ludicrous to the serious, and in a few words he gave such a true and touching description of the trials, and labours, and sufferings which ministers of the gospel and their families in the West had to endure, that those who had laughed, had through sympathy to shed tears. After this short speech, the proposition to raise a fund to pay the expenses of distant commissioners was carried, *nemine contradicente*. On another occasion, Mr. Porter manifested the fearlessness of his character, and used the power of ridicule to good purpose. In 1794,

the Whiskey Insurrection broke out in Western Pennsylvania, and spread like fire in the mountains. Ministers of the gospel disapproved of the lawless acts committed; but very few of them dared to raise their voice in public against the riotous conduct. Not so, Mr. Porter. He came out boldly at the beginning against the lawless violence, and he restrained the people of his charge from a participation in the violation of the laws.

Dr. McMillan (within whose congregation there were many persons concerned in the insurrection,) from timidity, or because he was unwilling to speak on politics in the pulpit, said nothing publicly on the subject. But when the time of securing the benefit of the amnesty offered by the government was approaching, he became alarmed, as he understood some of his neighbours had determined to sign no promise to obey the laws respecting the excise. At this juncture he invited Mr. Porter, who resided forty miles distant, to make him a visit and to address the people on the subject of the insurrection. The invitation was accepted and a day appointed. When it was understood that Mr. Porter had agreed to come, various conjectures were made as to the result. Such was the excitement, that some thought as Mr. Porter had to pass through the neighbourhood where the insurrection commenced, and where atrocious acts had been done, he would be seized and tarred and feathered. Others thought he would be dragged from the pulpit and maltreated, as soon as he urged submission to the laws. The day appointed was a week day, and many concerned in the rebellion came from a distance. After the preliminary services of prayer and praise, Mr. Porter read a portion of sacred scripture enjoining obedience to civil rulers and laws enacted by those in authority, and he showed the nature and the necessity of civil government; and he particularly explained the nature of our own government, and showed that the people ought to obey existing laws however unjust and oppressive they might be, until they were changed in a regular way. During this part of the discourse, some uneasiness and restlessness was manifested; but when he came to apply the subject, showing that the acts recently done in resisting the excise law were rebellion and treason, there was an evident commotion and indications of

resentment. Mr. Porter, who spoke without notes, kept his eye on his hearers, and when he noticed the appearance of an outbreak, or an attempt to leave the house, he introduced a humorous anecdote bearing on the subject, and when he had produced a good feeling he would again return to a serious strain. These changes from the serious to the laughable he repeated several times, until he had his audience entirely under his control; so that they were prepared to hear anything he wished to say. He then described in the most solemn manner, the awful consequences of persisting in rebellion against the general government—that an army would be sent against them which they could not resist—that all who continued their opposition would be seized—fathers would be taken from their children, sons from their parents, husbands from their wives, carried to the extremity of the State, imprisoned, condemned and hung as rebels against the government of their country. He reminded them also of their responsibility to God, whose laws as well as those of men they had broken. And finally he besought and entreated them in the most tender and affecting manner, to pause and consider, and comply with the conditions of the amnesty offered, before it was too late. The effect was the most salutary, and it is believed none who heard the discourse neglected to give the pledge required. At this distant day it is difficult to conceive what physical and moral courage it required to speak to an audience so excited, and also what address and knowledge of human nature were necessary to overcome prejudices and passions so fixed and violent.

Mr. Marquis, the third one licensed to preach, without a regular education, was a native of Virginia, and had removed to Western Pennsylvania at an early day. He was a man of a sound intellect, had a lively imagination, a ready command of language, and a powerful and harmonious voice. It is sufficient praise to say he succeeded the Rev. Joseph Smith, and preached with great acceptance and effect for several years to the congregations of Cross-Roads and Buffalo.

In 1793, that is, twelve years after it was organized, the Presbytery of Redstone became so large that it was divided into two Presbyteries, one retaining the old name, and the other called the Presbytery of Ohio. This increase of ministers was

chiefly by means of those educated and introduced into the ministry by the Presbytery of Redstone. Here the history of "Old Redstone" ends.

Dr. Smith has added to the value of his work by giving us copious extracts from the minutes of the original Presbytery; giving us, in notes, the subsequent history of the churches collected by the early ministers, and much valuable information respecting the changes which have occurred in these churches down to the present time. It would be interesting could we know all the ministers of the gospel who were converted through the instrumentality of the members of the Presbytery of "Old Redstone," and all the ministers who have sprung from these, down to the present time. We know that from the Presbyteries of Redstone and Ohio, many other Presbyteries, and even Synods, have sprung; that the extensive region situated north of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, and extending to Lake Erie, has been supplied with ministers of the gospel chiefly from this region. From the same quarter, ministers have gone to Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and other western States, and even to distant heathen lands. It is well known that powerful awakenings and revivals of religion occurred under the ministrations of the early preachers west of the mountains. Many of these converts, as the country filled up, removed farther west, and they became centres around which churches were collected, and the hands of ministers were sustained, when they carried the gospel to new settlements.

The history of "Old Redstone" Presbytery furnishes the most powerful argument that can be offered in favour of home missions. What field in our extensive country is less promising than Western Pennsylvania, when McMillan, and Power, and Smith, and Dod crossed the mountains? Where are greater dangers and trials to be endured? and where has God bestowed a greater blessing, and rewarded the labours of his servants with greater success? There were a few pious laymen settled west of the mountains before any preacher entered the country. Suppose these praying men had died off before the gospel was carried to them? Their children would have grown up in sin, and in a short time have been as difficult to be reclaimed as if they had been born in heathen lands. Our population is moving

on and on, west and south-west; a few pious men and women are going with the tide, and are ready to welcome the heralds of salvation. Let them not pass away before ministers of the gospel go to their aid. Let good seed occupy the virgin soil, lest noxious weeds, difficult hereafter to be eradicated, spring up.

The second work of Dr. Smith, placed at the head of this article—"History of Jefferson College"—is, in many respects, equal in its interest and excellence. It has been a far more difficult task. The facts and persons of this history are too recent, for the calmness and fairness of historical literature. Even the remotest of them, the first classical school west of the mountains, in which this college originated, whether it was a school established by Dr. McMillan, or one by the Rev. Thaddeus Dod of Ten-Mile, or one by the Rev. Joseph Smith of Buffalo, grandfather of the historian, seems to perturb the writer himself at the beginning of the volume, and to give a sharp polemical cast to a great part of his valuable appendix. This controversy seems to have excited much feeling in the region of Jefferson College, and has called forth specimens of keen historical criticism between the author and Robert Patterson, Esq., Professor in Oakland College, Mississippi. This gentleman is the grandson of the venerable "Father" Patterson, one of the first men licensed to preach in Western Pennsylvania, and also of Colonel John Canon, whose name is given to the town where the College is located, and whose liberality contributed essentially to nourish the academy from which it arose. Professor Patterson is a very able and beautiful writer. He has done well to forsake the comparatively barren toil of the legal profession for the labours of science and literature, in which we hope his accomplished mind will achieve something to the credit of his *Alma Mater*, of more importance immeasurably, than the clearest vindication of the Canonsburg traditions, that Jefferson College is the lineal descendant of Dr. McMillan's "Log Cabin," and that this Log Cabin was the first academy of Latin and Greek in all the West.

Dr. Smith seems to have shaken these traditions, and to have made out, with great plausibility at least, that the academy at Canonsburg was successor to one at Washington, where the

Rev. Messrs. McMillan, Dod, Smith, and others, had united to establish it permanently; but, owing to the churlish refusal of a Mr. Hoge, proprietor of the place, to grant them a lot, after the court-house, in which the school had been kept, was burned down, and the contrasted generosity of Colonel Canon, who offered not only ground to build on, but liberal contributions to the building also, they transferred their patronage to Canonsburg. The charter for an academy at Washington was obtained in 1787; that for one at Canonsburg in 1794. But, twelve years before this latter date, Dr. McMillan had a school at his own house, for, the celebrated James Ross, a great lawyer, and Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania, in the administration of Washington, had been a teacher for him and a pupil at the same time; and Mr. Ross was admitted to the bar in 1784. We may well suppose that Dr. McMillan's school was opened years before this; as early as 1780. But, while it is conceded that his school was the first in time, the question is, whether it was a Latin school before 1785, and Mr. Ross an assistant teacher of Latin and Greek, or an English school, and the usher, so renowned in after time, merely a learner in the classics, under the instruction of Dr. McMillan. Dr. Smith, in the work before us, maintains the latter view, and Professor Patterson the former, whose ingenious argument the author has the magnanimity to spread at full length before his readers. We have no space here for the merits of a controversy so minute and unimportant. We might as well attempt to settle which spring it is, among the rich hills of Washington county, that we are to identify as the source of the beautiful Chartiers, as to settle which patriarch it was, McMillan, Smith, or Dod, that started the stream, which, for more than half a century, "has made glad the city of our God."

The academy was made a college by a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, dated January 15, 1802. It has often been considered strange, that such an institution, so founded and so nurtured, should have been called after Thomas Jefferson, whose antipathy to the religion of Christ, in every form, was peculiarly derisive and spiteful towards that very kind of it which belonged to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Western Pennsylvania—a religion of creeds, catechisms, prayer-

meetings, and revivals. The late Dr. M. Brown was always dissatisfied with this name, and in his manuscript "Life of Dr. McMillan," he says:—"It has been a matter of surprise and regret, that an institution, founded in piety and prayer, and professedly designed to be devoted to religion, should bear the name of one, who, though distinguished and honoured justly as a philosopher and statesman, an advocate of the principles of liberty, yet must be acknowledged to have been an infidel, a deist, if not an atheist, and a bitter opposer of the Christian religion. It must, however, be recollected, that the principles of Mr. Jefferson, at that time, were not fully developed, as afterwards. Occasional rumours respecting his opposition to religion were disbelieved and denied. It cannot otherwise be supposed that these trustees and conductors of the Institution would have consented to such a name."

The most probable conjecture, as to the origin of this name, is, that William Findley, Esq., a Representative of that district in Congress, and a warm political partisan of Mr. Jefferson, persuaded the trustees to adopt it, he being at that time a trustee himself. It is also a fact, of no little historical interest, that the original inhabitants of Washington county were Virginians in feeling, and considered themselves as occupying a territory fairly belonging to that old mother of States. The dissatisfaction pervading most of the settlers at being, as they thought, tortuously appended to the colonial domination of the Penns, probably contributed very much to that memorable outbreak, a few years before the chartering of this College, which has been stigmatized as "The Whiskey Insurrection." At any rate, the name of Jefferson was decidedly popular, just then and there, as he was now in the height of his power and influence, and the recent inauguration of his government was considered a triumph to the political policy which the people of that region thought the best for their prosperity. And, strange as it may seem to us that such a people should give such a name to this child of prayer and faith, there is little doubt that the place which this College has always had in the hearts of the masses, west of the mountains, originated in the association of this name, at that particular conjuncture.

From this time onward to the present, the history of Jefferson

College has been very much like that of any other American institution; with only a more uniform tide of prosperity than common, occasioned by the singular interest of the population around it in the cause of education. So great has been the advantage of its location, that another College, only seven miles distant, at Washington, has existed, with great respectability for numbers, nearly as long as Jefferson itself. The rivalry which has existed between these Colleges, while it has, no doubt, occasioned a greater diffusion of the benefits of education, by the emulous bidding for students, and consequent increase of facilities, may be regarded as the source of nearly all the trouble that either has experienced in its career. The most remarkable illustration of this remark occurs about the year 1817, when, after certain fruitless efforts of committees, appointed to confer about a union, the President of Jefferson, the Rev. Andrew Wylie, was suddenly transferred to Washington, and the President of the latter, the Rev. Matthew Brown, was summarily superseded by a secret concert of certain Trustees, in both Institutions. "The war of the Colleges," which followed, was one of intense bitterness. That old giant of literature and theology, Samuel Ralston, the pastor of Mingo, and for nearly forty years President of the Board of Trustees in Canonsburg, struck the hardest blows; and the long result was, that Jefferson College gained the sympathies of the people more than ever. President Wylie, in his new situation, with all his acknowledged ability, was unsuccessful; and President Brown, who still remained at Washington, as pastor of the church, was, by a singular providence, within five years after his ejection at Washington, elected President of Jefferson. His accession was the era of great enlargement and unprecedented prosperity. With energy, and tact, and scholarship combined, which would have made him successful under almost any circumstances, everything seemed to favour him; and Washington College dwindled, almost to extinction, at his side.

At length, however, before his administration closed, Washington College rallied, and advanced nearly to equal numbers, under the presidency of the late venerable Dr. McConaghy; and then another evil became painfully manifest to the friends

of both Institutions—the competition for students, tending to lower the standard of attainment, and slacken the reins of discipline. The venerable Presidents, between whom there existed the most cordial amity and honourable friendship, saw and deplored the evil, and held it in check by their mutual good will; but constituted as the Colleges were by the same kind of charters, in the same religious denomination, subsisting alike on the pay of tuition, so near to each other, and so embittered in their antecedents, it was inevitable that the rivalry would become detrimental to the standard, if not debasing to the officers of both Institutions, by the scramble for students, with all its attendant acrimony and meanness.

But Divine Providence seems to have interposed in a marvellous manner to save both these Colleges from a degradation so much feared, but so lately. Washington College has shifted her basis, and become a strictly denominational College, under the Synod of Wheeling; while Jefferson remains upon her old charter, like the College of New Jersey—Presbyterian—in the majority of her Trustees and Faculty, but under no immediate control by any ecclesiastical body. At the same time, each has become self-sustaining, by securing endowment in the shape of cheap scholarships. Although considerable strife attended the gathering of these scholarships in the same community, the work being once done, there is no reason why these Institutions should not both stand and prosper in concord, and elevate high the standard of education.

The scheme of endowment for Jefferson College has been much condemned by some of the wisest and best of her friends, among whom was the late Dr. M. Brown. An education for six years may be had on a certificate of scholarship for twenty-five dollars! It is hard to see how a disproportion of values so palpable can succeed, without injustice to some party. Future generations may reap advantages from a well invested patrimony, in whatever way it may now be secured; but the claims of posterity will never justify us in sacrificing the rights of the present generation. One of these rights is a reasonable amount of labour, and an adequate remuneration for the teacher. At less than five dollars a year for tuition, teachers cannot be supported in these times. The crowd of students which this rate

may gather, must have a proportionate number of Professors and Tutors, to do justice to the work of teaching and governing; and unless there be help outside of this operation, the burden and hardship must be crushing to the corps of instructors. It is said there is hardly a single student at Jefferson College now paying for tuition, even at a greatly reduced rate.

Scholarships in the College of New Jersey are one thousand dollars each, entitling to tuition alone. These have been founded by rich men, for the most part; and they have the happiness of exercising Christian charity, as well as public spirit, in the benefaction. At the same time, the beneficiaries feel themselves to be a privileged, more than a disparaged class of students; there being always a choice made of them, with more or less discrimination, on the ground of merit and promise. And such is already the affluence of facilities, induced by this operation, that no young man of any promise, who has the ministry in view, is refused an education at Nassau Hall, for want of means to pay his tuition. At the same time, the tuition is paid by the great majority of the students, at even an advanced rate; and the consequence is, that the corps of Professors and Tutors keeps pace with every demand of a thorough education, both in number and character; and they are supported with a liberality which corresponds, in some good measure, with the expensiveness of the times.

Such is the wide difference between these colleges in the scheme of endowment; and it remains for time to prove which has the advantage in being more useful to the kingdom of our Lord, with which both have been signally identified. Within the last three years, since the plan of endowment began to tell on the graduating classes, it must be admitted, that very large accessions to the ministry are coming from Jefferson College, as the report of matriculations in our Theological Seminaries will show, especially that at Allegheny. But, it is believed, that no college in our country has contributed more to the seminaries of theology, this year, than the College of New Jersey. *Twenty-four* have been matriculated at the Theological Seminary at Princeton alone.

The history of a college is worthy of a good writer. Such corporations have wonderful vitality, and are ordinarily the

most enduring institutions in the world. The Universities of Oxford and Bologna, in the old world, have survived mutations which swept away dynasties, and codes, and even forms of religion, so much, that these venerable seats of learning are almost the only identities which history can trace back so far, that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." How firmly Harvard and Yale continue to grow and prosper, in wealth and numbers, notwithstanding all the deflection which may be alleged from the simplicity of aim with which they were founded. Our Presbyterian Colleges are destined to similar perpetuity. And, if they could have a chronicler for every half century, like Dr. Smith, who represents so well the faith and piety of the men who founded Jefferson College; if one who is faithful to God and his truth would only stand up once in a century, "with a writer's ink-horn by his side," to mark the forehead of unfaltering adherence to the principles which laid the foundations of these cherished schools, there would be far more certainty of an unperverted transmission of endowments and memorials.

It was almost inevitable, that the author would make honourable mention of men and things, according to his own partialities; and scarcely another graduate, perhaps, would agree with him in every expression of estimation for some, and total oblivion for others, who belong to the same *Alma Mater*. There are also mistakes, here and there, of minor importance, to be seen. And there is rather too much ambition to make a volume, by large collections, which are almost heterogeneous. For example, the sketch of Dr. Anderson, a Professor of Languages in the College for a short time, though well written, is out of all proportion in length. But these blemishes are atoned for in the general execution of his task; and there are gems in his incorporated biographies which compensate for any unskilfulness in proportion.

The sketch of Dr. Ramsay is one of these, though not as well written as some of the others. It gives a record to one of the best men of his age—a true man, and therefore a great man—an extremely modest man, and connected with a small ecclesiastical body, the Associate Presbyterian Church, and therefore but little known to the world. He was sole Professor

in the Theological Seminary of his Church for years, at Canonsburg, having generally about twenty students; and at the same time pastor of a large congregation, and Professor of Hebrew in Jefferson College. He was a man of primitive simplicity, conscientiousness and self-denial, along with uncommon acuteness and profound acquaintance with human nature, as well as theological lore. He was very much like our own Dr. A. Alexander, except in the power of eloquence, and the extent of acquirements.

ART. V.—*Mental Philosophy: Including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will.* By JOSEPH HAVEN, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1857.

WE have before signified our high appreciation of this work, as to its general characteristics. Altogether, it is in advance of the manuals for elementary instruction in this department, which have been given to the public. By this we mean, that it has merits not found in its predecessors, while its faults are for the most part still more glaring in most other works of this sort. It consists of two principal parts, which, by the Scotch writers, and often by others, are dealt with in separate treatises. The first treats of the cognitive, the second, of the active and moral powers; the former terminating in knowledge, and having for their object the true; the latter terminating in action, and having for their object the good. Two faculties, taste and conscience, being both cognitive and emotional, overlap both departments. In his classification of the intellectual powers, Professor Haven is quite felicitous; and in this, as well as his analysis of the faculties and operations of the intellect in detail, he turns to good account most that is valuable in the discussions and suggestions of recent writers, American and European. Indeed, he sometimes goes too far in citing opinions from late authors, that have little importance, except what they derive from his sanction or refutation of them. The

style is simple, clear, and animated, fitted not only to instruct, but to please the learner; in happy contrast to many works in this department. Difficult points are elucidated by apt illustrations. The whole is divided into chapters, sections, and paragraphs, with appropriate titles, greatly facilitating the labours of teacher and learner. With this high estimate of the work as a whole, we now call attention to a few of the more important points of doctrine or opinion, in which we dissent from it. These chiefly refer to the second part, relative to the will and affections.

Although the author decisively distinguishes psychology from metaphysics, he neglects to define their respective spheres, and to show clearly where they diverge, and where they intermingle. The chapter on reasoning seems to us to go further into the technicalities of logic than is requisite for developing the nature of reasoning as a psychological process, and too meagre to amount to an adequate and satisfactory system of logic, especially for the instruction of beginners. There should have been more or less of it. He adopts the doctrine of Mill, that "every deduction implies a previous induction," p. 217. "Each is a perfectly valid method of reasoning, and each is, in itself, a distinct and valid kind of syllogism. Each requires the other. The deductive is wholly dependent on the inductive for its major premise, which is only the conclusion of a previous induction; while, on the other hand, the induction is chiefly valuable as preparing the way for a subsequent deduction," p. 209.

In our judgment, all this is utterly erroneous. So far from every deduction being founded on a previous induction for its major premise, every induction is a form of deduction. Induction is reasoning from particulars to generals; deducing general laws from particular instances in which such laws have been found operative. Why do we judge horned animals to be ruminant? Because they have been found so in all known instances. But how does this prove that it will be so in the innumerable instances not known to us? Why does the child once burnt dread the fire, believing that a second touch will give pain like the first? Is it not from a belief in the uniformity of the laws of nature, or that what has occurred once, will, in like circumstances, occur again? So Professor Haven signifies, p. 217.

Has the conclusion in these or other cases of induction any greater certainty than this *a priori* fundamental law of human belief? If we find, in such experiments as we make, that water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen, this constitutes the minor premise of a syllogism, of which the proposition that the laws of nature are uniform is the major. The conclusion that all water is composed of these gases, is just as certain as this major premise, and no more so. But in the case of the child above referred to, is this premise an induction from previous particulars, or can it be? Induction is therefore only a form of deductive reasoning—with the major premise usually suppressed, always implied. If it were not so, then no particulars could ever warrant any conclusion, or lead to any law more extensive than themselves. Nor is this view invalidated by Hamilton's fundamental canon of the inductive syllogism, that it goes from parts to the whole constituted by them. If it did no more than this, it would reach no whole more extensive than those parts, i. e. the sum of the particular instances observed. If induction does no more than this, it does nothing to any purpose. But it does more than this—just as much as is warranted by that major premise before spoken of, which renders it essentially deductive.

But aside from this, there is a class of intuitive *a priori* truths which form the original premises, on which all reasoning ultimately rests. That a proposition and its contradictory cannot both be true, and that one of them must be true; that action implies an agent; thinking, a thinker; events, a cause; qualities, a substance, &c., are not inductive conclusions. They are the necessary intuitive truths from which all reasoning originally proceeds, and without which it is but a chain without a staple. But on this point, there is the less need of argument, as we can cite our author against himself. He says, "all science and all reasoning depend ultimately on certain first truths, or principles, not learned by experience, but prior to it, the evidence and certainty of which lie back of all reasoning and all experience. Take away these elementary truths, and neither science nor reasoning is longer possible, for want of a beginning and foundation. Every proposition which carries evidence with it, either contains that evidence in itself, or de-

rives it from some other proposition on which it depends. And the same is true of this other proposition, and so on for ever, until we come, at last, to some proposition, which depends on no other, but is self-evident, a first truth or principle. Whence come these first principles? Not, of course, from experience, for they are involved in and essential to all experience. They are native, or *a priori* convictions of the mind, instinctive and intuitive judgments," pp. 238-9. How then are they inductive conclusions? The author's two positions on these points seem to us flatly contradictory. As the latter is demonstrably true, the former must be false.

Professor Haven teaches in one passage, p. 430, that the "feeling of the beautiful is the condition and source of our perception of the beautiful." This appears to us the reverse of the truth, and out of harmony with all else which he copiously and happily sets forth in regard to it. Nothing is more evident than that the agreeable feeling which arises in the mind in view of the beautiful, *is in view of it*, i. e. arises from the perception of it, and is otherwise impossible. It must be so, or the feeling is no longer a rational emotion, as our author justly represents it, but a mere blind, instinctive sensation. And by strict logical consequence, taste itself is no longer a faculty of intelligence, as he justly represents it, but a mere faculty of feeling, like the animal appetites. It is no answer to this to say, that the mind still judges in regard to these feelings and the objects which excite them. So it judges in regard to the sensations produced by sugar or aloes, and the objects which excite these sensations. But, in both cases alike, the sensation or feeling is the primary object or groundwork of its judgment. Intelligence differs from mere sentimentality, and rational from instinctive emotion, in just this, that in the one case cognition precedes and shapes the feeling, while in the other feeling precedes and shapes the cognition. The author has no difficulty in placing intellect and feeling in their due positions in the case of conscience. Indeed, his universal doctrine is, that "the intellect properly precedes the sensibility," p. 378. But his reasons for reversing them in the case of taste, apply equally well to that of conscience. On this account we deem the subject of considerable importance. The greatest evils result from

the theory which makes the moral and regal faculty a mere blind feeling, a theory which our author wholly repudiates. We confess, however, to a jealousy of all reasonings which furnish apparent premises for such a conclusion. The subject also has an important bearing upon the whole subject of spiritual illumination in regeneration. According to the view we oppose, men love God and divine things, before they behold their beauty and glory, and in order to behold them: They become beautiful and glorious in their eyes because they are first made to love them. But according to the scriptural, the evangelical, the true psychological view, the eyes of their understanding are enlightened so as to behold the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, in the order of nature, if not of time, before they can have right feelings in view of it. It is when their eyes see God, that they repent in dust and ashes. We know that we here run counter to a system of theology which has had great currency, and in which Professor Haven has doubtless been trained. It tends to exclude the intellect from complicity with our moral and spiritual states, and to limit these to feelings and volitions, chiefly to the latter. But the fact is, there can be no rational and responsible feelings or volitions which are not implicated with, and largely shaped by, the views of the intellect, and which do not in various ways react upon its views. It is one sentient intelligent mind which feels as it thinks, and thinks as it feels. But the understanding is the guiding faculty. This accords with the phraseology of Scripture and the testimony of experience. We wish to add, however, to prevent misconstruction, that the chapter on the idea of right, and the various questions connected with the nature of virtue and moral obligation, is highly satisfactory with reference to this most fundamental subject.

We thus come to that portion of the book which treats of the Moral and Active Powers—the sensibilities, including emotions, desires, and affections—and the will, together with conscience, or the moral faculty, which is both intellectual and emotional. With regard to the distinction between rational and instinctive emotions, we think it valid, but our author fails to draw any definite or reliable line of demarcation between them. He vaguely assigns the higher emotions to the former class, the

lower to the latter. The true distinction we apprehend to be, that the rational emotions or feelings arise in view of the apprehensions of the intellect. The animal and instinctive arise irrespective of any such intellectual excitation. Cheerfulness and melancholy, sorrow at the loss of friends, sympathy with the happiness and joy of others, which our author classes with instinctive, are awakened by the views taken by the understanding—just as much so as “emotions of joy or sadness arising from the contemplation of our own excellence, or the reverse,” which he ranks as rational emotions.

We pass to a far more important topic—the morality of the emotions, affections, and desires, which our author deals with most directly, in treating of resentment. Speaking of this, and, by parity of reason, of all feelings having reference to matters of moral obligation, he says, and says truly, “Within due limits, and on just occasions, it is a virtue; when it passes these limits, when it becomes excessive, or is uncalled for by the circumstances of the case, it becomes a vice,” p. 468. This is a good deliverance, and will endure all tests. Along with this, however, he adopts the maxim, which is current in most of our popular treatises on psychology and ethics, and for which he cites the authority of Reid and Chalmers, that “Nothing is moral or immoral which is not voluntary.” This maxim is true with a certain interpretation, and within due limits. Beyond this, and in the sense intended by most of these writers, it is false. It is true with regard to all external acts, all bodily movements. It is true with regard to all internal exercises, provided the word *voluntary* be extended, as it is in the popular sense of this maxim, so as to include the free and spontaneous outgoings of desire, affection, inclination, and also the habitual disposition of soul which prompts such exercises, with regard to things morally right or wrong. But it is not true, if the will be regarded as it is by most of these writers, as the mere faculty of choice or volition, the executive, perhaps, of the desires of the soul, but still distinct from desire, affection, inclination. The voice of unsophisticated men as surely pronounces the hidden dispositions, the desires and affections of the heart, whether determined by volition or not, whether natural, acquired, or gracious, with respect to moral

objects, to be morally good or evil, as that "nothing can be moral or immoral which is not voluntary." Therefore the common sense of men sanctions the latter principle only in a sense consistent with the former. The Bible surely condemns all inordinate affections and lawless covetings, from whatever cause they arise. Their merit or demerit is determined by their nature, not their origin. As Professor Haven says, "Within due limits and on just occasions, it is a virtue; when it passes these limits, when it becomes excessive, or is uncalled for, it is a vice." Take the very instance he selects. Suppose any one possessed of such a malign disposition, that without any volition, or even against his purpose, he breaks out into infuriate rage against another who has denied him some unreasonable request; suppose that he does so "instinctively," if thus you choose to call it, is he not blamable? Suppose one a "lover of good things," so that without volition or purpose his heart goes spontaneously towards good men and good works, is not this morally good? To deny this is going further in the line of vocating and confounding moral distinctions than many of those intend, who assert that the affections and desires have no moral character, further than as they are moulded by the action of a will distinct from themselves. For they are quite apt, when this theory is out of sight, to teach that the morality of the affections is determined by their nature rather than their origin. The bearings of all this upon the theological questions implicated with it, are too patent to require illustration. Some of the chief questions relative to the scope of regeneration, repentance, Christian experience, and human ability hinge upon it. And it is just at this point of ability that our author's mind appears to have been perplexed in regard to it. This is needless. For as we shall soon see, his views of the will, at the most, leave only a theoretical unavailable power over the affections. We deem it proper, however, to say, that though he falls into the mistake so common among writers on mental philosophy, especially the compilers of manuals for beginners on this subject, he is more guarded than most of them. The only manual for young students, that treats this whole subject satisfactorily, so far as we know, is the little work on Moral Science by the late Dr. Alexander. For one

thing not altogether alien from this subject, we especially thank Professor Haven. He denies that the "term natural is properly opposed to the term moral as designating distinct and opposite things," p. 390. Had this been kept in mind, the distinction between the faculties of the soul and their moral state would never have been indicated by the now nearly effete phrase, "natural and moral ability," which, in its day, was so pregnant with perplexity to good men, so convenient a refuge for Pelagians, and so fruitful both of logomachy and substantial controversy in the Church.

Our readers will look, with the greatest interest, after the author's views of the will, both from the intrinsic importance of the subject, and because they have already, to some extent, been made the subject of public discussion. This, in common with most modern writers, he distinguishes from all forms of mere desire or sensibility, and makes simply "the executive power of the mind," the power which it has "of determining or deciding what it will do, and of putting forth volitions accordingly." We may remark here, that even if this be taken for the normal idea of will, the extension of the term voluntary to the dispositions, desires, and affections, in common speech, admits of a ready explanation. For as the will acts in accordance with the dominant inclination of the soul, no act is voluntary which is not in accordance with the ruling desires.

The first question in regard to the will is not, whether it is free—this all admit—but wherein does its freedom consist? Some say that it consists in acting from indifference, independent of any bias or inclination of the soul towards the objects of choice. Others locate it in what amounts to the same thing, if it amounts to anything—an alleged power of contrary choice. But the orthodox view, which accords with consciousness, with the highest possible conception of liberty, and with the fundamental doctrines of providence, sin, and grace, is that it consists in the power of the mind to will as it pleases. This, we are happy to say, is so clearly the doctrine of our author, that it can scarcely be necessary to cite passages. *Instar omnium*, "my will is free, when I can *will to do* just what I *please*," p. 545. He goes on to say, "that mere *strength of inclination* can by no means impair the freedom of the will.

Be the inclination never so strong, it matters not. Nay, so far from interfering with freedom, it is an essential element in it. Freedom presupposes and implies inclination." Still further, "it is of no consequence *how I came* by that inclination or disposition. The simple question is, am I at liberty to follow it?" "Interference must be from without, and must affect the choice," in order to impair freedom. "If there *be* an act of the will, it is, in its very nature, a *free* act, and cannot be otherwise." Against this, "all that could *possibly* be contended is, that the supposed inclination to a given choice is likely to prevent my having *another* and *different* choice. But that has nothing to do with the freedom of my will, which depends, as we have seen, not on the power to choose *otherwise* than as one is inclined, or than he likes, but *as* he likes," p. 547. The italics are the author's. This is the radical view of the freedom of the will presented by him. Of course, if we have any difference with him, it must respect either passages contradictory to these, or other aspects of the subject, or his manner of using certain terms.

Professor Haven deviates from the use of terms which has been common since the days of Edwards, in distinguishing choice from volition, as in the following passage: "But suppose now that I am not prevented from choosing, but only from carrying out my choice in actual volition; from willing according to my choice," p. 546. As choice and volition have very commonly been regarded as synonymous terms, some might be led to infer that our author's theory is, that a volition is free only when caused by a preceding volition. If so, he would expose himself to the famous refutation of Edwards, who demonstrates that, on such a theory, no volition can be free unless preceded by an infinite series of volitions. This, however, is not our author's meaning. By volition he means that mental determination, in obedience to which the man exerts his faculties in any given way, as I will to raise my arm, and directly consequent on that volition it rises. By choice he appears to mean that antecedent mental preference out of which every free volition flows, and, so far as it is free, must flow. The *usus loquendi* of ordinary discourse does not militate against this use of terms, if they be carefully defined.

In fact, however, this preference is nothing more nor less than the preponderant desire, which, in common speech, is called the mind's choice. The cases cited by our author from Locke, Reid, and Upham, do not show the contrary. They only show that the strongest desire, of which the will is the executive, may run counter to and prevail against feebler desires. Abraham offering up Isaac, indeed did violence to some of the strongest feelings of his soul; but he did so in conformity to a desire mightier than them all, the desire to please God. In this sense, too, and no other, we have power over our own volitions, i. e. the power of willing as we please. In this sense, and no other, can the power of contrary choice be admitted; i. e. that we might will otherwise than as we do, were we so disposed or inclined. This is all that we understand Professor Haven to mean, so far as he seems to assert such a power, pp. 543, 451-2. Indeed, it is all that can be maintained in consistency with his radical definition of the freedom of the will, which by logical necessity sweeps away most other heresies relative to this subject. This is precisely what the author explains himself to mean: "The actual choice of any given moment is by no means a necessary one. Another might have been in its stead. A different inclination is certainly possible and conceivable, and a different inclination *would* have led to a different choice. If, instead of looking at the advantage or agreeableness of a proposed course, and being influenced by that consideration, I had looked at the right, the obligation in the case, my choice would have been a different one; for I should have been influenced by a different motive," p. 552. According to this, the inclination remaining the same, the choice cannot be otherwise than as it is, and still be free. Contrary choice is possible only on the supposition of the inclination being different from what it actually is. The only question that remains is, whether it is proper to call this a power of contrary choice; and this depends on the question whether the term is likely to mislead or not. That it is extensively employed by those who assert a power to will in opposition to the prevailing bias or inclination of the soul, to indicate such a power, is undeniable. As employed in theological controversy, it has been used chiefly in this sense, and intent.

While therefore we accept the idea which our author maintains under this phrase, we object to the phrase as being a common vehicle of a very different and mischievous notion.

Professor Haven objects to Edwards's formula, that "the will is as the greatest apparent good." But the propriety of this depends on the meaning of the terms good, or apparent good. If we take good in the sense of desirable, with Edwards, it will be hard to deny that it chooses what on the whole, in the view of the mind, and the state of its feelings at the moment of choice, seems *pro hac vice*, most desirable. To deny this, would be to deny that we will as we please. To be sure, in a multitude of cases, we ought to have felt and thought differently. But this does not affect the principle in question.

As to the question whether motives are the causes of volitions, this too is a mere question of words. We agree with our author, that the mind is the efficient cause of its own acts. We agree with him further, that its own desires and inclinations are the motives which influence or determine it to will as it does, and not otherwise. If the question then be, whether motives are the causes of the volitions which they prompt, we answer, that they are not in such a sense that the mind is not the cause or agent of its own acts; they are, as Professor Haven concedes, in such a sense that they are the reasons why it wills one way rather than another. Now it is not mere willing that is to be accounted for, but choosing as we do rather than the contrary. As every event must have a cause, what is the cause of, not the mere act of willing, but of willing in this particular way? Plainly the motive or inclination which excites the mind to will thus and not otherwise. Professor Haven concedes it to be the *reason* of the choice being as it is. It is, therefore, the *cause* of its being so. But although a cause, it is not a physical cause, moving a blind passive object, but a moral cause acting upon, or influencing the free action of, a free moral agent. Our author objects to the use of the word cause in this connection, because he apprehends it may be construed to imply that the will is passively determined by forces *ab extra*. This by no means follows. If I am hungry, and take bread because it is at hand, while I would prefer meat which is at some distance, the urgency of my appetite is the cause of

my choosing the bread rather than meat; but not a cause which interferes with my own free activity in the premises. Says our author, "there is a *cause* why the apple falls. It is gravitation. There is a *reason* why mind acts and wills as it does. It is motive." True. But is it any the less a cause because it is a reason? Moreover the real motives, whence all others derive their power, are within the mind itself—its active desires.

The author combats the great argument of Edwards in which he contends that the doctrine of his adversaries involved the absurdity of an infinite series of free acts, in order to any one free act. He selects for attack the statement of this argument given by his son, which, by proving too much, proves nothing. We think, however, that there is a certain degree of truth and force in the celebrated demonstration of the elder Edwards. He was opposing the theory that volition is not free when we will as we please, unless it be an act or product of a self-determining power beside. This is altogether aside of the question, whether the choices and determinations of the mind are from within itself, and not from exterior forces. Nor is it necessary to maintain that Edwards's phraseology was always so precise, as to give no appearance of aiming at something more than this. But if a volition is not free in its own nature, when, in willing as we please, we exercise according to our author, "the highest practical freedom of which it is possible to conceive," without some other free act of self-determination added to it, the same must be true of this other free act, and so on in an infinite regress *ad infinitum*, till free agency is driven out of sight, and out of existence.

A very important question in this connection respects the control of the will over the inclinations, desires, and affections. That these may change, as circumstances or our views of things change, is agreed on all sides. That whatever we may do, if we are inclined to do it, may be said to be within our power, is what few will question. But the question is, has the will power, *propriis viribus*, to change the affections and desires? Consciousness answers, No. The nature of the will as a faculty of choice in obedience to our inclinations, not against them, answers, No. Yet, no one doubts that indirectly we may exercise much influence over our inclinations and desires on many

subjects by the associations we cherish, the objects to which we give attention, the habits we form. On the other hand, it is a capital truth, certified by Scripture and Christian experience, that divine grace alone can change the aversion of the heart to God, to holy love. And to this we understand our author to come, after having, by the usual arguments on that side, maintained that one whose "heart is wrong can do right." "It must be admitted, however, that so long as the heart is wrong, so long as the evil disposition continues, so long the man *will* continue to do evil, notwithstanding all his *power* to the contrary. . . . This is precisely the want of his nature which divine grace meets. It creates within him a *clean heart*, and renews within him a *right spirit*. This is the sublime mystery of regeneration. The soul that is born of God is made *willing* to do right. The inclinations are no longer to evil, but to good, and the man still doing what he pleases, is *pleased* to do the will of God. The change is in the disposition; it is a change of the affections, of the *heart*. Thus the Scriptures always represent it." The chief question that arises here then, respects words more than things, except as in such matters words are things. It is not indeed a question whether unrenewed man has "power to do right" in his external acts, as to the matter of them, or to do many things which tend to promote right feelings rather the opposite, in some respects. But is it correct to say that he can, without divine grace, make an unholy heart holy? Can he please God without a right heart? Ought he not to please God? Can he then, at this cardinal point, do right of himself, in his own strength? Let those say yes, who will. For ourselves we answer with Scripture, with all Christian creeds, with the deepest consciousness of every convinced sinner, with the daily confessions of all Christians on their knees, no, never. "They that are in the flesh cannot please God."

To the pleasing evidences we have already given that our author rejects the Pelagian notion of free agency, is to be added the fact, that he labours to show that God's universal providence can determine all the actions of free agents without impairing their freedom, because it can reach and shape, in ways innumerable, those inclinations of the heart

which the will obeys in all its free acts. We greatly rejoice in the amount of truth which the volume so clearly sets forth. That the author should have tried to reconcile this with some phrases and ideas which are the outgrowth of another system long dominant in the sphere of his life and culture, and for which its abettors claim the dignity and authority of first truths, is not surprising.

ART. VI.—*The Providential Government of God.*

A LARGE proportion of the heresies by which the Church has been corrupted, in respect to the nature of man, and the remedy which his ruin demands, have originated from error on the subject of second causes;—either in the denial of causation to the creatures, or the recognition of such a force in the nature of moral agents—such a power of will and action—as is independent of God, and uncontrollable by his power and sovereignty. In respect to second causes, four several theories have obtained more or less currency. Some deny them any efficiency whatever, and make the laws of nature to be nothing but the uniform modes of divine operation; so that God is not only the first, but the only cause. The opposite extreme is held by others, who look upon the universe as a machine, from the natural operation of which all things take place, without the interposition of the Creator; who continues for ever an inactive spectator of the fated process. Another opinion is, that the powers of nature are ordinarily left to their own operation; but that on special occasions the Creator interposes, as in miracles. The fourth, and as we believe, the scriptural doctrine, is, that whilst the creatures are endowed with a real efficiency and true causation, they are at the same time under the constant and universal control of God;—that he, “the Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according

to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy.”

Substances and their phenomena constitute the whole sum of things that exist. A substance is an existence, which is invested with certain properties or powers. In other words, it is an efficient cause, of which the phenomena which attach to it are the effects. The word substance, designates the being or existence of which those powers are predicated; and cause, the powers converted into forces—the substance in action. The possession of powers is essential to the very existence of a substance; and they are thus essential, not as sustaining an outside relation to it, but they reside in the very substance itself, as elements of it, without which its existence is not conceivable. The powers thus residing in substances, are derived originally from God, sustained each instant by his power, and controlled by his sovereign will; yet have they a real existence, which is distinct from the omnipotence of God; and an activity which is their own, and not the agency of the Creator.

These powers give to each several substance its peculiar character, and constitute it a motive force—a machine, so to speak—adapted to perform given functions, to occupy a specific place, and hold specific relations to the combination of the whole. This remark holds good alike in regard to animate and inanimate nature, the minute as well as the great. An atom, for instance, is endowed with gravitation, as certainly as the earth or the sun. It is also characterized by certain other affinities or attractions, with kindred repulsions; the effect of which is, that it refuses to combine with certain substances, and in certain relations; and at the same time seeks combination in different relations, and with other bodies. Thus the elements constituting a mass of fuel, which at an ordinary temperature adhere with the tenacity of hickory, or the hardness of anthracite, when subjected to the influence of heat, so repel each other as to dissolve the entire mass. Thus are all material substances composed of particles held together by mutual attractions, resulting in every variety of texture, and every degree of solidity, from the rarity of the gases to the density of gold.

An interesting example of the fact which we wish to illustrate, is presented in the process of the assimilation of food. An ox feeds on grass or corn. The mass of food is thrown into the stomach; and so wonderfully has the Creator formed that living machine, that, with its auxiliary organs, rejecting what is unsuitable, it separates the rest, and recombines it in the necessary forms, conveying the requisite elements, and elaborating them into horns to cover the head, or hoofs to protect the feet; to other parts, as required, are borne the elements of bone, and combined in the ivory texture of the teeth, or the porous and yielding structure of the ribs. Nutriment is thus ministered to every part, and elaborated into flesh and sinew, horn and hair or scales, constituting, in some animals, a covering firm as steel; in others, soft as silk. It thus appears that the animal organization exerts a force to lay hold of the food, when deposited in the stomach, and apply the requisite elements to the nutrition of the body; and that the elementary atoms have natures susceptible to the influences thus exerted, and endowed with attractions to hold them in proper combination in the animal frame.

Illustrations to the same effect might be multiplied without limit. What has been presented is sufficient to justify the statement already made, that each material substance is a motive power, endowed with a capacity of putting forth and propagating influences and forces upon others; and in like manner susceptible to influences propagated from them. The only knowledge we can have of any substance is in the form of a list of the attributes of efficiency possessed by it. Of its essence we can know nothing, except that it is endowed with these. Let the reader test this suggestion upon any substance—this work, for example. It has length, breadth, and thickness; that is, it exerts resistance to pressure, in three directions; it throws off the coloured rays of light in a manner which makes a specific impression on the organs of vision, which we express by saying that it is visible, and of a given colour; it mutually attracts and is drawn toward the earth, which we indicate by ascribing to it weight. Thus, we would know absolutely nothing of the existence of any substance, but for the influences it exerts, the effects it produces; and of the substances which

are thus discovered to us, our acquaintance is strictly limited to a knowledge of those attributes of efficiency which constitute them causes—sources of propagated effects. When, therefore, it is said that God made a given substance, we must not suppose that the creature thus announced, may or can be viewed irrespective of these its active principles. On the contrary, even the idea of such a creation can be conceived in no other sense, than as the production of an essence clothed with such and such principles of efficient relation to others. These principles, or powers of nature, may by position and combination assume an exceedingly complex character. Yet are they still to be reduced to the principle above stated. Thus, when it is said that God at the creation clothed the earth with grass and trees, we are not to conceive of the trees, for example, as mere branching and leafy pillars; but as substances containing in themselves, in determinate energy, a principle of growth; a capacity of shedding and renewing their foliage at stated times; and, among still many other attributes, a power of producing a seed, each after its kind; which in given circumstances shall germinate and develope to maturity other trees after the kind of the parent; and so on continually.

The following remarks of McCosh on the nature of the relation of cause and effect, are precisely to the present purpose.

“ ‘Every effect has a cause,’ is the aphorism. But what do we mean by an effect? If we analyze it, it will always be found to imply a change, or something new. Dr. Brown admits that an unformed mass could not of itself have suggested the idea of a cause; and that there must be something uncaused. But let this mass be seen springing into being, or let it be seen assuming a new form, and the idea of a cause is at once suggested. We must limit the general maxim accordingly. When we say that every effect has a cause, we do not mean that every existing thing has an antecedent, invariable or necessary. There is a change implied, in the very conception of effect; it is something effected; something new; something which did not exist before, or, put in a new state. Whenever such a phenomenon is brought under cognizance, the mind rises intuitively to the belief in a cause.

“ Having endeavoured to limit and define what is meant by

an effect, let us now attempt to determine what is meant by a cause. Looking as before at existing things, we find substances with their several properties. Dr. Brown has endeavoured to show that substance is nothing but 'the co-existence of certain qualities.' Into this curious speculation we do not feel ourselves called to enter. We assume the existence of substances, material and spiritual, possessing their several properties, or if any prefer the statement, composed of their several properties, cohering together. Now a cause is always to be found in some existing thing, or in a substance, spiritual or material, simple or compound. In producing its effects that substance produces a new substance, or a change upon some existing substance; and we are led to the conclusion, that existing things, in producing new existences, or changes on old existences, act according to certain definite rules, which it is the business of experience to discover. The same existing thing in the same state, is always followed by the same change in that existing thing, or in some other existing thing. The same existing substance in the same state, is thus always followed by the same change; and *vice versa*, the change always presupposes the same preëxisting substance. When we discover what are the precise changes or productions resulting from a given substance, we call this a property of the substance; and we know that this substance, in the given state, will ever produce this change, or exercise this quality. It is the office of observation and experience to discover the properties of objects.

"We are now in circumstances to define more accurately the ideas contained in the words cause and effect. There is the idea of universal sequence; but there is something more definite. Dr. Brown challenges those who affirm that there is something more than invariable antecedence and consequence, to say what it is. We answer the call, and affirm that in a cause there is a *substance acting according to a definite rule*. Again, in every effect there is a change, or a new object."

"Dr. Brown has shown, beyond the possibility of a refutation, that in the production of changes there is truly nothing but the substances that change and are changed. Mix them as we please, 'the substances that exist in a train of phenomena are

still, and must always be, the whole constituents of the train.' But he has not shown as fully as he might, how much is implied in these substances. The German metaphysicians are right, in affirming that power is implied in our very idea of substance; and Dr. Brown, in one passage admits, though casually, the same thing, when he says, 'all this regularity of succession is assumed in our very notion of substance as existing.' These philosophers might have further affirmed that there is power in the very nature of a substance, as well as in our idea of it. This power, these properties of substances, are permanently in them, and ready to be exercised at all times. With the exception of those who deny the existence of an external world, all admit that properties are of an abiding nature, and constantly resident in the substance. We thus arrive at a power in nature, constant and permanent, and ever ready to be exercised. We cannot, perhaps, speak of a cause as existing, when not exercised; but we can most assuredly speak of a power abiding, whether exercised or not—that power abiding in every substance that comes under our notice, and in the very nature of the substance itself, as it is implied in the very idea of substance."*

The great mind of Augustine saw the intimate relation of this subject to the doctrines of religion, and speaks thus justly upon it:—"The whole of this ordinary course of nature has certain natural laws of its own, according to which even the spirit of life, which is a created substance, has its specific appetites, but bounded in a certain way, which even the corrupted will cannot pass. And the elements of this material world have a definite power and quality—what each one can or cannot do, and what can or cannot be done respecting each. From these, as the primordial sources, all things which are generated take each in its turn their origin and growth, and the limits and modifications of their respective kinds. Hence it happens that pulse is not produced from wheat, nor wheat from pulse; man from beast, nor beast from man. But besides this natural movement, and course of things, the power of the Creator hath in itself a capacity to do concerning all these otherwise than

* McCosh on the Divine Government, p. 97.

their own (*quasi seminales rationes*) natural powers can do. Yet neither can that which he has implanted in them relative to these powers, be exercised independently of him, nor yet does he assert his omnipotence by the exercise of an intrusive arbitrary force, but by the power of wisdom; and concerning each particular thing, in his own time, he does that which he had before created in it a capacity to have done. It is therefore a different mode of things by which this plant germinates so, and that in a different way; this time of life is prolific, and that is not; a man can speak and an animal cannot. The (*rationes*) efficient causes of these and the like modes of operation are not only in God, but are also by him implanted and concentered in the things he has made. But that wood cut from off the earth, dry, polished, without any root, without earth or water, should suddenly flourish and bear fruit; that a woman, barren in youth, should have a child in old age; that an ass should speak; and whatever there is of this kind, he gave it indeed to the natures he created, that these things might take place with them. So that he does not with them, what in creating them he had made impossible to be done with them; since he is not more powerful than himself. But he constituted things in a distinctive manner; so that they should not have these phenomena in the natural course of things, but in that way for which they were thus so created, that their nature should be fully subject to a more powerful will. God, therefore, has in himself the hidden causes of certain acts, which causes he has not implanted in the things he has made; and these causes he puts in operation, not in that work of providence by which he creates natures as they are, but in that by which he manages after his pleasure the things which according to his pleasure he made. And here is the grace by which sinners are saved. For as it respects nature, depraved by its own corrupted will, it has in itself no return, except by God's grace, whereby it is aided and restored. Nor need men despair by reason of that saying, Prov. ii. 19, 'None who walk in it shall return.' For it was spoken of the burden of their iniquity, in order that whoever returns should attribute his return, not to himself, but to the grace of God; 'not of works, lest any should boast.' Therefore the apostle speaks of the

mystery of this grace as hidden—not in this world, in which are hidden the causal reasons of all things which arise naturally, as Levi was hid in the loins of Abraham—but in God, who created all things. Eph. iii. 9.”*

This eminently clear and discriminating statement accords with the common sense and with the Scriptures. Men intuitively recognize power as a permanent and inseparable characteristic of all created substances. They perceive in them severally, forces, which in action constitute them the causes of the varied phenomena of nature. In vain the dreams of theorists, and the oppositions of acute and subtle metaphysics, against this fundamental fact. The consciousness of the philosopher himself revolts from the folly of his conclusions; and his soul instinctively receives and acts upon the truth, which his theory denies. In fact, the rejection of the truth of which we speak, is only consistent with a universal and atheistic scepticism. For its evidence is precisely the same upon which we recognize the existence of a great First Cause, an eternal God—the evidence of intuition—the last and highest form of evidence to which appeal can be made—that of the Creator’s attestation, written with his own finger on the human heart.

It would seem that the Scriptures so unequivocally attribute efficient causation to the creatures, that no one who has a reverence for the sacred volume could for a moment doubt it. Thus—to confine ourselves to the narrative of the creation—what can be more explicit on this point, than the language of Genesis i. 11, 12? “And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after his kind: and God saw that it was good.” In what plainer terms could it be stated, that God bestowed upon the earth a power of fertility, which was an efficient cause of the vegetation that followed? And so of the power of fructification, attributed to the grass, herbs, and trees, after their kind. If it should be said, that the language is merely expressive of

* Augustine *De Genesi ad Literam*. IX. 17, 18.

the appearance of things, let it be considered, that such expressions would convey no meaning whatever to us, but for that ineffaceable intuition of cause and effect which God has implanted in our minds; that we are in this place addressed as we are endowed with this intuition; and that the language makes direct appeal to this principle, and under its guidance can be understood in but one way. We need not dwell in detail on the other statements of this chapter, each one of which is subject to similar remark. We will cite a single example: "And God said, Let us make man, in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God, created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion." Is this language reconcilable with the idea that man is a mere puppet, assuming postures, and going through a set of fated actions at the mere will of his Creator, operating on him from behind the screen? Was there no real power conveyed, when he was told to subdue the earth, and have dominion? Is not a generative causation attributed to him, when the creative Word says, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth"? In this language, addressed to the first pair, in the instant of their creation, before their introduction to the garden, was indicated and confirmed a fruitful energy of nature—a propagative power—by virtue of which, flowing from them through the generations of the race, every human being receives existence. God rested the seventh day from all his works. "The works were finished from the foundation of the world."—Heb. iv. 3. How is it consistent with this, to suppose the existence of each plant, animal, and man, now in turn to call into requisition the same creative power which originated the first?

But whilst we assert the investiture of the creatures with a true and real causation—an efficiency which is proper to them, apart from God's immediate agency, and which has a distinct operation of its own—on the other hand, the creation is con-

structed with such wisdom and forecaste, and so upheld and controlled by the immediate power and providential government of God, that nothing can fall out but in precise accordance with his will.

That the phenomena of nature are features in the plan of God—elements in the harmonious scheme of his government—is unquestionable. He at the first certainly knew the whole energy of the various forces which he set in his works, and anticipated and designed all the results; and this, not only as those forces are viewed simply, and apart from each other, but in their complex and multifarious combinations, which all were ordained by him. If the feeble powers of man can determine the time, place, and extent of every eclipse of sun, moon, or planet, for thousands of years to come, how much more did the Creator know the whole future of the powers of nature; which, having created, he must fully comprehend. We hence conclude that the results which flow with unfailing certainty from the causes to which God thus intelligently gave origin, were as truly comprehended in the original plan, as were the several forces which work out those ultimate results.

A striking illustration to our purpose occurs in the solar system. It had been observed by astronomers that the general symmetry of that system was marred by an extraordinary vacancy intervening between Mars and Jupiter, which apparently should have been filled by an additional planet. On the first day of the present century a planet was discovered, revolving in that space, but too small to satisfy the law of the case. That discovery was soon followed by others; until no less than fifty asteroids have been found to revolve in the vacancy;* and—what is true of no other bodies in the solar system, except the comets—all these, though taking different courses in their revolutions round the sun, still cross a common track. The result is little short of demonstration, that they once constituted a single planet, revolving in the path, which they all twice cross in their annual course; and that by some tremendous catastrophe, it was rent to pieces, and the fragments hurled abroad. Facts familiar to science render it probable

* Since this article was written, the discovery of a fifty-first is announced.

that events as extraordinary have occurred in the heavens even under the astronomer's eye. Luminaries which once shone with a steady brightness, have been seen gradually, for years, to acquire an increasing glare, until they rivalled the brightest stars; then by degrees to decline with changing colour, and go out in utter darkness! Thus, we are assured, must this world at length be burned up. Upon the supposition that the asteroids are the scattered fragments of a planet, rent asunder by some convulsion, it must be admitted that the Creator knew as well what effect would result, when he originated the forces engaged, as he does now; and that in creating and setting the forces in motion, he designed from the first, this, no less than the other effects which have resulted. A machinist is not always to be held as having designed all the effects which follow the construction of his engine. Either he may be ignorant of the forces which are employed, or others may be introduced which he did not design. But if he knew precisely the proportion and relation of all the forces concerned, and designed the machine to be used precisely as it was, it is apparent that any result which follows must have been included in the design. So of God;—generating himself all the forces in the universe, and therefore knowing perfectly all their relations—the conclusion is inevitable, that in laying the train, he intended the explosion which occurred. Thus, then, all natural events, as they are the effects of causes wisely originated by God, are elements in the operation of his hand—features of his perfect plan.

But the Creator has not limited himself, in the administration of his government, to the original disposition of causes, in harmonious adaptation to his purposes. On the contrary, this entire system of nature, in all the variety of its parts, in all their forces and functions, and the adaptations which everywhere abound, was constructed for the express purpose of constituting the creatures fitting instruments, through whom and upon whom the Creator himself might work; instead of being in and of themselves the adequate causes of the contemplated results. In one department of the divine government, this is so manifest, that no one who accepts the Scriptures as the word of God can fail instantly to admit it. The intercourse of God

with man has always been conducted by a continual series of immediate divine interpositions. The whole plan of salvation—the incarnation and work of the Son of God, and the mission and operations of the Holy Spirit, both in his ordinary influences, and in his renewing and sanctifying agency—all these are examples of such interpositions, entirely distinct from the original adaptations of nature. The miracles to which the Bible bears witness, constitute formal and emphatic pledges, that God has not surrendered the universe to the government of mere natural laws; although these are all established by him, in perfect fitness for their offices; but that he himself is ever present, ever active, swaying a providential sceptre over his creatures.

On this subject the language of McCosh is certainly unguarded, and if we are not mistaken as to what he means to teach, we think his doctrine clearly erroneous. Through several sections of his work on “*The Divine Government*,” he discusses the connection of God with his works, and the manner in which he accomplishes the particular purposes of his will. In these discussions there is much said in respect to the universal and particular providence of God, to which we most cordially assent; and in some places he seems to assert all that we are disposed to require. Thus, at the close of the discussion on *The Connection of God with his works*, he says: “We are satisfied if the old Epicurean view of Deity, inactive and unconcerned, be discarded, and it be acknowledged that God is ever active, and ever benevolent in his activity; ever benevolent, and active in his benevolence; and in all places, and at all times, the guardian and governor of all his creatures, and the judge of all their actions.”* He alludes, too, with a just indignation to the philosophy of Pope. And yet, when we come to inquire into the precise theory which he himself inculcates, we cannot see wherein it is materially different from that which he reprobates.

“Think we, like some weak prince, the eternal Cause,
Prone for his favourites to reverse his laws;
Shall burning Etna, if a sage requires,
Forget to thunder, and recall her fires;

* McCosh, p. 158.

On air or sea new motions be imprest,
Oh blameless Bethel, to relieve thy breast;
When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
Shall gravitation cease if you go by;”*

“We expect not the Eternal to change his laws,” says McCosh; “but it is because they have been so skilfully arranged, that they do not need to be changed; and arranged, too, in order to accomplish all and each of his purposes. . . . Should these individuals not be rushing recklessly against the known laws of Heaven, or should it be the will of God to preserve them, provision will be found to be made for their escape; and that, not through the powers of nature disobeying their own laws, but through other powers in nature opportunely presenting themselves, to stop, to turn aside, or otherwise to modify their operation. The volcano may burst, the tempest may rage, and the cliff may fall in an instant before or after the time when they might have been followed by such fatal consequences; some passing impulse of feeling may have hurried the individual away; or some other power of nature may have hastened to shelter and defend him; and all by a special arrangement intended by God from the very beginning. It is by means of these prearranged adjustments that God can make general laws accomplish individual ends.”†

Again: “By means of this preëstablished harmony, God can accomplish not only his general, but his individual purposes, and at the time and in the way intended by him. As entertaining this view of the perfection of the original constitution of all things, we see no advantage in calling in special interpositions of God acting without physical causes—always excepting the miracles employed to attest divine revelation. But speaking of the ordinary providence of God, we believe that the fitting of the various parts of the machinery is so nice, that there is no need of any interference with it. We believe in an original disposition of all things; we believe that in this disposition there is provided an interposition of one thing in reference to another, so as to produce the individual effect which God contemplates; but we are not required by philosophy or

* Pope's *Essay on Man*, v. 121-128.

† McCosh, p. 184.

religion to acknowledge that there is subsequent interposition by God with the original dispositions and interpositions which he hath instituted. 'This is, in fact, the great miracle of Providence, that no miracles are needed to accomplish his purposes.' "—*Leibnitz*.*

In reference to the answer to prayer, he brings forward and rejects the supposition of Chalmers, that God may interpose among the physical agents, beyond the limit to which human sagacity can trace the operation of law. His own solution he thus states: "How is it that God sends us the bounties of his providence?—how is it that he supplies the many physical wants of his creatures?—how is it that he encourages industry?—how is it that he arrests the plots of wickedness?—how is it that he punishes in this life, notorious offenders against his law? The answer is, By the skilful prearrangements of his providence, whereby the needful events fall out at the very time and in the very way required. When the question is asked—How does God answer prayer? we give the very same reply:—It is by the preordained appointment of God, when he settled the constitution of the world, and set all its parts in order."†

The doctrine of "preëstablished harmony" was the invention of Leibnitz. It originated from the denial of the possibility of mind and matter mutually influencing each other. Hence he supposed the soul to be incapable of acquiring any information through the bodily senses; or that the body is at all influenced or controlled by the powers of the soul. But the soul and body are mutually adapted to each other, in such a way, that while the body, under the operation of merely physical causes, enacts its part in the drama of life, the soul evolves from within a series of states and a continuous consciousness which precisely correspond with the cotemporaneous states and condition of the body,—a panorama being, as it were, unfolded within, to the recognition of the intellect, *pari passu* with the development of the corresponding phenomena in the body and external nature. In this respect man is a microcosm—the harmony thus instituted between body and soul

* McCosh, p. 190.

† Ibid., p. 233.

being typical of what is universal throughout the creation. Thus men "perceive what passes without them, by what passes within them, answering to the things without; in virtue of the harmony which God has preëstablished, by the most beautiful and the most admirable of all his productions; whereby every simple substance is by its nature, if one may so say, a concentration and a living mirror of the universe, according to its point of view."* This theory was, in the then condition of science and philosophy, a monument of the learning and ability of its illustrious author, who carefully guards against the error into which McCosh has fallen. It being objected to his doctrine, that it would bring the whole economy of grace, the mysteries of revelation, the incarnation and work of the Son of God, the influences of the Holy Spirit, and the special interventions of the Father, within the province of natural laws, and the instrumentality of second causes, Leibnitz replies, that "God, by supernatural influences, supplies natural defects; and so succours the soul by his grace, that it accomplishes what by natural powers it could not do. Since, then, God from the beginning purposed to bestow these special favours upon his creatures, he made things so that in the natural world all results should so present themselves as to correspond with these effects in the kingdom of grace. And wherever the forces with which the creatures are invested are not sufficient to this, he provides by miracle that which may serve to keep up the parallel; the operations which belong to the kingdom of grace being included in the nexus of things, not excluded from it."† In another place he remarks, that "when God works miracles, he does not do it in order to supply the wants of nature, but those of grace."‡ These positions, however they fall short of the whole truth on the subject, are much less exceptionable than those of McCosh. The one provides a margin of indefinite extent for the interposition of the hand of

* Leibnitz, in his *Letters to Clarke*, p. 241.

† *Leibnitii Tentamina Theodicæ*, Part I. § 64, note. Of miracles he distinguishes two classes, viz. such wonders as are wrought by the ministration of angels; and miracles proper, to which nothing short of omnipotence is adequate. *Correspondence with Clarke*, p. 113.

‡ *Correspondence with Clarke*, p. 3.

God. The other limits it to the single case of attesting revelation.

We confess this view is to us very meagre and unsatisfactory. When carefully examined it does not seem to differ essentially from the philosophy of deism, unless it be in recognizing a more complex disposition of the powers of nature at the first, and a more special regard for each particular result of that complex organization. What we regard as the radical error of this theory is in respect to the specific office to which creation was constructed. It is assumed that such is that office that the admission of the hand of God, in the exercise of an immediate agency, would imply a discovery of imperfection in the structure of nature. "The fitting of the various parts of the machinery is so nice, that there is no need of any interference with it." A class of miracles is indeed excepted, but all else is subjected to the exclusive disposition of second causes. But if the nature of the system be such, that the interposition of God's immediate agency would imply a defect in it, the assumption is as fatal to the admission of any sort of miracle, as of any other interposition whatever.

In fact, if we are to understand the phrase "divine revelation" in any such restricted sense as the argument of our author requires, the suggestion that the sole or chief office of miraculous interpositions is to attest particular communications from God, implies an exceedingly defective conception of their true significance. Whilst it is a fact that miracles have served to attest divine revelations, it is equally true and of as great significance, that to the greater part of the human family the order is reversed, and it is the Scriptures which attest the miracles. Many indeed of the most sublime and signal miracles which the world has ever witnessed, were wrought ages before the oldest book of Scripture was written; and whatever purpose they may have served in attesting communications from God to the contemporary populations of the earth, they could not, in the nature of the case, fulfil such an office, to the subsequent generations; to whom they have been made known, through the revelation of the Holy Spirit. Such—to omit all that respects the immediate family of Adam—was the translation of Enoch—the deluge—the confusion of tongues—the

destruction of the cities of the plain—and the various miraculous events in the lives of the patriarchs. So far from filling the subordinate office of mere attestation to particular revelations, miracles constitute, in and of themselves, a revelation the most interesting and important, and which is fundamental to every other. They testify unequivocally to the very fact which our author denies—that the omnipotent God exercises a direct and personal providence over all his works; in which he employs second causes, when he sees good; but is always and altogether unrestricted by them;—and whether acting in them or aside from them, puts forth his own power in an influence which is intimate, immediate and all-pervasive. Such was the principle to which the youth David attributes his victory over Goliath. 1 Sam. xvii. 46. To it Joshua refers the wonders wrought for Israel in Egypt and the wilderness—“that all the people of the earth might know the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty.” Josh. iv. 24. Such was the plea of Hezekiah, in answer to which the angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred fourscore and five thousand—“O Lord our God, I beseech thee, save us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord God, even thou only.” 2 Kings xix. 19. And for this purpose was the proud king of Babylon driven forth among the beasts;—“until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.” Dan. iv. 32.

The original system and structure of nature was unquestionably perfect. But to what office? Certainly not to work out its own results, to the exclusion of the agency of its Author. Creation is not a great clock, wound up at the first, and then left to tell off its fated periods, minute and great; but a vast and complicated instrument, perfect in all its parts, symmetrical and harmonious in the multifarious play of its various forces; each of which has an energy of its own; but all are inspected by the watchful eye, and ruled and guided by the immediate hand of the omnipresent Creator. By his agency, governing and controlling all those powers, and modifying the motions by his omnipotent will, in a way of perfect harmony with the structure of the several parts, and order of the whole—all is made

to conform, in a system of manifold wisdom and goodness, to the accomplishment of his purposes of grace and glory. "Of him, and through him, and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." Rom. xi. 36.

Viewed in any other light, miracles are altogether anomalous; conveying the unworthy imputation that the Creator has been reduced by unforeseen contingencies, to the alternative of failure in his designs, or of turning aside the actual tendency of events by violence, and forcing them into such channels as will suit his plans. Hence the infidel's false and insidious definition of a miracle—"a violation of the laws of nature." On the contrary, when we view the whole scheme of creation and providence, as framed with the one object of providing instruments, in the use of which the Creator may actively reveal the glory of his various attributes, all such unworthy conceptions vanish. The laws of nature show themselves fully adapted to accomplish the part for which they were designed—flowing on in undisturbed current to the final consummation; whilst, gliding harmoniously into their channel, and mingling in the common tide, special providences and miracles occur, to give a voice to all, and testify in living tones to the hearts of men, that He whom sun, moon, and stars proclaim, is not the Fate of Epicurus, rolling on in undeviating course, crushing all beneath its iron wheel—no blind abstraction enthroned in heartless severance from human cares and sympathies; but a living, active, personal providence, the lord and life of all; and though unapprehended by sense, still very near to every one of us. Creation, viewed apart, presents a noble form—a structure, the contemplation of which is suited to exalt the soul, filling its expanding capacities with sublime and amazing conceptions. But still, it is, like some piece from the chisel of a Phidias, a study of delight to the artist; but marble, cold and lifeless, mocking the expectant ear with its silence, and tiring the eager eye with its lofty but unchanging look. But as we gaze in trembling awe—as with beating hearts we behold the tremendous train rolling on for ever and for ever, in headlong, resistless, hopeless career—as we begin to hear the ensnaring whispers of atheistic unbelief, and ask ourselves whether creation itself be not a living thing, a very God, we are recalled from such false and fatal specula-

tions. There is a sudden pause, without confusion or jar! The sun, which, from the birthday of man, had continually swept across the heavens, in his seemingly fated and unending course, rests from his career on Gibeon; and the moon, in the valley of Ajalon. We behold again, whilst insatiate death sees his bars of steel burst asunder, and his victims set free. Foul diseases fly the touch of sharers of flesh; and even the insensate elements listen, and obey their voice! As we witness these things, and observe their occasion, nature to our ears acquires speech; the lifeless marble becomes warm with vital heat, and in sublimest and soul-moving accents, her voice proclaims, that the God who made all things, governs all things still, and can even condescend to man;—that his gracious providence is active in our low affairs; that “this God is our God for ever and ever, and will be our guide even unto death.”

So, in the communication to us of the Scriptures; in the incarnation and work of Christ; in the controlling, the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit—in all these have we illustrations of the habitual and immediate intervention of God with his works, as constituting a clearly marked and most conspicuous feature of his government. These cannot therefore be inconsistent with, but constitute a cardinal element in, the original plan—a feature in its perfection.

Further, we may not forget that there are other created powers in the universe, beside laws and physical causes. The angels—“Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth, to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?” Heb. i. 14. On the other hand—Satan and his angels—“The prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.” Eph. ii. 2. These all are agencies most potent, and produce effects most important, not only moral but physical, as is seen in the afflictions of Job, (Job i. 12, 16, 19,) and the temptation of the Son of God. Mat. iv. 5, 8. And above all these is the Spirit of God, ruling over the powers of men and devils; making their wrath to praise him, and restraining the remainder thereof; working in men’s hearts—the righteous and the wicked—both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

So completely has this method of immediate interposition characterized the whole history of the government of the world,

that so far as man is concerned, there are absolutely no results which first and last flow from the pure and unmixed operation of second causes. In one form or other the agency of God's own hand has entered into and modifies everything. There is no event of which we may not truly say, in this special sense, "this is the finger of God."

Nor may we limit the sovereignty of God to the modes of intervention which have been already named. These attest that he does not stand an idle spectator, but actively interposes his immediate agency in the government of his creation. And the Scriptures abundantly testify that these are but examples and illustrations of the whole policy of his administration;—that he is no more really present in his sovereign power, in those amazing displays of omnipotence and majesty, in the presence of which the earth trembles, and the mountains are shaken, than in that ordinary providence, by which "he worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Eph. i. 11. In fact, no doctrine is more constantly and emphatically taught in the Scriptures, than that of a particular providence, exercised by the immediate hand of God. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered." Matt. x. 29, 30. "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things." Isa. xlv. 7. "O Lord, thou hast searched me and known me. Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising; thou understandest my thought afar off; thou compassed my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me." Psalm cxxxix. 1-5. "He giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. For in him we live and move and have our being." Acts xvii. 25-27. "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them." Psalm xxxiv. 7. "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." Psalm xli. 1.

Such are the assurances on which faith relies—the pledges to which prayer appeals. To say that such places only mean to teach that the frame of nature was so constructed at the beginning, as mechanically to work out provision for the case of the afflicted, is to deny the express terms of the assurances often repeated, and attested by the Spirit in the believer's heart. It is to mock his hunger with ashes. Not mere escape does he want. Not mere conscious security does he seek. But he seeks covert in the bosom of a present God—a living, active, loving protector. Such a refuge the Holy Spirit offers in the word. Such a refuge the Comforter within persuades him to expect. The alternative is the atheism of contradicting these testimonies—or the admission that God does exert a constant and immediate agency in all events—a special and sovereign providence over all things.

McCosh has well observed, that the system of God's government is so ordered, that whilst in certain departments the whole arrangement is regular and unvarying, and the results therefore easily anticipated; on the other hand, there are departments in which the causes that operate are so numerous and inscrutable, and their action so complex, that all appears fortuitous; and the precise results are beyond the utmost human penetration to anticipate. This uncertainty is more especially exhibited in those departments which bear the closest relation to man. The design of this feature, McCosh supposes to be, to render man more dependent on the providence of God.* Whilst we acquiesce in this interpretation, we take a much higher view of the providence upon which man is thus dependent, than does our author.

In viewing the subjects of the providential government, all are naturally resolved into two elements—the one comprehending the whole material system, the worlds, and the lower orders of creation, which, in all its extent, constitutes the stage and its furniture, upon which the scenes of divine providence are enacted, rather than the proper subjects of that providence. The general characteristics here, are uniformity and permanence. The other element comprehends the moral universe,

* McCosh, pp. 170, 240.

constituting the subjects of God's government, the objects for whom, in subserviency to the divine glory, the material system was created. The moral system, again, is subdivided into the two classes of men in the flesh, and disembodied spirits, human and angelic. In the general government of the material system, the reign of mere natural law would seem to be undisturbed and universal, except at points where the system is implicated in more or less intimate connection with the intellectual and moral world. The great masses belonging to this system are uniform in their motions, and their phenomena unvarying through successive cycles. In the animal kingdom too, this uniformity is marked; although, placed as they are at the portals of the moral world, endowed with a measure of intelligence, which constitutes them harbingers of the higher system, and related to man in an intimate subordination to his authority, and identity in his relations to God's government, they realize something of the vicissitude which is characteristic of his condition. But the instant we enter the moral world, we find ourselves surrounded by evidences of a dispensation operating upon entirely other principles. The difference in the system of government is as essential and as great, as is that between the nature of the unconscious clod and of the seraphic intelligence. In the one world the bond of allegiance to the Creator's throne is that of physical laws, and through these is the government of that system dispensed. In the other, the bond is that of moral law, addressed to the reason, attested by conscience, and claiming the allegiance of the will. The government in this system is conducted by the agency of Jehovah, in a manner which is continually more and more intimate and immediate, as we ascend the scale of moral being. Whilst men in their native state, apostate from God, are left in a great measure slaves to earth's vicissitudes, and the to them uncertain operation of nature's physical laws, the child of God constantly realizes increasing evidence of the habitual interposition of God in his behalf; and anticipates with joy the time when he will be emancipated altogether from the bondage of physical causes, in the immediate presence of Him, of whom he exultingly cries, "All my springs are in thee!" and experience for ever the dispensa-

tion of infinite love, from the immediate hands of infinite Wisdom and Power.

The field of inquiry at which we have thus glanced, would richly repay an extended survey. We can only at present suggest the conclusions bearing upon our present subject, which seem to flow alike from all the facts that are accessible, and from the whole tenor of the Scriptures. These are,—that the two spheres of divine operation, the physical and the moral, are to be carefully distinguished from each other, in searching out the manner of God's government;—that the principle of administration, in the one, is by physical causes; in the other, by immediate dispensation;—that whilst in the mere material universe the operation of physical causes seems to be universal and exclusive, and in the world of spirits the divine administration is immediate, our world, as the abode of spirits clothed in flesh, and fallen, is the scene of a complicated dispensation, in which the ordinary operation of physical causes, and mediate instrumentality, is modified by continual interpositions of the divine hand—interpositions growing in frequency and demonstration, in proportion as he who is their subject draws nearer, and is qualified for the realm of light in God's immediate presence. We would, therefore, modify the statement above quoted, as to the final cause of the growing complexity and inscrutability of the operation of second causes, which is observable as we approach the immediate sphere of man's existence; and regard this, as designed indeed to induce an entire dependence upon God's providential hand; but as a condition of things necessarily incident to such a mixed dispensation as that under which man is at present governed.

In regard to the manner of the ordinary dispensation of this providential government, in its details, there are several things to be observed, at which we can but glance.

1. God is everywhere and immediately present among his creatures, "upholding all things by the word of his power." Heb. i. 3. Two opposite ideas are here to be avoided; to wit—the attributing of independent existence to the creatures; and the supposition that their necessary dependence militates against the reality of a continuous existence and identity in them. The supposition of a delegated self-existence is a contradiction in

terms; and hence of necessity, the creatures must be dependent each instant, upon the power of the Creator, for the instant's continuance in being. Not only so, but the finite being, the springs of whose continued existence were in itself, would seem to be endowed with power to put off that existence. How gladly would the devils plunge into the gulf of annihilation! But they for ever live, because the omnipotent God, in justice, for ever says to them—Live, to endure the curse! On the other hand, the existence which is thus momentarily enjoyed at the will of Omnipotence, is not the result of a succession of new creative acts. Logically the two ideas—that of a continued existence sustained by God, and that of a perpetual series of new and transient creations, of the same form and character, and sustaining the same relations—are altogether distinct, and cannot by any process be reduced to identity. Morally the latter breaks up all ties of relation between the creatures, and of them toward God; and reduces the universe to an unreal phantasm. Scripturally this conception has no countenance, but is utterly ignored; and, on the contrary, God's upholding power, sustaining the creatures in a really continuous existence, is constantly asserted. This upholding agency has regard both to the material and spiritual creation, every part of which alike has its being in God. The following points have more immediate respect to man.

2. In all men the Holy Spirit exerts a continually restraining energy, so as to keep their corruptions, as well as all their powers, within the bounds which he has appointed, for his own holy purposes. Man having so departed from God, as to be altogether disinclined to reverence or love him, or to obey his laws, all bonds of moral restraint are broken; and the only reason why men, thus lost to holy motives, are not rivals in wickedness to the lost inhabitants of hell, is that God in mercy, by his providence and Spirit, puts a restraint upon their native corruptions; allowing them to flow out so far as may serve to accomplish his holy purposes; but otherwise holding them under his omnipotent restraint. Hence the language of the Psalmist: "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain." Psalm lxxvi. 10. In this fact we have the key to Paul's statement, that "whom he will he

hardeneth." Rom. ix. 18. By relaxing the bonds, and allowing corruption to flow, he permits the heart to grow hard, and the conscience to become seared.

3. Even where there is not an absolute restraint put upon the corruptions, the natural impulses and dispositions of men, they are so limited that they may take no other than that direction which will fulfil the divine purposes. Thus in the case of the hostility of the brethren of Joseph, they were restrained from putting him to death, but left to sell him into Egypt; so bringing to pass the very thing which they were endeavouring to prevent; so that Joseph truly says, "It was not you that sent me hither, but God." Gen. xlv. 8. The rulers of Israel were thus restrained in regard to the murder of the Son of God, so that they who were continually breaking out into factions, and imbruing their hands in blood,—they who but a short time after stoned Stephen, come to Pilate, and urge the execution of Christ by the governor, with the plea that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death. But this came to pass that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, that thus it should be;—his body must be lifted up from the earth as a curse, and his blood must flow as a sacrifice; two circumstances which did not meet in any Jewish mode of execution. The feature of the divine administration here pointed out, solves the difficulty that is sometimes apprehended in such places as that of Peter: "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." Acts ii. 23. God gave not nor stimulated wrong dispositions in the actors in that atrocious scene; nor did he give a bare permission; "but such as had joined with it, a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to his own holy ends, yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceeded only from the creature, and not from God."

4. A controlling influence of a somewhat different kind is illustrated in the sixth chapter of the book of Esther. Sleep is withheld from the king, and his wakeful thoughts are led to the records of his reign; the reading of which gives occasion to the honouring of Mordecai, and the defeat of all the plans of Haman. Essentially similar in its nature was the influence

exerted on the minds of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, inducing their prophetic dreams, which were interpreted by Joseph and Daniel. Thus it is evident that God can and does exert a direct influence over the minds of men, even the ungodly, inducing thoughts suited to the accomplishing of his purposes. "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will." Prov. xxi. 1.

5. On the other hand, in all holy exercises and right actions, the immediate power of the Holy Spirit is active, creating right affections, and leading and impelling his people to do such things as are in accordance with God's holy will; so that whilst on the one hand, the liberty of the agent is not taken away, but he is freed from his previous bondage to corruption and sin, and by the exercise of his natural faculties, "worketh out his own salvation with fear and trembling;" on the other hand, as to the real efficiency and power, "it is God that worketh in him, both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Phil. ii. 12, 13. It is to this, especially, that the apostle James refers, when—declaring that we are not tempted of God, but of our own corruptions—he on the contrary adds, that "Every good gift, and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." James i. 17.

6. Besides these modes of operation in the ordinary providence of God, who shall forbid, that in many ways, untraceable by us, but adoringly witnessed by blessed spirits, the immediate power of God should interpose in human affairs? We are persuaded that the whole analogy of his government, and the tone of the entire Scriptures, lead directly to this conclusion. We are confident that we express but the common experience and the common sentiment of his people—those with whom is "the secret of the Lord"—in declaring our conviction, that in multitudes of instances they are indebted to a fatherly care, and an almighty hand, which, concealed from carnal observation, but recognized by faith, dispenses blessings, which the natural action of second causes would never have conveyed.

The government of God, thus variously administered, is universal in its dominion, and constant in its exercise—it has respect to the most minute, as well as the greatest results; and is absolute in its sway. It is not a mere influence, but a

power. On the one hand, omnipotent to arrest the sun in its course; to loose the fountains of waters; or to command the sea back to its appointed place;—on the other, it with equal sovereignty rules the will of men and devils. To assert man's will to be of such a nature as to be necessarily independent of God, is to say, that he, in making it for his own purposes, placed it beyond his own power. To say that it cannot be subject to an effectual control, without destroying its moral agency, is to pretend to have fathomed all its depths, and measured the whole extent and nature of its relations to the creative hand;—it is to assume that there cannot be in the soul any susceptibilities, accessible even to the power of its Maker, outside the sphere of its self-conscious activity—which is most absurd. To deny that God can rule the creature he has made as it is, endowed with attributes bestowed by him, is to limit God—which is atheism.

In short, the universe was framed to reveal the very truth concerning the nature of that God who is everywhere and ever present, the sovereign of all, essentially active, and infinitely wise, kind and good. This it does, not by presenting him, once active in creation, and then for ever quiescent;—once sovereign in decreeing the order of creation, and the events of providence, and then for ever an inactive spectator;—once present with his creatures, in giving them existence and attributes, and then for ever withdrawn within himself;—once, in the beginning, exhausting the stores of his beneficence, and then for ever ceasing to bestow. Such is not the God of the Bible, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the glorious Worker whom nature proclaims. The creatures were formed with two objects, to be witnesses of the divine glory, and to be subjects in whom it should have display. As finite, they could not apprehend the glory of God, or perceive his activity, except as displayed upon finite things. Hence, in this aspect of it, the creation; presenting, on the one hand, an expanse vast enough, alike in physical and moral dimensions, to exhaust the loftiest created powers; and on the other, in its details, stooping to the reach of the meanest capacity. Again, in but two ways could our infirmity trace the working, and in it, the glory of God, in the universe thus created—as he works *through* the creatures, that is,

by the mediation of second causes, and as he acts *upon* them, by his own immediate power. The uniformity of the one mode of operation is requisite alike to the happiness of the creatures, and the revelation of the wisdom and unchangeableness of the Creator. The speciality of the other is as necessary and important, both to the creatures, and to the revelation of the living God. By this mode is it made known that it is God, and not nature, that ruleth; and that everywhere and in all things, he is—the ever present, ever active, ever sovereign and gracious God. Said the Saviour, “My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.” John v. 17. The attempt to ignore his immediate agency in the orderings of special providences, out of respect to the orderly working of the laws of nature, is as unphilosophical and unscriptural, as is the denial of second causes, and the reference of all things to God, as not only the first, but the only cause. “God in his ordinary providence maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above, and against them, at his pleasure.” In all it is the same God. In all he works with equal and absolute sovereignty. In all he is most holy and good. In all there is the most perfect harmony, and concurrence to the wise and holy designs. In the interpositions of his own hand he does no violence to the laws and order of nature, which he himself has ordained. In the procession of second causes and ordinary providence, he does not preclude, but anticipate and provide for the immediate exertions of his power. In each are unfolded alike the harmonious elements of the perfect plan, which, formed in the beginning, shall be displayed in the amazing glory of the whole results, at the consummation of all things, to the unspeakable blessedness of his saints, and the infinite honour of their wonderful God.

ART. VII.—*The Tecnobaptist*: A Discourse, wherein an honest Baptist, by a course of argument to which no honest Baptist can object, is convinced that Infant Christians are proper subjects of Christian Baptism. By R. B. MAYES. Boston: Printed by John Wilson & Son, 22 School street. 1857. pp. 172.

THIS is a piratical little book. It sails under false colours. It purports to be an argument in support of infant baptism. It is in fact an argument against it. The reader is not prepared for a trope on a title-page. He presumes that the word infant is used in its literal sense, and that "infant Christians" means children born within the pale of the Christian Church. He takes up the book, therefore, under the impression that he is about to read the process of argument by which a Baptist was converted into a Pedobaptist. Every thing favours this impression. The book is a colloquy. The interlocutors are Mr. A., an Episcopalian; Mr. C., a Presbyterian; and Mr. B., a Baptist. Mr. B. allows Messrs. A. and C. to have everything their own way. They begin the argument; lay down the premises; and draw the conclusions. Mr. B. seems to be entirely at their mercy. He lies still, as Napoleon did at Austerlitz, and permits his adversaries to gather their forces all round him, and to feel sure of victory. All at once the scene changes. Mr. B. takes things into his own hands. Admits the premises of his opponents, as he has allowed them to be stated, and then runs them into all manner of contradictions and confusion. Poor Mr. A. particularly is made to flounder ridiculously in very shallow water. Mr. B. acknowledges himself to be in favour of infant baptism, but by infant, he means a babe in Christ. He is the advocate of the baptism of those born of the Spirit, as soon as they give satisfactory evidence of regeneration. The maxim that all things are fair in war, our author has transferred to polemics, and he has certainly outmanœuvred his antagonists, and gained over them not only a complete, but an easy triumph. It is, however, hardly fair thus to mystify his Pedobaptist readers. They open their lips for a bonbon,

and he inserts a lump of aloes. The consequence is that the aloes is rejected with an emphasis which an honest pill would not have provoked. We do not think that our author has gained much by his ruse. It must be admitted, however, that the thing is well done. The book is very adroitly written, and is the best Baptist argument we are acquainted with. We do not propose to review it in detail. The principles involved in the discussion may all be presented, as we hope, more effectively, by avoiding the specialities of refutation. The whole of the author's argument is condensed in the following statement, to be found on page 93.

"In the Old Testament Church. 1. The carnal descendants of Abraham were the chosen people of God. 2. The carnal descendants were begotten with carnal and corruptible seed. 3. The carnal descendants were carnally generated, and entered the kingdom of God, or the Church, by a carnal birth. 4. The outward sign of membership was circumcision, a carnal ordinance, performed by cutting the flesh of the subject. 5. The carnal descendants were required to be circumcised not before nor at, but after, their carnal birth.

"In the New Testament Church. 1. The spiritual descendants of Abraham are the chosen people of God. 2. The spiritual descendants are begotten with spiritual and incorruptible seed. 3. The spiritual descendants are spiritually regenerated, and enter the kingdom of God, or the Church, by a spiritual birth. 4. The outward sign of membership is baptism, performed with water, which you believe to be an emblem of the Spirit. 5. The spiritual descendants should be baptized, not before nor at, but after, their spiritual birth."

In other words, under the old dispensation, the Church was an external society, and the condition of membership was natural descent from Abraham; whereas, under the new dispensation, the Church is a spiritual society, and the condition of membership is regeneration. In the Hebrew Church those born after the flesh were the proper subjects of circumcision. In the Christian Church, those born after the Spirit are the proper subjects of baptism. Every thing, it will be seen, in this argument depends on the idea of the Church, and on the conditions of church membership.

It is obvious that men can understand neither themselves nor others, on this subject, unless they agree in the meaning of the terms which they employ. The flaw in the preceding argument, the vitiating mistake in the whole theory of the Baptist is, that although right in his idea of the Church, he is wrong in his idea of Church membership. In other words, he confounds two entirely distinct questions, first, What is the Church? and, second, Whom are we bound to regard and treat as church members? We admit that the Church, considered as the body of Christ, consists of the regenerated. No man can be a member of Christ's body who is not a partaker of his life, and governed by his Spirit. But does it thence follow that we are bound not to recognize or treat any as members of the Church who are not born of the Spirit? Because it is true that no man is a Christian who does not believe Christ's doctrines and obey his commands, are we therefore to recognize and treat no man as a Christian who has not true faith, and is not obedient in heart and life? No man, says the apostle, is a Jew, who is not a true worshipper of God. But did it follow that none were to be recognized and treated as Jews but such as were Jews inwardly, and had experienced the circumcision of the heart? It is a sheer impossibility to carry out the principle of treating men according to their state in the sight of God. We must recognize many as Christians who are not real Christians; we must regard and treat as Church members many who are not the members of the body of Christ. In other words we must recognize the distinction between the Church visible and invisible, between the nominal and the real, between the true and the professed followers of the Lord. The whole argument of the Baptist is, that the Church under the new dispensation is a spiritual body, consisting of true believers, therefore none can be members of the Church but those who being regenerated by the Holy Ghost believe in Christ, and none can be properly regarded as members of the Church who do not give satisfactory evidence of regeneration. But as infants, whether capable of regeneration or not, cannot give evidence of being renewed by the Spirit, or profess faith in Christ, they cannot properly be regarded as members of the Church. And as baptism, being

the sign and seal of the covenant of grace, is the recognition of Church membership, children are not the proper subjects of baptism.

On the other hand, the great body of Christians, (in their confessions of faith,) and especially the great body of Protestants teach: 1. That the Church consists essentially of the true people of God, i. e. of all who have been, or who shall hereafter be, gathered into the fold of Christ, and made partakers of his salvation. 2. That since God has not given to men the power to read the heart, he has not imposed on his people the obligation to sit in judgment on the regeneration of their fellow-men. Consequently, we not only are not required, but we are not allowed, to demand evidence of regeneration satisfactory to ourselves, as the condition of church membership. In other words, Christ has not committed to men the impossible task of making a church which shall consist exclusively of the regenerate. He requires us to recognize as Christians all those who, having competent knowledge, profess their faith in him, and are free from scandal. No matter how well satisfied we may be in our own minds, that a man has not been really renewed by the Holy Ghost, we have no right either to refuse to receive him as a member of the Church, or to exclude him from it after such recognition, if he possesses the qualifications above-mentioned. This is not only a matter of divine command, but of inevitable necessity. Every Church on earth acts on this principle; that is, it receives to its communion, or retains in it, many who in its own judgment are not the true children of God. The task of separating the tares from the wheat, which the Master has reserved to himself, willing as many have been to undertake, all have been obliged practically to abandon. Such being both the law of Christ, and the necessity of the case, it of course follows, that while in the sight of God no men are true Christians but the regenerate, and no men are really members of the Church, which is Christ's body, but true believers, yet we are obliged to regard and treat as Christians, or as members of the Church, multitudes who are unregenerated in heart. Hence the unavoidable distinction between the Church visible and invisible, between those who are members of the Church in the sight of God, and those who are members in the sight of man.

It is therefore part of the faith or practice of all Christendom, that although regeneration is an essential condition of church membership in the sight of God, (i. e. no unrenewed person is an actual member of the Church in his sight,) yet it is not the condition of church membership in the sight of men. That is, we are bound to regard and treat as members of the Church, many who are not truly regenerate. 3. It is also part of the general faith of Christendom, that as we are required to regard many unrenewed adults as members of the Church, so we are bound to regard and treat the children of believing parents as members of the Church, although we do not know whether they are renewed or unrenewed.

When, therefore, it is asked, Who constitute the Church in the sight of God? we answer, The true people of God. When asked, Who constitute the Church in the sight of man? we answer, The professors of the true religion, together with their children. When asked, What is the condition of actual church membership in the sight of God? we answer, Regeneration, or the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. If asked, What is the condition of church membership in the sight of man? we answer, The credible profession of the true religion, or the filial relation to a parent who professes the true religion. The meaning of the last question is, Whom are we bound to regard and treat as members of the Church? For, to be a member of the Church in the sight of men, is to have the recognized right to be regarded and treated as such. A citizen of a country is one whose right to the privileges of citizen is duly recognized; and a member of the Church is one whose right to be so regarded and treated is duly recognized. When, therefore, we assert the church membership of the infants of believing parents, we do not assert their regeneration, or that they are true members of Christ's body; we only assert that they belong to the class of persons whom we are bound to regard and treat as members of Christ's Church. This is the only sense in which even adults are members of the Church, so far as men are concerned. When we say that any man is a member of the Episcopal, or Methodist, or Baptist Church, we mean that he has a right to be so regarded and treated, and is in fact so regarded and treated by his fellow-men. How he stands in the sight of God is a

different question. That is a point we are not capable of deciding.

It is easy to see, in the light of these elementary principles, the fallacy of the common argument of our Baptist friends against the church membership of infants. They say that because regeneration, or saving union with Christ, the condition of actual church membership in the sight of God, therefore children who cannot give evidence of such regeneration, are not to be regarded or treated as church members. But we are required to treat as members of the Church, many who are not regenerated. We constantly do it; we must do it, because we cannot avoid it. It is absurd to say, that because we cannot know that an infant is renewed, therefore he cannot be baptized. As it is undeniable that God never intended that the visible Church on earth should consist exclusively of the regenerated; as from the first he permitted and intended to permit tares to grow with the wheat until the harvest; as, in other words, he has always required his people to recognize as church members, many who were not really united to Christ, the only question is, Has he required us so to regard and treat the infants of believing parents? It will be seen that the question whether such infants are regenerate, has nothing to do with the controversy. Actual regeneration is not a *sine qua non* for membership in the visible Church. This is an undeniable proposition; for there is not a Baptist or a Brownist on earth who does not admit that there are unrenewed persons in the visible Church, who must be regarded and treated as members. The only question is, Are we bound by the command of God so to regard the infants of believing parents? All Christendom (Baptists excepted) answer this question in the affirmative, and answer it in such a way as to show that the answer comes from the heart. The reasons for this answer are substantially the following.

1. The intimate relation between children and parents. They are not only partakers of the same nature, but the child is of the very substance of the parents, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh. The life of the one is continued in the other. This natural bond is the ground of the instinctive natural affection, which on the part of the parent is one of the strongest

elements of our nature. There is moreover the bond of common interest. The destiny of the child is involved in that of the parent. The parent is responsible for the child, and the child is dependent on the parent. It is in virtue of this intimate relationship that, by the will of God, and the very nature of human society, the act of the parent is, in a multitude of cases, the act of the child. If the father becomes a citizen of a country, he makes his children citizens. If he turns Jew or Mohammedan, his infant children are included in the change. This is unavoidable. It arises out of the very nature of the parental relation. All the analogies of human society, therefore, are in favour of the doctrine, that when a parent becomes a Christian, his infant children are to be regarded as Christians. If this ought not to be done, it must be for some specific reason, making this an exception to all analogous cases. There is, however, no such reason. The fact that the child cannot understand what it is to be a Christian, cannot profess the Christian faith, nor give evidence of Christian character, is nothing peculiar. All this may be said in similar cases. When a foreigner becomes a citizen of this country, his children becomes citizens also, although they cannot understand our political system, nor make any profession of fidelity to our government. The parent is recognized as having the right in such cases to act for his child, and it is assumed, or presumed, or taken for granted, that the child will ratify the act of the parent. In like manner when a man becomes a Christian, when he lays hold of the covenant of grace for himself, his children are to be regarded as doing the same thing. He has a right to represent them and act for them. And it is to be assumed, or presumed, until the contrary appears, that the children are included in his act. At any rate they are to be so regarded and treated, until they become old enough to act for themselves. This was the law of God under the old dispensation. When any foreigner became a Jew, his children became Jews. Exodus xii. 48. They were included in the covenant embraced by the father. It was not a mere external political relation, but a spiritual or religious one, which was thus assumed for the child. He came under covenant obligations to adopt the Jewish religion, to acknowledge Jehovah to be the

only true God, and to obey the law, and trust the promises of Moses and the prophets. All this was included in becoming a Jew, and all this was done, by divine command, whenever a gentile having minor children embraced the religion of the Jews. The church membership of the infants of believing parents is, therefore, in accordance with the analogy of all human social institutions, and is sanctioned by the approbation and command of God. It is founded on the intimate relationship between the parent and child, which, from the will of God and the constitution of our nature, makes the parent the representative of the child, authorized to enter into covenant with God and man in its behalf. Our Baptist friends are wont to object to this argument, that a man may join a masonic lodge and not thereby make his infant children freemasons. This is true, and it shows that a child stands in a very different relation to freemasonry, from that which it sustains to the plan of salvation. The parent acts for the child, only where the act of the former of necessity determines the relations and obligations of the latter. Man is a social and religious being by the constitution of his nature. He must be the subject of civil and religious relations and obligations. During infancy he cannot determine these relations for himself. They must of necessity be determined for him by his parents. By becoming an English citizen, a man makes his infant children the subjects of the English crown, entitled to the protection and privileges, and burdened with the obligations of English citizenship. There is no analogy between this case and a parent joining the army or navy, or entering a masonic lodge, because there is nothing in the nature of a child which makes it necessary for him to belong to some army, or navy, or to be a member of some masonic fraternity. He must, however, be a citizen of some country, and he must have some religion. As the father chooses for the child his country, so he chooses for him his religion. This is a matter, so to speak, of necessity, both by the law of God, and the constitution of society. The Baptist doctrine, therefore, that a man in becoming a Christian, or entering the Christian Church, does not thereby make his children Christians, is opposed to all the analogies of political and religious life. No wonder that the Baptists stand alone in the vast field, not of

Christendom only, but of humanity. So wide is the application of the principle that children are included in their parents, and enter with them in the civil or religious relations which they assume, that an eloquent Irish Episcopal minister exclaimed, "There are but two places into the whole universe of God from which infants are excluded. The one is hell; the other is the Baptist Church." There must be something wrong in a doctrine which leads to such a violation of all analogies human and divine.

2. In all covenants which God has ever formed with men, their children have always been included. The covenant made with Adam was not only for himself, but for all his posterity descending from him by ordinary generation. Without their assent or consent, and even without the possibility of their knowledge and coöperation, he was constituted their federal head and representative, authorized to decide for them their character and destiny. His choice was regarded as their choice. It is a plain historical fact, that his apostacy was the apostacy of his race. When God entered into covenant with his Eternal Son, as the representative of his people, it was without their assent or consent, knowledge or coöperation. And yet they, in virtue of that covenant, are made partakers of all the benefits of redemption. And Christ will stand at last before the throne of God and say, "Behold, I and the children whom thou hast given me." The covenant with Abraham included all his natural descendants in the line of Isaac and Jacob. When Abraham embraced the promise and received in his own person the seal of the covenant, all connected with him and represented by him were included in the compact. When God renewed at Mount Sinai the covenant with the chosen people, and made the law of Moses the law of the covenant between him and them, it was not with those of adult age only, but also with their little ones. Exodus xix. and xx.; Deut. v. and Deut. xxix. 9-13. "Keep therefore the words of this covenant and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do. Ye stand here this day, all of you, before the Lord your God, your captains of tribes, your elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood, unto the drawer of thy water;

that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day; that he may establish thee to-day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob." The fundamental law of this covenant was the Decalogue. "The Lord our God," says Moses, "made a covenant with us in Horeb . . . saying, I am the Lord thy God which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," &c. The whole people, therefore, the adults for themselves, the parents for their children, and masters for their servants, entered into a solemn covenant with God, in which he promised to be their God, and they promised to be his people; to have no other God but Jehovah; to make no graven image to bow down to or worship; to keep holy the Sabbath; to honour their fathers and mothers; to do no murder; not to commit adultery; not to steal; not to bear false witness; and not to covet. In this solemn transaction parents acted for their children, as they again were to act for theirs, from generation to generation. The parent made for the child a profession of faith, and a promise of obedience. He introduced his child into the covenant which he himself embraced, and circumcision, the seal of that covenant, was therefore enjoined to be administered to children. The principle, therefore, which lies at the foundation of infant baptism, and which renders it obligatory upon all Christian parents, is here solemnly recognized; not for a time, nor for a special occasion; not for a peculiar form of religion, nor for any one dispensation of the Church, but as a general principle to govern all analogous cases, in all ages, and under all dispensations. That principle is, that the child is represented in the parent; and, therefore, when the parent enters into covenant with God, when he takes God to be his God, and consecrates himself to his service, he does for his child what he does for himself, and the child is not only bound by the parent's act, but is to be regarded and treated as though he had done in his own person what his parent did in his name. It is undeniable, that this principle is sanctioned in the Bible, and therefore that all objections to infant baptism,

(or infant church membership,) which assume this principle to be false, are unscriptural. The principal objection to infant baptism is founded on the incompetency of infants to understand the import of the rite, or to assume the obligations which it imposes. Christian baptism assumes the profession of the Christian faith, and consecration to the worship and service of the Lord Jesus. Children cannot make such a profession, nor can they consecrate themselves to God; therefore they cannot properly be recognized as Christians by baptism. But this assumes that the parent cannot properly make this profession of faith and this promise of obedience in the child's name; that he has no right to do it; and that the child would not be bound if the parent did assume to act in its name. According to the command of God, however, the parent was not only authorized, but he was required to make a profession of faith and promise of obedience in the name of the child; and the child by God's command was to be regarded as having done what his parent did in his behalf, and was accordingly held to the contract. He was denounced and punished as a covenant-breaker, if he proved unfaithful to the engagements thus legitimately assumed in his name.

It is objected, however, that the old dispensation was external, typical, and ceremonial, whereas the new is spiritual; and therefore we cannot argue from the one to the other. Under the old dispensation natural birth and outward profession were the condition of church membership; whereas under the new, spiritual birth and saving faith are the conditions. The premise in this argument is incorrect. When a man entered the Jewish community, or when a Hebrew parent presented his child for circumcision, he made a profession of the true religion, and the promise of spiritual obedience. Any Hebrew who did what he professed to do, was as surely saved, as any Christian who is sincere in his baptismal vows. The Hebrew took God to be his God; he promised obedience to all his laws, and faith in all his promises. What more does the Christian? All this the Hebrew parent did for his child; more than this no Christian parent can do for his child. What God, therefore, authorized and commanded Jewish parents to do for their children, is pre-

cisely what the opposers of infant baptism say Christian parents have no right to do for their children; and they found their objection on the very nature of the thing to be done. That is, they pronounce that to be wrong which God enjoined as right. The argument goes further than this. It is not merely that Christian parents may do what Jewish parents were allowed to do, but that they are bound to do it. They violate one of the most obvious and important of their parental obligations, if they fail to present their children for baptism. They are bound to profess in their name the Christian faith, to promise for them obedience to the laws of Christ, and to consecrate them to his worship and service. If the Hebrew parent was bound to do this, because he was a parent in covenant with God; so is the Christian parent for the same reasons. It is not a privilege merely, but a duty arising out of the nature of the relation between parent and child, and their common allegiance to God. It may be objected, that if the parent thus represents his children, and is bound to act for them in matters of religion, and if children are bound by the acts of their parents, it would follow that if a Christian should turn Pagan, he would be bound to devote his children to the service of idols, and that they would be under obligation to become idolaters. This is equivalent to arguing that because a parent, when he obtains food for himself, is bound to give a portion of it to his children; therefore when he poisons himself, he is bound to poison them. The only fair inference for the principle in question is, that in the present constitution of society the parent must be allowed to judge for himself what is suitable food for himself and his children. This he does at his peril. If he chooses well, it is well for him and for them. If he chooses ill, it is ill for himself and for them. So it is with his religion. He is bound to profess the true religion both for himself and for his children. But if he professes a false religion, he not only injures or ruins himself but those also committed to his charge. It is, therefore, an ordinance of God, having its foundation in the nature which he has given us, that whenever a parent professes the true religion, and covenants with God to believe his truth, and to obey his will, he is bound to make the same profession, and the same engagements, in the name and in behalf of his infant children, and they are

bound by the act. God requires us to regard them as doing for themselves what is done for them by their parents, and to treat them accordingly. That is, to attach to them the seal of the covenant, to mark them as of the number of God's professing people, to watch over, and cherish them as belonging to him, and as entitled to all the inestimable benefits of membership in his Church. God commanded this of old. He enforced his command by dreadful threatenings in case of disobedience, and by the most abundant promises in case the duty was faithfully performed.

3. We have seen that the Scriptures clearly teach, that when a man professes the true religion, and enters into covenant with God, his infant children are to be regarded and treated as making the same profession, and as included in the same covenant. This of itself is conclusive in favour of the church membership of the infants of Christian parents. The Bible, however, goes much further than this. It not only teaches a general principle which leads to the conclusion that such infants should be regarded and treated as members of the Church, but it teaches that from the beginning they have in fact, by God's command, been so regarded and treated. The Church is not of yesterday. It was founded on the promise of redemption given to our first parents, and has existed ever since. It has varied in its organization, in its external arrangements, in its amplitude, and in other nonessential circumstances; but it has remained always one and the same—the same in its nature, its faith, its promises, its conditions of membership, or terms of communion. The true Church has always consisted of true believers. The visible Church has always consisted of the professors of the true religion. This idea of the Church suits all dispensations, from Adam to the present time. Or if we take the more formal definition, which declares the Church to be the congregation of faithful men, called out from the world, and united in the profession of the same faith, for the purpose of divine worship, and the exercise of mutual watch and care, there has always been such a Church, and it has always been the same. If, therefore, by divine command the children of believing parents were included in the Church of old, they are included in it now.

Although the Church existed from the beginning, it was, before the calling of Abraham, for the most part in a state of dispersion. Too little is recorded of it, prior to that event, to give us definite knowledge of its nature and requirements. Our written constitution, so to speak, dates from the father of the faithful. God made a covenant with Abraham. By covenant is meant, a contract between two or more parties, in which there are mutual stipulations and promises. The transaction with Abraham was of this kind. God promised certain blessings to the patriarch, and he promised faith and obedience to God. Not only, therefore, in the Old Testament is this transaction called a covenant, but in the New Testament the same designation is applied to it. And, further than this, the New Testament writers, referring to the transaction with Abraham, not only call it a covenant, but they argue from its nature as such, to show that its original stipulations can be neither annulled nor altered. Rom. iv. 13, 14; Gal. iii. 15-18. "The covenant," says the apostle, "that was confirmed before (to Abraham) of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul." It is of importance, therefore, that this word should be retained, not only because it is scriptural, but because the idea which it expresses is essential to a proper understanding of the case. Many modern theological writers discard the word entirely, and stigmatize the system of the Reformers as the *federal* theology. In discarding the word, the truth which it was intended to convey is almost always discarded with it. If we would retain the truth, we must retain the forms in which God has seen fit to reveal it. God then formed a covenant with Abraham. The question is, What was that covenant, and who were the parties to it? We answer, in common with all Christendom, The covenant was the covenant of grace, and the parties were Abraham and those whom Abraham represented. Of course this does not mean that the covenant of grace originated in this transaction, or that none are included in it but Abraham and those whom Abraham represented. Nor does it mean that all represented by Abraham were savingly interested in its benefits. It only means that the covenant in question was a reënactment or renewed revelation of the covenant of grace in relation to

Abraham, and that those represented by him were to be regarded and treated as included in it.

By the covenant of grace is meant the plan of salvation, in which God promises to give to believers all the benefits of redemption, and they promise faith and obedience. If, therefore, in the covenant with Abraham, God promised to him the benefits of redemption on the condition of faith, that covenant was the covenant of grace. In other words, it was the gospel; for the gospel is nothing else than the proclamation of salvation through faith in Christ. That such was the nature of the covenant made with Abraham, is too clearly revealed to admit of doubt. When God promised that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, he promised to send Christ to be the Redeemer of men. It is the fulfilment of this promise and the exposition of it in the New Testament, which authoritatively determines its meaning. Our Lord himself said, "Abraham saw my day and was glad." This can only mean that Abraham foresaw the advent of Christ, and rejoiced in the accomplishment of the work which Christ came to perform. The apostle therefore says, "God preached before the gospel unto Abraham." The gospel, in the New Testament sense of the term, is the glad news of salvation through Jesus Christ. This therefore was, according to the apostle, what was preached to Abraham, when it was said, "In thee shall all nations be blessed." The apostle Peter also, after he had healed the lame man, told the astonished multitude that Christ, in whose name the miracle had been performed, had been promised to Abraham, and predicted by the prophets. "Ye," he added, "are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. Unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." Acts iii. 25, 26. It is here clearly taught that the Abrahamic covenant, of which the Jews were the children, had reference to Christ; that the promise, "In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed," was fulfilled in the advent of the Son of God; and that the blessedness promised, was turning men from their iniquities. To the same effect Paul said in the synagogue at

Antioch, in Pisidia, "We declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus." Acts xiii. 32, 33. When arraigned before Agrippa he said, "Now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made unto our fathers: unto which promise the twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come: for which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews." Acts xxvi. 6, 7. The great promise made to Abraham and to the other fathers, according to this passage, was the promise of Christ, on whose behalf Paul was a prisoner; and this was the promise toward which the eyes of all who served God were constantly fixed. Paul said to the Romans, "Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers." Rom. xv. 9. That is, Jesus Christ came and exercised his ministry among the Jews, to set forth the truth or veracity of God, in fulfilling the promises made to the fathers. In all these passages, "the promises made to the fathers," means the promise of Christ thrice made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, repeated to Isaac and Jacob, Gen. xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, and which thenceforth became the burden of prophecy, renewed to every generation, constantly unfolded in its inexhaustible contents until the fulfilment came. Nothing, therefore, can be plainer than that the covenant made with Abraham was the covenant of grace, i. e. the promise of redemption through faith in the Messiah. This, however, is not a doctrine which rests on such general allusions or declarations merely, it is taught in the most explicit terms by the apostles. The design of the epistle to the Galatians was to convince them of the folly of apostatizing to Judaism. To do this the apostle raises them above the Mosaic period, and sets them back into communion with the great Abrahamic covenant, to which the law of Moses was not only posterior but subordinate. The special purpose of the third chapter of that epistle is to prove that justification is by faith, and not by the law. His first argument is from the fact that the Holy Ghost, in his manifold miraculous and sanctifying influences, had been given in confirmation of the doctrine of justification by faith. His second argument is from the case of Abraham. He was

justified by faith, and therefore those who share his inheritance, i. e. who inherit the blessing of redemption promised him, are believers. Know therefore, he says, that believers are the sons (i. e. heirs) of Abraham. The third argument is from the impossibility of rendering the perfect obedience which the law demands. The fourth, from the explicit declaration of the Scriptures, that those who are just by faith shall live. The fifth, from the fact that Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law in order that the blessing of Abraham, (i. e. the blessing promised to Abraham,) might come upon the gentiles. The only blessing, however, promised to Abraham, which comes upon the gentiles, is redemption. And finally, Paul argues from the nature of the covenant made with Abraham. He reminds his readers that even a human covenant cannot, when once ratified, be either annulled or altered, much less can a divine covenant be changed, either in its promises or conditions. In the covenant with Abraham in reference to Christ, the inheritance, (that inheritance in which the gentiles share,) was suspended upon faith in the promise. The law, therefore, which was long subsequent, could not alter this covenant, or make the inheritance to depend upon works. Here everything is taught, first, the Abrahamic covenant had reference to Christ; second, the thing promised was that inheritance of which Christ is the author, and all nations (not the Jews only) the heirs; third, the condition on which a participation in this inheritance is suspended, is faith and not works.

After thus clearly proving his point, the apostle goes on to answer the question, For what purpose was the law? He shows that it was not designed to interfere with the Abrahamic covenant, or to prescribe any new condition of salvation, but to convince men of sin, and to be as a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ. And as Christ was the person to whom the covenant with Abraham referred, and in whom all nations were to be blessed, it follows, he says, "If ye are Christ's, then are ye the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise." In having Christ and belonging to him, we are the heirs of Abraham, partakers of the inheritance promised to him. All these passages teach not only that the covenant with Abraham was the covenant of grace, but that it is still in force; that Gentiles

and Jews, Christians and Hebrews, the circumcised and the baptized, are included in that original contract, and are saved according to its conditions. The covenant with Abraham was not one thing, and the gospel of Jesus Christ another. They are one and the same. What we are required to do in order to be saved is precisely what was required of the patriarchs and prophets. We must embrace the covenant made with Abraham. We must become his sons, partakers of his faith, and heirs of his inheritance.

The fourth chapter of the epistle to the Romans contains nearly the same course of argument. Having in the latter paragraph of the third chapter set forth the gospel method of salvation, which, the apostle says, had been previously taught both by the law and the prophets, he proceeds in the fourth chapter to establish his doctrine from the case of Abraham. He shows that we are to be saved in the same way that he was. We are under the same covenant of mercy. Abraham was justified by faith, and so are we. To him righteousness was imputed without works, and so it must be to us. Salvation by grace was as clearly the doctrine of the Old Testament, he says, as it is of the New. Abraham's circumcision was neither the ground nor the condition of his justification, for he was justified before he was circumcised. Circumcision was only the seal of the promise to regard as righteous those who believe. The paternity of Abraham, therefore, extends far beyond the Jews. He is the father of all who believe, whether circumcised or uncircumcised, whether Jews or Gentiles. This, says the Apostle, was the tenor of the original covenant. The promise to Abraham, he says, was not of the law, but of faith; i. e. it was not suspended on the condition of legal obedience, but on the condition of faith, in order that it might be sure to all the seed; i. e. to all his spiritual children, whether Jews or Gentiles, for he is father of us all. This, he adds, was the very thing which God intended when he said, "I will make thee the father of many nations." All believers, of every nation, are included in the Abrahamic covenant. The promise to Abraham has come on them. That is, what was promised him, is promised to them; what was demanded of him, is demanded of them, viz. faith. Whoever believes is an heir of Abraham.

Our limits would be soon exhausted were we to attempt to present a tithe of the evidence which the Scriptures contain, in support of the position that the covenant of grace, under which the Church now lives, and upon which it is founded, is the covenant made with Abraham. The whole of the Old Testament is nothing more than a record of the historical development of the promise, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Of that Seed, (the promise, says the Apostle, is to be understood not "of many," but "of one," viz. Christ,) Moses, Aaron, David, and Solomon, were types. His work as priest was prefigured in the Mosaic priesthood and sacrifices. His person, his parentage, his sufferings, his death, his resurrection, his kingdom, and triumphs, form almost the whole drift of the prophecies. The extension of his dominion over the Gentiles, the introduction of the heathen into the covenant of God with Abraham in relation to his Seed, (viz. Christ,) was clearly predicted. The prophets rejoiced when they saw the nations flocking like clouds, or as doves, not to the narrow inclosure of Judaism, but to the broad field of the Abrahamic covenant—when they saw even Ethiopia and the isles of the sea stretching out their hands to the long promised Seed. And accordingly, as we have already seen, the apostles take up the same strain, and tell the people, Gentiles and Jews, that God had fulfilled the covenant made with Abraham in that he had raised up his Son Jesus and sent him to bless them. In the New Testament, therefore, the constant representation is, that the Gentiles are made fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God, they are introduced not into the covenant from Mount Sinai, but into the earlier, broader covenant made with the fathers. They were not planted as a new tree, but grafted into the old stock. They did not bear the root, but the root them. All this is too plain to be denied; and we presume few even of the opponents of infant church membership do deny that the Abrahamic covenant was the covenant of grace, and that it includes the whole Church from that day to this; that the only way in which we, under the Christian dispensation, can be saved, is by embracing the covenant made with Abraham, in which righteousness, salvation, the inheritance, was promised on the condition of faith.

The only question is, Were children included in this covenant? The meaning of this question is not, whether children were the subjects of grace, and made partakers of the redemption promised to Abraham. Nor whether they were, or still are, included in the covenant of grace in such a sense as secures to them all, and with absolute certainty, the benefits of that covenant. But the meaning is, whether they were included in that class of persons who, by divine command, are by the Church to be regarded as embraced in the covenant, and treated as such. It is admitted that we are to regard and treat as within the covenant those who make a credible profession of faith in Christ, and of obedience to him. The question is, Were the children of believing parents to be thus treated, and are they still to be thus regarded? This is not a question about the kind or degree of benefit which was secured to the children of believers, but simply whether by the command of God parents, in accepting the covenant of grace for themselves, were bound, as representing their children, to lay hold of the same covenant in their behalf. That is, were they to profess in their name the same faith, and promise the same obedience for them which they did for themselves? As children were by divine command to be circumcised, and as every male child which was uncircumcised was pronounced to have broken the covenant, there can be but one answer to the above question, if circumcision was the badge of the covenant of grace as made with Abraham. This, however, is denied. It is said that it was the seal of the national covenant made with Abraham; that it was intended to mark the nationality of his descendants, and to secure their interest in the national promises made to the patriarch. It matters very little whether we say that there were two covenants made with Abraham, the one spiritual, relating to Christ, the other national, relating to the possession of the land of Canaan, or whether we say there was but one covenant including both classes of promises. If it can be proved that circumcision was the seal of the one as well as of the other; or that whatever else it did, it marked those visibly included in the covenant of grace, the argument for the Church membership of infants is conclusive. By church membership, it will be borne in mind, is meant nothing more than member-

ship in that class of persons whom the Church is bound to regard and treat as included in the covenant of grace. Infants are in this sense members of the Church, because circumcision was the sign and seal of the covenant of grace. Infants by the command of God were circumcised, therefore, by the command of God, we are bound to recognize the infants of professing parents as members of the Church. The only point to be proved in this syllogism is, that circumcision was a sign and seal of the covenant of grace. It has already been proved that the covenant of God with Abraham in reference to Christ, was the covenant of grace, and that circumcision was the seal of that covenant. 1. Because no man could be a Jew without professing to embrace the covenant with Abraham which referred to Christ. The Bible does not distinguish two Abrahamic covenants. If we make the distinction it is only for the purposes of perspicuity and convenience. The two are in such a sense one, that no man could embrace the promise relating to the land of Canaan, without professing to embrace the promise that in the seed of Abraham all nations should be blessed. The fact is, that God made to Abraham three great promises. First: That he should be a blessing, or that all nations should be blessed in him or in his seed, and that he would be his God. Second: That his posterity should be exceedingly numerous. Thirdly: That his descendants should inherit the land of Canaan. Of the covenant containing these promises, circumcision is expressly declared to be "the token." "Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee, in their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee; every man-child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised; and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. And the uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his

foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant." Gen. xvii. 9—14.

That circumcision was the badge of this covenant in its spiritual, as well as in its temporal aspect, is obvious, because the two were united as the soul and body in man. The soul may exist without the body, but the body cannot exist without the soul. A man might embrace the promise of redemption made to Abraham, and have no interest in the promise of the land of Canaan. Ishmael, for example, was circumcised as soon as this covenant was made with his father Abraham, although he was expressly excluded from any portion of the inheritance. So also Esau was circumcised as well as Jacob, although he was not to inherit the land of Canaan. So far, therefore, from circumcision having exclusive reference to the national covenant, it had primary and special reference to the spiritual covenant, being administered to those who were excluded from all share in the national privileges of the children of Abraham. When the father of the faithful received the great promise of redemption, and bound himself to take Jehovah to be his God, he made this profession and engagement for Ishmael as well as for himself. Isaac made the same profession and covenant for Esau as he did for Jacob. Ishmael and Esau were as much bound to take Jehovah to be their God, and to look for salvation through the promised seed, as were Isaac and Jacob. Although the spiritual element might be professedly embraced by those who had no part in the temporal blessings of Abraham, the reverse was not true. No man could be circumcised with exclusive reference to the national covenant. He could not enroll himself among the children of Abraham, and claim as one of his descendants a part of the national inheritance, without at the same time entering into covenant with God. By the very act of circumcision, he took God to be his God, and promised to be one of his people, i. e. to believe what God had taught, trust in what he had promised, and do what he had commanded. A Jew who did not thus profess allegiance to God, who renounced all interest in the promise of the Messiah, was an impossibility. By being a Jew, he professed the whole Jewish faith, and promised fidelity to the whole religion of the Hebrews. The evasion therefore to which the opposers of

church membership of infants are obliged to resort, is absolutely untenable. No man ever was circumcised in obedience to the command given to Abraham, who did not thereby profess faith and allegiance to the Abrahamic covenant; and no child was presented by its parent for circumcision, in whose behalf a profession of faith in the true religion and fidelity to the true God were not thereby made.

That circumcision was "a token," or seal of the covenant of grace, is further evident from its spiritual import. It was a sign of regeneration. It signified the removal of the defilement of our nature; or, as the apostle expresses it, the "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh." Col. ii. 11. It was the symbol of the circumcision of the heart. On the ground of the covenant into which they had entered by circumcision, Moses exhorted the people, saying, "Because the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart." Deut. x. 15, 16. The prophets presented the rite in the same light. Jer. iv. 4; and so does the apostle, in Rom. ii. 28. The true circumcision, he says, that which the outward ceremony signified, was the circumcision of the heart by the Spirit. The "uncircumcised in heart" are the unrenewed and disobedient. Lev. xxx. 41; Jer. ix. 26; Acts vii. 51. As baptism with water is the symbol of the baptism of the Spirit, so circumcision of the flesh was the symbol of the circumcision of the heart. If infants cannot be baptized, because the symbol of regeneration can be applied to those only who give evidence of regeneration, neither could circumcision. The import of the one was the same as the import of the other. It is obvious, therefore, that if circumcision was the symbol of regeneration, the covenant of which it was the badge was the covenant in which regeneration was promised, i. e. the covenant of grace.

This is still further evident from the nature of the promises made to those who were circumcised, whether adults or infants. The great promise was, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people," (Gen. xvii. 7;) a promise which is declared to be the substance of the gospel. Hosea ii. 23; Zech. viii. 8; Heb. viii. 11. This was the blessing promised to Abraham, and his seed after him; and this was the promise which every Hebrew

claimed for himself and for his children. Still more explicitly it is said, "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live." Deut. xxx. 6. "The mercy of the Lord," says the Psalmist, "is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children; to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them." Ps. ciii. 17, 18. And the prophet says, "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." Isa. lix. 21. Such were the promises included in the covenant of which circumcision was the seal.

This is placed beyond dispute by the express declaration of the apostle in Rom. iv. 11. Circumcision is there declared to be a sign, a seal of the righteousness of faith. That is, the seal of the promise of God to regard as righteous all who believe. But this by common consent is the covenant of grace as distinguished from the covenant of works. God having originally promised life on the condition of perfect obedience; in the gospel he offers life on the condition of faith. This was the gospel preached to Abraham. This is the gospel preached to us. Of this covenant or promise circumcision was the seal. It cannot be pretended that the declaration of the apostle was true only of Abraham, that to him, but not to others, circumcision was the seal of the righteousness of faith. There is not only no ground for this assumption, but it is contrary to all elsewhere taught of the relation of circumcision to the covenant of grace, and inconsistent with the apostle's argument in the context. His special design was to correct the doctrine of the Jews that circumcision secured the favour of God. Paul tells them it was not intended to secure acceptance with him, but to assure those of his favour who truly believed.

Circumcision, therefore, being the token or seal of that covenant in which God promised salvation through Christ by faith on him, those to whom that seal was applied professed to accept

of that covenant. They were *fœderati*. And as children of professing Jews were circumcised, those children were, in the sight of man, included in the covenant. In other words, they were by divine command to be regarded as members of the Church.

The idea of the opponents of the common doctrine, that under the old dispensation the Church was an external society, membership in which depended on natural birth, whereas under the new dispensation it is a spiritual society, in which membership depends on spiritual birth, is altogether chimerical and unscriptural. The distinction between the Israel *κατὰ σάρκα* and the Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, that is, between the Church visible and invisible, existed then as much as it does now. No one was a member of the true Church of old who was not a Jew inwardly, and no one is a member of the true Church now, who is not born of the Spirit. But then as now, those who professed the true religion were members of the visible Church; and then as now the children of professing parents were by divine command regarded as church members. Children are as much born within the Church as they were under the patriarchal or Mosaic dispensations. Church membership has always been the birth-right of the children of believing parents.

It being the recognized law of God that whenever a man embraced the true religion, he was bound to embrace it for his children as well as for himself, they being regarded as members of the religious community to which the parent associated himself. When our Lord commanded his apostles to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he commanded them to baptize the children of all who professed to be disciples. It is impossible that the apostles could have put any other interpretation on the commission. Had they been commanded to make disciples by circumcising them, would not they have considered themselves bound to circumcise the children of their converts? Such was God's command. Parents represent their children by a perpetual ordinance of God. The apostles, therefore, could not fail in receiving parents to receive their children also into the pale of the Church, and to enroll their names in the list of disciples. We accordingly find that when God opened

the heart of Lydia, she was baptized and her household; when the jailor at Philippi believed, he was baptized and all his straightway, Acts xvi. 33; and in 1 Cor. i. 10, Paul says, he baptized the household of Stephanas. The connection in which these facts are stated, renders it plain that the baptism of these families was on the ground of the faith of the parent. It was because Lydia received the gospel that her household was baptized. Paul assumes it as a recognized principle that if the parents are holy so are the children. He does not prove it or assert it, but what is more to the point, he assumes it as a fact too plain to be either unknown or denied. 1 Cor. vii. 14. If the parent is within the covenant, so also are the children. He carries this principle to its extremest length in Rom. xi. 16, when he applies it even to the present condition of the Jews: "If the root be holy, so also are the branches." "They are still beloved for the father's sake, for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance."

This great ordinance of God reveals itself, so to speak, so instinctively in the consciousness of men, that the world over children go with their parents. In all the Oriental Churches, in the Greek Church, in the Latin, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches, the children of Christians are regarded as Christians, as fully and really members of the visible Church as are their parents. Although the fact of the church membership of infants is thus universally acknowledged, (except by the Baptists,) there is far from being the same agreement as to the grounds of that membership. The scriptural ground, as we have endeavoured to show, is their birth. They are born, as our standards express it, within the pale of the visible Church. As the children of Adam are born under the covenant (i. e. under its curse) made with him; as the children of Abraham were born under the Abrahamic covenant; and the later Jews under the Mosaic covenant; so the children of those who embrace the new covenant are born within its pale. Circumcision did not make a man a Jew, it was a solemn recognition of his birthright, of which the neglect of circumcision was the rejection. Neither does baptism make children Christians. It is the divinely appointed mode of recognizing them as members of the Church, and of claiming for them a part in its promises and privileges.

The neglect of infant baptism is therefore the rejection of those promises and privileges. It is refusing to acknowledge them as belonging to our children. In popular language indeed it is often said that circumcision introduced a child into the Hebrew theocracy, and that baptism introduces children into the Church, just as a man is inducted into an office by the ceremony of inauguration. Coronation does not make a king; neither does baptism make a Christian.

The doctrine that parents represent their children, and that therefore children of professing parents are born within the Church, and on that ground are to be baptized, is the distinctive doctrine of the Reformed Churches. In opposition to this view, Romanists and Lutherans place the duty of infant baptism on the ground that all children are born outside of the Church, and by baptism are inwardly renewed by the Holy Ghost, and thus become members of Christ's body. They become members of the Church, therefore, by baptism. They are not merely recognized as included in the covenant and treated as *fœderati*, but are made partakers of the Holy Ghost and members of the invisible Church as the consequence of their union with the Church visible.

Did our limits, already unduly extended, permit, it would be easy to prove, first, that the Reformed Churches place the right and duty of infant baptism on the ground that the children of believers are born within the Church; secondly, that they repudiate not only the doctrine of innate grace, i. e. holiness derived by birth from their progenitors, but especially the Romish and Lutheran doctrine that children are made members of the Church by baptism, by being regenerated or inwardly renewed in that ordinance; and thirdly, that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches on this subject is the doctrine of the Bible. A few words on each of these points is all for which we can now find room.

First, the doctrine of the Reformed Churches as to the ground of infant baptism. On this subject, Hase, in his "Dogmatik," p. 438, after remarking that Calvin did not make baptism necessary to salvation, says, "Hiernach haben die reformirten Symbole die Pflicht der Kindertaufe auf ein Geburtsrecht der Christenkinder an das Gottesreich begründet." That is, *The*

Reformed Symbols rest the duty of infant baptism on the birth-right of Christian children in the kingdom of God. He quotes from Calvin's Inst. iv. 15, 22, the following explicit passage: Unde sequitur, non ideo baptizari fidelium liberos, ut filii Dei tunc primi fiant, qui ante alieni fuerint ab ecclesia, sed solemni potius signo ideo recipi in ecclesiam, quia promissionis beneficio jam ante ad Christi corpus pertinebant.* Calvin's doctrine on

* The January Number of the *Mercersburgh Review* contains a long article on "The Efficacy of Baptism," being a review of two articles which appeared in the *Princeton Review* for January, 1857. The respected writer endeavours to prove that the Reformed Churches, and the Westminster Confession in particular, teach "that grace and salvation are inseparably annexed to baptism," p. 20; "that, in the right use of the ordinance, the party baptized is engrafted into Christ, regenerated, receives the remission of sins by the working of the Holy Ghost," p. 31. He expresses astonishment that the Princeton writer should say that the standards of our Church deny "intrinsic efficacy to the sacrament." He professes "to be utterly at a loss to comprehend how a gentleman of candor and a Christian scholar can make such an assertion. If the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism is not intrinsic, he asks, "What then is it? Is not efficacy from the very nature of the case intrinsic? Does it not lie in the subject of which it is predicated? If not, if it lies in something else, it is an evident impropriety to speak of its efficacy. If the efficacy of baptism does not lie in baptism itself, where can it lie? In faith? but faith, as such, is not baptism. In the Holy Ghost? but the working of the Holy Ghost is not baptism," &c. p. 36. When a man lives long in a foreign country, he sometimes forgets his native language. This is the case with our Mercersburgh brethren. They have been so long conversant with Lutheranism and with the speculative theology of modern Germany, that they have forgotten the a, b, c's of their own theology. They denounce as heretical the simplest elementary principles of the Reformed Churches, and make the Reformed symbols teach the very doctrines they were constructed to deny. Dr. Gerhart's article is almost on a par with Mr. Newman's famous Tract, Number Ninety. The standing reproach of the Romanists and Lutherans against the Reformed from the beginning was, that the latter denied all intrinsic efficacy to the word and sacrament. It was the shibboleth of the Reformed Churches, that the efficacy of the sacraments is due "not to any virtue in them, nor in him that doth administer them, but *only* to the blessing of Christ and the working of his Spirit in them that do by faith receive them." They have indeed an intrinsic æsthetic, doctrinal, and moral efficacy, but what is denied is, intrinsic efficacy to produce grace. The clay had intrinsic efficacy as clay, but what efficacy had it to open the eyes of the blind? The word of God is quick and powerful—powerful to convince, to terrify, to confound—but what efficacy has it to produce grace, to quicken the spiritually dead, without the working of the Spirit? So the sacraments have intrinsic power, as significant signs, to enlighten the understanding, to rouse the imagination, and to stir the feelings, but what supernatural power have they apart from the influence of the Holy Ghost? The whole question is how

this subject ought not to be a matter of dispute. It is determined not only by the most explicit assertions, but by his system. It is uncandid to interpret his language, in particular passages, in a way inconsistent not only with his express decla-

they become "efficacious means of grace." The doctrine of the Reformed Churches on this subject is too plain to be fairly controverted. The reader, however, may judge what a learned, able, and doubtless, honest man, has courage to attempt, when his mind is thoroughly preoccupied by a theory, from the fact that Dr. Gerhart endeavours to show that the Westminster Confession and Catechisms teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and that children are made members of the invisible Church by baptism, p. 38.

In reference to the doctrine of the writer in the *Princeton Review*, that "membership in the visible Church is founded on presumptive membership in the invisible," he says, "Membership in the invisible Church is vital union to Christ, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost. The word *presume* means to admit a thing to be, or to receive a thing as true, before it can be known as such from its phenomena or manifestations. To presume an infant to be a member of the invisible Church, is therefore to believe it to be ingrafted into Christ and regenerated, before it gives any ordinary evidences of the fact. If, now, the author means that the presumptive membership of an infant in the invisible Church is constituted by baptism, his position harmonizes with the teachings of the Presbyterian symbols. . . . He holds that in the right use of baptism an infant is ingrafted into Christ, and is regenerated by the Holy Spirit. Interpreted philologically, and with logical propriety, it [his doctrine] can mean nothing less than this. His language teaches the doctrine of baptismal regeneration with all needful plainness." "If, on the other hand, he means that the presumptive membership of an infant in the invisible Church, or its vital union with Jesus Christ is effected by natural birth, his position is entirely different. 1. He contradicts the standards of the Presbyterian Church. . . . 2. He teaches a very novel doctrine." p. 38. Dr. Gerhart goes on to say that it follows from this view of the matter, "that children of believers are ingrafted into Christ, or regenerated by the Holy Ghost, in virtue of natural birth. A new doctrine for a *Presbyterian!*" Here is another example of a learned man forgetting the lessons taught him by his mother. Membership in the invisible Church is *not* "vital union with Christ, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost." Dr. Gerhart was taught in his infancy, (so long since that it has slipped his memory,) that the invisible Church "consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the head thereof." It includes, therefore, probably millions of the unborn and millions of the unconverted. Consequently presumptive membership in the invisible Church is no presumption of "vital union with Christ, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost." Consequently, again, making this presumptive membership in the invisible Church to depend on natural birth, is not to make "natural generation a channel of grace." The simple doctrine of the *Princeton Review*, is the doctrine of all the Reformed Churches, of Dr. Gerhart's no less than of our own, viz., that since the promise is not only to parents but to their seed, children are, by the command of God, to be regarded and treated as of the number

rations, but with his whole doctrinal theory. Especially is it unfair to quote passages which speak of the efficacy of baptism in the case of believers, and make them apply to the case of infants. The sacraments are efficacious means of grace to those who receive them in faith. So is the word. But neither the one nor the other have any sanctifying power when received by unbelievers, or when unattended by the power of the Holy Ghost. It is only by overlooking this most essential distinction, viz. the distinction between what is true of believers and what is true of those destitute or incapable of faith, that any plausibility can be given to the attempt to prove that the Reformed Symbols, the Westminster Confession, and the Bible, attribute intrinsic, sanctifying power to the sacraments. Calvin, in the passage above quoted, explicitly denies that baptism makes children of believers the children of God, and expressly asserts that they are baptized because, being included in the promise, they are regarded as pertaining to the body of Christ. Why were Hebrew children circumcised? Because they were included in the promises made to their fathers. They were circumcised because they were presumptively within the covenant. That is, it was presumed that they would adhere to that covenant, and

of the elect, until they give undeniable evidence to the contrary, or refuse to be so considered. They are to be baptized, as the First Helvetic Confession says, *cum de eorum electione piè est præsumendum*. Chap. 21. It is not their vital union with Christ, nor their actual regeneration by the Holy Ghost, that is presumed, but their election. This is no more than is done when we baptize an adult, or when he is received to the Lord's table. We presume he is one of the elect. Whether he is so or not, we cannot tell; but he belongs to the class which, by the command of Christ, we are required so to regard and treat. The infants of believing parents belong to the same general class. This presumption of election is not founded on their baptism, but their baptism is founded on this presumption; just as the presumption that Jewish children would take Jehovah to be their God was not founded on their circumcision, but their circumcision was founded on that presumption. This is precisely what Calvin says in the passage quoted in the text. Infants are not made the children of God by baptism, but they are baptized because in virtue of the divine promise they are regarded as belonging to the body of Christ, i. e. to the elect. The passages which Dr. Gerhart quotes from Calvin as to the efficacy of baptism, have nothing to do with this subject. They relate to the baptism of believers. Who denies that the sacraments are efficacious means of grace to believers? Dr. Gerhart might as well quote passages descriptive of the power of the word of God in those who believe, to prove its effect on children.

share in its promises. Why are Christian children baptized? Because they are included in the promises made to their believing parents. They are baptized because they are presumptively within the covenant. That is, it is presumed (we are required by God to act on the assumption) that they will be faithful to the covenant, and share in its promises. That this was Calvin's doctrine is abundantly evident. In his *Inst.* iv. 16, 5, 6, he distinctly places the baptism of children on the ground of the covenant: "*Quodsi fœdus firmum et fixum manet, Christianorum liberis non minus hodie competit, quam sub veteri Testamento ad Judæorum infantes spectabat.*" "*Siquidem evidentissimum est, quod semel cum Abrahamo Dominus fœdus percussit, non minus hodie Christianis constare, quam olim Judaico populo, adeoque verbum istud non minus Christianos respicere, quam Judæos tum respiciebat.*" "*Quamobrem et Judæorum liberi quod ejus fœderis hæredes facti ab impiorum liberis discernentur, semen sanctum vocabantur, eadem etiamnum ratione sancti censentur Christianorum liberi, vel altero duntaxat fideli parente geniti: et apostoli testimonio differunt ab immundo idololatrarum semine.*" "*Fœdus commune est, communis ejus confirmandi causa. Modus confirmandi tantum diversus est, quod erat illis Circumcisio, in cujus vicem Baptismus nobis successit.*" It is hard to quote passages from an extended argument. It is plain, however, even from the above quotations, that Calvin placed Circumcision and Baptism on the same ground. The children of Christians are baptized for the same reason that the children of the Jews were circumcised. Baptism assumes our children to be holy in the same sense that circumcision assumed the Jewish children to be holy. All the Reformed Confessions take the same ground. In the First Helvetic Confession, Art. 22, it is said, "*Quo quidem sancto lavacro infantes nostros ideo tingimus, quoniam e nobis, qui populus Domini sumus, genitos populi Dei consortio rejicere nefas est, tantum non divina voce designatos, præsertim quum de eorum electione piè est præsumendum.*" The Gallican Confession, Art. 35: "*Præterea quamvis Baptismus sit fidei et resipiscentiæ sacramentum, tamen quum unâ cum parentibus posteritatem etiam illorum in ecclesia Deus recenseat, affirmamus infantes sanctis parentibus natos, esse ex Christi auctori-*

tate baptizandos." The Belgic Confession, Art. 34: "Nos eos [infantes e fidelibus parentibus natos] eadem ratione baptizandos et signo fœderis obsignandos esse credimus, qua olim in Isræle parvuli circumcidebantur, nimirum propter easdem promissiones infantibus nostris factas. . . . Præterea quod circumcisio præstabat populo Judaico, idem infantibus fidelium nunc præstat baptismus." The Second Helvetic Confession, ch. 20, says that the children of believers are to be baptized: "Nam juxta doctrinam evangelicam, horum est regnum Dei, et sunt in fœdere Dei, cur itaque non daretur eis signum fœderis Dei?" Such is the uniform representation. No other ground for the baptism of the children of believers is ever assigned, than the fact that they are included in the covenant made with their parents. As the promise which God made to Abraham he made to his descendants, they, as well as he, received circumcision, which was the seal of the promise. And, as under the Christian dispensation of the same covenant, the promise is to the children as well as to the parent, baptism is administered to the infant children of believers. This idea is expressed in the Reformed standards, either by saying that children are within the covenant; or, that they are born within the pale of the Church; or, that they are presumed to belong to Christ, i. e. to be of the number of the elect.

Second: In opposition to the Reformed doctrine, Romanists and Lutherans teach that the children of believers are not, in virtue of their birth, members of the Church (visible or invisible) until they are baptized. Their doctrine is, that children are made members of the Church by baptism, because it is the appointed means of inward spiritual regeneration. Romanists and Lutherans (as well as other advocates of baptismal regeneration) hold that baptism is essential to salvation, and that all the unbaptized, adult and infant, perish. Such is the express symbolical teaching of both those Churches. The Reformed deny all this. They deny that baptism is necessary to salvation, because they deny that it is the means of regeneration. To understand the state of the question as to this point, let it be remarked, 1. The question is not whether baptism is an effectual means of grace. The Reformed admit that both baptism and the Lord's supper, as well as the word, are

made effectual in conferring grace on believers. This efficacy, however, whether of the word or sacraments, is to be referred not to any intrinsic or objective power in them, but solely to the attending influences of the Spirit. 2. The question is not whether the baptism of an infant may not be attended by its regeneration by the Holy Ghost. The Reformed admit that children are susceptible of regeneration, and that it may take place at any time God sees fit to effect it: but they deny that there is any divine promise that the outward act shall be attended by the inward change, or that baptism, in the case either of adults or infants, is the appointed means of effecting that change. 3. The question, therefore, is, whether infants are regenerated by the Holy Ghost in baptism. In other words, whether infants are made members of the church by baptism, because they are thereby vitally united to Christ. This Romanists and Lutherans affirm, and the Reformed deny.* As to Calvin's own convictions on this point, they are plain from his express assertions, from his arguments (as he labours to disprove the Lutheran and Romish doctrine) and from his whole theological system. Before proceeding further, we must remark, that the word *regeneration* is used by all parties to this discussion in substantially the same sense. It means that change in the state of the soul, wrought by the Holy Ghost, by which it is transferred from spiritual death to spiritual life; or, as Romanists express it, transferred from a state of sin, to a state of habitual (i. e. inherent) grace. Lutherans and Romanists alike hold that in baptism the merits of Christ are conveyed, and the recipient of the rite is vitally united to Christ. He is brought into a state in which his salvation is certain, unless he falls from it. In opposition to this view of the ground and effect of baptism, Calvin says, Inst. iv. 14, 14. "The whole sophistical school teach that the sacraments of the

* There is an important difference between the Lutheran and Romish doctrine of the sacraments. Romanists deny that faith in the recipient is a necessary condition of the efficacy of the sacraments. The Lutherans maintain that it is. They, therefore, freely denounce the *opus operatum* theory of the Romanists. This, however, is a difference which does not here come into consideration; because both assert that infants are regenerated in baptism. Luther of course was forced, in order to save his principles, to maintain that infants have faith.

new covenant, i. e. the Christian sacraments, justify and confer grace, provided we do not interpose the obstacle of mortal sin." And as infants, according to the doctrine in question, do not and cannot oppose any obstacle to the efficacy of the baptism, on them it is assumed always to confer grace. "It is impossible," adds Calvin, "to say how fatal and pestilent is this doctrine. It is certainly diabolical, because as it promises righteousness without faith, it precipitates souls into perdition. . . . Nothing is conferred by the sacraments beyond what, being offered in the word of God, is perceived by faith." It was the constantly avowed doctrine of Calvin that the sacraments confer grace only upon believers. The Lutherans escape this denunciation by holding that infants have faith—that true, actual, saving faith is produced in their hearts, by the Holy Ghost, and therefore baptism communicates grace to them. But this doctrine of infants actually believing is well nigh obsolete, and is not held by the ordinary advocates of baptismal regeneration. On them, therefore, falls the denunciation of Calvin in all its weight. In section 17 of the same chapter, he says, "We are not to think that any latent virtue is intrinsic or inherent (*annexam affixamque*) in the sacraments, by which of themselves they confer the graces of the Spirit; since their only office is to testify and seal to us the benevolence of God; and they do us no good unless attended by the Holy Spirit, who opens our mind and heart, and renders us capable of receiving that testimony." In chapter 15, 17, he says, "Baptism profits us nothing so long as the promise therein offered lies neglected;" and in the following section, "The sacrament follows as a seal, not to give efficacy to the promise, as though it were of itself invalid, but only to confirm it." Then comes the passage, quoted on a preceding page, in which he says, "Hence it follows that the children of believers are baptized not to make them the sons of God, but because, in virtue of the promise, they already pertain to the body of Christ." The body of Christ, it will be remembered, consists of all the elect. In a previous section, the 15th, Calvin argues against the doctrine that baptism confers grace, from the case of Cornelius, the centurion, who received the Holy Ghost before he was baptized, and was baptized, he adds, "not for a freer remission of sin,

(or infant church membership,) which assume this principle to be false, are unscriptural. The principal objection to infant baptism is founded on the incompetency of infants to understand the import of the rite, or to assume the obligations which it imposes. Christian baptism assumes the profession of the Christian faith, and consecration to the worship and service of the Lord Jesus. Children cannot make such a profession, nor can they consecrate themselves to God; therefore they cannot properly be recognized as Christians by baptism. But this assumes that the parent cannot properly make this profession of faith and this promise of obedience in the child's name; that he has no right to do it; and that the child would not be bound if the parent did assume to act in its name. According to the command of God, however, the parent was not only authorized, but he was required to make a profession of faith and promise of obedience in the name of the child; and the child by God's command was to be regarded as having done what his parent did in his behalf, and was accordingly held to the contract. He was denounced and punished as a covenant-breaker, if he proved unfaithful to the engagements thus legitimately assumed in his name.

It is objected, however, that the old dispensation was external, typical, and ceremonial, whereas the new is spiritual; and therefore we cannot argue from the one to the other. Under the old dispensation natural birth and outward profession were the condition of church membership; whereas under the new, spiritual birth and saving faith are the conditions. The premise in this argument is incorrect. When a man entered the Jewish community, or when a Hebrew parent presented his child for circumcision, he made a profession of the true religion, and the promise of spiritual obedience. Any Hebrew who did what he professed to do, was as surely saved, as any Christian who is sincere in his baptismal vows. The Hebrew took God to be his God; he promised obedience to all his laws, and faith in all his promises. What more does the Christian? All this the Hebrew parent did for his child; more than this no Christian parent can do for his child. What God, therefore, authorized and commanded Jewish parents to do for their children, is pre-

cisely what the opposers of infant baptism say Christian parents have no right to do for their children; and they found their objection on the very nature of the thing to be done. That is, they pronounce that to be wrong which God enjoined as right. The argument goes further than this. It is not merely that Christian parents may do what Jewish parents were allowed to do, but that they are bound to do it. They violate one of the most obvious and important of their parental obligations, if they fail to present their children for baptism. They are bound to profess in their name the Christian faith, to promise for them obedience to the laws of Christ, and to consecrate them to his worship and service. If the Hebrew parent was bound to do this, because he was a parent in covenant with God; so is the Christian parent for the same reasons. It is not a privilege merely, but a duty arising out of the nature of the relation between parent and child, and their common allegiance to God. It may be objected, that if the parent thus represents his children, and is bound to act for them in matters of religion, and if children are bound by the acts of their parents, it would follow that if a Christian should turn Pagan, he would be bound to devote his children to the service of idols, and that they would be under obligation to become idolaters. This is equivalent to arguing that because a parent, when he obtains food for himself, is bound to give a portion of it to his children; therefore when he poisons himself, he is bound to poison them. The only fair inference for the principle in question is, that in the present constitution of society the parent must be allowed to judge for himself what is suitable food for himself and his children. This he does at his peril. If he chooses well, it is well for him and for them. If he chooses ill, it is ill for himself and for them. So it is with his religion. He is bound to profess the true religion both for himself and for his children. But if he professes a false religion, he not only injures or ruins himself but those also committed to his charge. It is, therefore, an ordinance of God, having its foundation in the nature which he has given us, that whenever a parent professes the true religion, and covenants with God to believe his truth, and to obey his will, he is bound to make the same profession, and the same engagements, in the name and in behalf of his infant children, and they are

bound by the act. God requires us to regard them as doing for themselves what is done for them by their parents, and to treat them accordingly. That is, to attach to them the seal of the covenant, to mark them as of the number of God's professing people, to watch over, and cherish them as belonging to him, and as entitled to all the inestimable benefits of membership in his Church. God commanded this of old. He enforced his command by dreadful threatenings in case of disobedience, and by the most abundant promises in case the duty was faithfully performed.

3. We have seen that the Scriptures clearly teach, that when a man professes the true religion, and enters into covenant with God, his infant children are to be regarded and treated as making the same profession, and as included in the same covenant. This of itself is conclusive in favour of the church membership of the infants of Christian parents. The Bible, however, goes much further than this. It not only teaches a general principle which leads to the conclusion that such infants should be regarded and treated as members of the Church, but it teaches that from the beginning they have in fact, by God's command, been so regarded and treated. The Church is not of yesterday. It was founded on the promise of redemption given to our first parents, and has existed ever since. It has varied in its organization, in its external arrangements, in its amplitude, and in other nonessential circumstances; but it has remained always one and the same—the same in its nature, its faith, its promises, its conditions of membership, or terms of communion. The true Church has always consisted of true believers. The visible Church has always consisted of the professors of the true religion. This idea of the Church suits all dispensations, from Adam to the present time. Or if we take the more formal definition, which declares the Church to be the congregation of faithful men, called out from the world, and united in the profession of the same faith, for the purpose of divine worship, and the exercise of mutual watch and care, there has always been such a Church, and it has always been the same. If, therefore, by divine command the children of believing parents were included in the Church of old, they are included in it now.

Although the Church existed from the beginning, it was, before the calling of Abraham, for the most part in a state of dispersion. Too little is recorded of it, prior to that event, to give us definite knowledge of its nature and requirements. Our written constitution, so to speak, dates from the father of the faithful. God made a covenant with Abraham. By covenant is meant, a contract between two or more parties, in which there are mutual stipulations and promises. The transaction with Abraham was of this kind. God promised certain blessings to the patriarch, and he promised faith and obedience to God. Not only, therefore, in the Old Testament is this transaction called a covenant, but in the New Testament the same designation is applied to it. And, further than this, the New Testament writers, referring to the transaction with Abraham, not only call it a covenant, but they argue from its nature as such, to show that its original stipulations can be neither annulled nor altered. Rom. iv. 13, 14; Gal. iii. 15-18. "The covenant," says the apostle, "that was confirmed before (to Abraham) of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul." It is of importance, therefore, that this word should be retained, not only because it is scriptural, but because the idea which it expresses is essential to a proper understanding of the case. Many modern theological writers discard the word entirely, and stigmatize the system of the Reformers as the *federal* theology. In discarding the word, the truth which it was intended to convey is almost always discarded with it. If we would retain the truth, we must retain the forms in which God has seen fit to reveal it. God then formed a covenant with Abraham. The question is, What was that covenant, and who were the parties to it? We answer, in common with all Christendom, The covenant was the covenant of grace, and the parties were Abraham and those whom Abraham represented. Of course this does not mean that the covenant of grace originated in this transaction, or that none are included in it but Abraham and those whom Abraham represented. Nor does it mean that all represented by Abraham were savingly interested in its benefits. It only means that the covenant in question was a reënactment or renewed revelation of the covenant of grace in relation to

Abraham, and that those represented by him were to be regarded and treated as included in it.

By the covenant of grace is meant the plan of salvation, in which God promises to give to believers all the benefits of redemption, and they promise faith and obedience. If, therefore, in the covenant with Abraham, God promised to him the benefits of redemption on the condition of faith, that covenant was the covenant of grace. In other words, it was the gospel; for the gospel is nothing else than the proclamation of salvation through faith in Christ. That such was the nature of the covenant made with Abraham, is too clearly revealed to admit of doubt. When God promised that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, he promised to send Christ to be the Redeemer of men. It is the fulfilment of this promise and the exposition of it in the New Testament, which authoritatively determines its meaning. Our Lord himself said, "Abraham saw my day and was glad." This can only mean that Abraham foresaw the advent of Christ, and rejoiced in the accomplishment of the work which Christ came to perform. The apostle therefore says, "God preached before the gospel unto Abraham." The gospel, in the New Testament sense of the term, is the glad news of salvation through Jesus Christ. This therefore was, according to the apostle, what was preached to Abraham, when it was said, "In thee shall all nations be blessed." The apostle Peter also, after he had healed the lame man, told the astonished multitude that Christ, in whose name the miracle had been performed, had been promised to Abraham, and predicted by the prophets. "Ye," he added, "are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. Unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." Acts iii. 25, 26. It is here clearly taught that the Abrahamic covenant, of which the Jews were the children, had reference to Christ; that the promise, "In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed," was fulfilled in the advent of the Son of God; and that the blessedness promised, was turning men from their iniquities. To the same effect Paul said in the synagogue at

Antioch, in Pisidia, "We declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus." Acts xiii. 32, 33. When arraigned before Agrippa he said, "Now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made unto our fathers: unto which promise the twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come: for which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews." Acts xxvi. 6, 7. The great promise made to Abraham and to the other fathers, according to this passage, was the promise of Christ, on whose behalf Paul was a prisoner; and this was the promise toward which the eyes of all who served God were constantly fixed. Paul said to the Romans, "Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers." Rom. xv. 9. That is, Jesus Christ came and exercised his ministry among the Jews, to set forth the truth or veracity of God, in fulfilling the promises made to the fathers. In all these passages, "the promises made to the fathers," means the promise of Christ thrice made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, repeated to Isaac and Jacob, Gen. xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, and which thenceforth became the burden of prophecy, renewed to every generation, constantly unfolded in its inexhaustible contents until the fulfilment came. Nothing, therefore, can be plainer than that the covenant made with Abraham was the covenant of grace, i. e. the promise of redemption through faith in the Messiah. This, however, is not a doctrine which rests on such general allusions or declarations merely, it is taught in the most explicit terms by the apostles. The design of the epistle to the Galatians was to convince them of the folly of apostatizing to Judaism. To do this the apostle raises them above the Mosaic period, and sets them back into communion with the great Abrahamic covenant, to which the law of Moses was not only posterior but subordinate. The special purpose of the third chapter of that epistle is to prove that justification is by faith, and not by the law. His first argument is from the fact that the Holy Ghost, in his manifold miraculous and sanctifying influences, had been given in confirmation of the doctrine of justification by faith. His second argument is from the case of Abraham. He was

justified by faith, and therefore those who share his inheritance, i. e. who inherit the blessing of redemption promised him, are believers. Know therefore, he says, that believers are the sons (i. e. heirs) of Abraham. The third argument is from the impossibility of rendering the perfect obedience which the law demands. The fourth, from the explicit declaration of the Scriptures, that those who are just by faith shall live. The fifth, from the fact that Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law in order that the blessing of Abraham, (i. e. the blessing promised to Abraham,) might come upon the gentiles. The only blessing, however, promised to Abraham, which comes upon the gentiles, is redemption. And finally, Paul argues from the nature of the covenant made with Abraham. He reminds his readers that even a human covenant cannot, when once ratified, be either annulled or altered, much less can a divine covenant be changed, either in its promises or conditions. In the covenant with Abraham in reference to Christ, the inheritance, (that inheritance in which the gentiles share,) was suspended upon faith in the promise. The law, therefore, which was long subsequent, could not alter this covenant, or make the inheritance to depend upon works. Here everything is taught, first, the Abrahamic covenant had reference to Christ; second, the thing promised was that inheritance of which Christ is the author, and all nations (not the Jews only) the heirs; third, the condition on which a participation in this inheritance is suspended, is faith and not works.

After thus clearly proving his point, the apostle goes on to answer the question, For what purpose was the law? He shows that it was not designed to interfere with the Abrahamic covenant, or to prescribe any new condition of salvation, but to convince men of sin, and to be as a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ. And as Christ was the person to whom the covenant with Abraham referred, and in whom all nations were to be blessed, it follows, he says, "If ye are Christ's, then are ye the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise." In having Christ and belonging to him, we are the heirs of Abraham, partakers of the inheritance promised to him. All these passages teach not only that the covenant with Abraham was the covenant of grace, but that it is still in force; that Gentiles

and Jews, Christians and Hebrews, the circumcised and the baptized, are included in that original contract, and are saved according to its conditions. The covenant with Abraham was not one thing, and the gospel of Jesus Christ another. They are one and the same. What we are required to do in order to be saved is precisely what was required of the patriarchs and prophets. We must embrace the covenant made with Abraham. We must become his sons, partakers of his faith, and heirs of his inheritance.

The fourth chapter of the epistle to the Romans contains nearly the same course of argument. Having in the latter paragraph of the third chapter set forth the gospel method of salvation, which, the apostle says, had been previously taught both by the law and the prophets, he proceeds in the fourth chapter to establish his doctrine from the case of Abraham. He shows that we are to be saved in the same way that he was. We are under the same covenant of mercy. Abraham was justified by faith, and so are we. To him righteousness was imputed without works, and so it must be to us. Salvation by grace was as clearly the doctrine of the Old Testament, he says, as it is of the New. Abraham's circumcision was neither the ground nor the condition of his justification, for he was justified before he was circumcised. Circumcision was only the seal of the promise to regard as righteous those who believe. The paternity of Abraham, therefore, extends far beyond the Jews. He is the father of all who believe, whether circumcised or uncircumcised, whether Jews or Gentiles. This, says the Apostle, was the tenor of the original covenant. The promise to Abraham, he says, was not of the law, but of faith; i. e. it was not suspended on the condition of legal obedience, but on the condition of faith, in order that it might be sure to all the seed; i. e. to all his spiritual children, whether Jews or Gentiles, for he is father of us all. This, he adds, was the very thing which God intended when he said, "I will make thee the father of many nations." All believers, of every nation, are included in the Abrahamic covenant. The promise to Abraham has come on them. That is, what was promised him, is promised to them; what was demanded of him, is demanded of them, viz. faith. Whoever believes is an heir of Abraham.

and behalf, in his appointed way, endangers its salvation as effectually as a Hebrew parent would endanger the salvation of his children by refusing to permit them to be circumcised.

The status, therefore, of baptized children is not a vague or uncertain one, according to the doctrine of the Reformed Churches. They are members of the Church; they are professing Christians; they belong presumptively to the number of the elect. These propositions are true of them in the same sense in which they are true of adult professing Christians. Both classes have professed the same faith; both have covenanted with God to be his people, to trust his grace, and to obey his will. Both are included in the general class of persons whom God requires his Church to regard and treat as within her pale, and under her watch and care. When these baptized children come to a suitable age, and have the requisite knowledge, they should be required to assume for themselves their baptismal vows, and should, as other church members, be disciplined for any neglect or violation of their covenanted obligations. Such is the doctrine of our standards. "CHILDREN born within the pale of the visible Church, and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the Church; and are to be taught to read, and to repeat the catechism, the apostles' creed, and the Lord's prayer. They are to be taught to pray, to abhor sin, to fear God, and to obey the Lord Jesus Christ. And when they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady, and to have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed that it is their duty, and their privilege, to come to the Lord's supper." *Directory*, chap. ix.

Orestes A. Brownson's Development of Himself.

Editor of the Repertory—In the last number of your valuable Quarterly, there is a review of Mr. Brownson's last work, which seems to demand a brief notice by myself. In the work thus reviewed, (*"The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience,"*) Mr. Brownson has seen fit to honour with a protracted notice the church at Ballston, Saratoga county, New York, and certain of its acts, as a leading cause of his abandoning Presbyterianism. As the object of his book is to show his own moral and intellectual integrity in all his subsequent changes, it is certainly fair to give him the advantage of having the beginning of his divergency exhibited as it was.

I will state, therefore, that I was the "*pastor*" of the church so often alluded to by him; and although "the time is long since," all the circumstances of Mr. Brownson's short connection with us are still vivid in my mind; if it were otherwise, the records of the church, and many living witnesses, can testify to the facts as I now state them.

Mr. Brownson came to our church in the year 1822, and was examined and received in the usual manner. He communed with us once; went to the West, to teach a school, I think; came back a Universalist, and then entered upon that downward course of changes which has marked his history since. As to his representation of having professed peculiar views at the time of his examination, as *if he had renounced his own private opinions, and wanted an infallible guide in the church*, and that we received him on this ground—it is wholly fabricated, or the merest dream of after years. We had an intelligent Session, but did not, I fear, do our duty faithfully as to this man's evidences of piety.

His next statement, which I deem it my duty to correct, is still more remarkable. "On Monday following his admission into the church," he says, "a meeting of its members was held, at which we all pledged ourselves, not only to pray for the con-

version of sinners, but to mark them wherever we met with them—to avoid them, to have no intercourse with them that could be helped; and never to speak to them, except to admonish them of their sins, or so far as it would be necessary on business. There was to be no interchange of social or neighbourly visits between us and them, and we were to have even business relations with them only when absolutely necessary. We were, by our manner, to show all, not members of the Presbyterian Church, that we regarded them as the enemies of God, and therefore hated by us; and we were, in business relations, always to give the preference to church-members, and as far as possible, without sacrificing our own interests, to treat those not members as outcasts from society—as *pariahs*—and thus to compel them to join the Presbyterian Church.”—*Review*, p. 130.

No such thing, or the semblance of it, ever occurred. That we might have held a meeting on Monday, is highly probable. It was a time of revival of religion, and we were probably exhorted to attempt more separateness from the world; we may have even renewed our church covenant, (for I have sometimes known this to be done,) but that we ever made *such a pledge*, or used such language in relation to *sinners*, as is here charged, we utterly deny and repudiate. We do not believe it was done anywhere; not even in Western New York, as he alleges, in 1827.

How to account for such a representation I am utterly at a loss to determine. But if astonished here, I am still more so at his third and last charge, which is express and personal in regard to myself. Mr. Brownson says, according to the *Review*, “that his pastor agreed with him, that the article in the Confession of Faith, on foreordination, was harsh; and informed him that he had moved in the General Assembly to have it altered, in which he failed by only two or three votes.” P. 134.

Here, I confess, my amazement is about used up, and I hardly know what to say. To deny that I ever offered such a motion in the General Assembly would be superfluous, since any well-informed Presbyterian would know, that a direct vote of this kind could never be thought of there; and to the assertion

that I was silly enough to say I did, (thus telling a most foolish falsehood,) I can only give a flat and unqualified denial. Yet, Mr. Brownson says his pastor told him so! Is he wilfully false? or can we adopt the charitable conclusion of his reviewer, and conclude that "he has probably forgotten, or retained only a hazy remembrance of what transpired." And yet Mr. Brownson has written these reminiscences of his early experience, mainly for the purpose of *showing his moral and intellectual integrity!* I am not his judge; but thus much I feel bound to show—and will show it more abundantly if Mr. Brownson requires it. In accounting for his opposition to Presbyterianism Mr. Brownson *has caricatured and slandered a worthy church; stated as fact what never occurred in it; and affirmed a saying of myself in particular, which directly or indirectly, in sum or in substance, I never uttered.*

I am no enemy to Mr. Brownson. The time was, when (long after he had departed from us) I attempted to do him good. But though he treated me respectfully, and acknowledged all his changes, he was at that time fully in the belief that "he had found the truth now." I became discouraged, and our correspondence ceased. Long afterwards, when I met him again, (he will recollect, perhaps, that it was in a steamboat cabin on Lake Champlain,) he told me he had concluded "the truth was not to be found by private individuals, and thought he should go to the Catholic Church." When a friend on that occasion asked him, "Whether he had been happy during all these changes—have you been *'lying on a bed of roses?'*" "Spikes, sir," was his energetic answer, "SPIKES!" No; I feel for this man; I think as I should think of him; I pity him, if he will permit me to say so; for I am sure he is unhappy still, and must be until he is a changed man. It is evident he is still on SPIKES!

REUBEN SMITH.

Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, February, 1858.

SHORT NOTICES.

Memorials of the Chaunceys, including President Chauncey, his Ancestors and Descendants. By William Chauncey Fowler. Boston: 1858. Royal 8vo. pp. 304.

A superb volume, every way worthy of the subject, the author, and the Boston press. Professor Fowler, in paying due tribute to the ancestry of which he comes, has really made a valuable addition to the materials of American history, and has done his pious work with apparent accuracy, and various tokens of scholarship and taste. We can recall no single work among the numerous genealogical volumes issued by our New England neighbours, which is more full or elegant than this. The early Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, though not our forefathers, are knitted to us by a theological tie; their holding in religious truth was that of our predecessors; their tenets are those which we maintain. Whitefield, the elder Edwards, Brainerd, and the Tennents, did but maintain or revive that theology which had languished among the sons of the Pilgrims, but which even now lives in the adherents of the Westminster Confession.

Charles Chauncey, the second President of Harvard College, was the emigrant ancestor of all who bear the name in America. The ramifying households are too numerous for mention here. Our early recollections are revived, and our veneration renewed, for those eminent citizens of Philadelphia, the late Charles and Elihu Chauncey, whose names have ample honour in these biographies. We lay down this sumptuous edition, with an avowal of our judgment, that such works cannot be too much multiplied.

Three Eras of New England, and other Addresses; with Papers Critical and Biographical. By George Lunt. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1857. Pp. 264.

This is a collection of the occasional productions of an accomplished writer; printed in the attractive style characteristic of the Boston press. The author, who, during President Tyler's administration, was the United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, has been frequently called to address literary

bodies; and some of the more extended of these addresses are presented in this volume. We have read with most interest the paper on Macaulay's celebrated essay on Warren Hastings. Mr. Lunt not only presents in a strong light the revolting atrocities of Hastings's conduct in India, but he exhibits no less clearly the low standard of moral principle on which Macaulay's judgments are pronounced. It is deeply to be regretted that a man so highly gifted as Macaulay, whose historical works will exert a powerful influence on public sentiment for centuries, should in all his writings evince such incapacity to appreciate moral and religious excellence. If the best man in the world spoke through his nose, Macaulay could not endure him.

Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations, from the early settlement of the country to the close of the year 1855. With Historical Introductions. By William B. Sprague, D. D. Vols. III. and IV. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1858. Pp. 632 and 829.

These two volumes of Dr. Sprague's great work are devoted to the clergy of the Presbyterian Church. It is a monument of zeal and diligence, and will long continue to be the storehouse of interesting and important historical information. Hoping to be able to present, in our next number, an extended review of this valuable contribution to the history of our Church, we shall not dwell longer on its merits.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia: Being a condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia. With additions from other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D. Assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Part VI. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858.

We have repeatedly called the attention of our readers to this valuable work. We know of no source whence the English reader can obtain, in such convenient form, reliable information of the latest results of German erudition and research.

English Grammar. The English Language in Elements and Forms. With a History of its Origin and Development. Designed for use in Colleges and Schools. Revised and Enlarged. By William C. Fowler, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New York: Harper & Brother. 1857. 8vo. pp. 754.

It is eight years since we gave our opinion of this elaborate work, then first published; the judgment of American scholars has since confirmed our favourable award. The revised edition has a number of additions, some of which are real improvements. Among these we do not reckon the Questions for

teacher and pupil, which surely pertain to a lower stadium of education. More than fifty sections have been furnished for the work by Dr. Gibbs, of New Haven, whose name carries weight in all that concerns either the origin or the structure of our mother tongue; and whose recent "Philological Studies," though fragmentary, curt, and even eccentric in their form, take rank, we think, with any researches ever made into the recondite but fascinating domain of syntactical phenomena. Such inquiries as those of Gibbs, Fowler, Brown and Mulligan, differing as they may among themselves, will at length result in an awakening of studious minds to the rarest of all attainments among our academic youth—the mastery of pure English. Irreparable harm is doing to our idiom by the gross, unscholarly inventions of wrong-learned pedagogues, half-learned preachers, and unlearned congressmen and editors. As population spreads beyond the circle of classic usage, we encounter, at hustings, caucuses, and camp-meetings, such forms as these: "It was *approbated*;" "this sum was *donated*;" "while the house was *being built*;" "the rose by any other name would smell as *sweetly*;" "the ice feels *coldly*;" "between you and *I*;" "*on* yesterday;" "*on* to-morrow;" and possibly "*on* to-day." Nothing but early training, with such books as this, can prevent our degeneracy.

Messiah's Reign; or, The Future Blessedness of the Church and the World.

By Rev. W. Ramsey, D. D. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South Tenth street. Pp. 267.

Dr. Ramsey has recently closed his earthly career, after a laborious and devoted life. He has left this book as a testimony to what he considered truth in reference to the future glory of the Redeemer's kingdom. It advocates the doctrine of the premillennial advent of Christ, and of the return of the Jews to their own land. It presents in a very convenient form the arguments in favour of that view of the doctrine of the millennium.

Commentary on the Book of Kings. By Karl F. Keil, D. D., P.H.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology and of the Oriental Languages in the University of Dorpat. Translated by James Murphy, LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. Supplemented by Commentary on the Books of Chronicles. By Ernst Berthen, Professor in Göttingen. Translated by James Martin, B. A., Edinburgh. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 38 George street. 1857. Pp. 450 and 462.

These are two additional volumes of the Messrs. Clarke's "Foreign Theological Library," which we have so often had occasion favourably to notice. Professor Keil is one of the most orthodox of modern German theologians.

Gnomon of the New Testament. By John Albert Bengel. Now first translated into English; with original Notes, Explanatory and Illustrative. Revised and edited by Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M. A., of Trinity College, Dublin. Vols. I. and III. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 38 George street. 1857. Pp. 577 and 437.

We should have noticed this work in our last number. Every scholar is familiar with the character of Bengel's *Gnomon*. It is, for conciseness, suggestiveness and felicity, unrivalled. More than a hundred years have elapsed since its first publication, and it is still one of the books most frequently quoted, or referred to as an authority by modern exegetical writers. The translation has been made by the editor whose name is given above, and by the Rev. J. Bandinel, M. A., of Wadham College, Oxford, Rev. James Bryce, late of Aberdeen, and Rev. Dr. Fletcher, Head Master of the Grammar-School, Wimborne, Dorsetshire. These names are a guaranty for the scholarlike execution of the difficult task. Messrs. Smith & English inform us that they are the agents for the publication of the work in this country, and that the subscription price is eight dollars, or ten, prepaid, when sent by mail. It is to be completed in five volumes. The remaining volumes are expected to appear early this year.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels. For Family and Private use. With the Text complete. By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Christ Church, Oxford; Rector of Helmingham, Suffolk. St. Mark. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1858. Pp. 370.

This is a continuation of the work commenced in the publication of "*Expository Thoughts on St. Matthew.*" The author's object is the religious edification of his readers. A few verses, containing a connected portion of the evangelical narrative, are given, and these are followed by a series of remark, very much in the manner of Dr. Scott's *Practical Observations* attached to his *Commentary*.

English Hearts and English Hands; or, the Railway and the Trenches. By the author of the "*Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicers.*" New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway. 1858. Pp. 343.

This is a record of the successful efforts made for the spiritual benefit of a peculiar and interesting class of English labourers; the sturdy men employed in the construction of great public works. The author's object is to show how much "of high and delicate feeling" is to be found among those who are called to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. The numerous readers of the *Memoirs of Captain Vicers* may know what to anticipate in the perusal of the present volume.

Memories of Gennesaret. By the Rev. John R. MacDuff. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 387.

The author of this work is the writer of numerous religious books, of the sentimental order, which have obtained favour with a large class of readers. This work belongs to the same class with "Morning and Night Watches," "Words of Jesus," "Evening Incense." The sentimental as distinguished from the devotional, is not to our taste; but works of the kind indicated have no doubt a good work to do, and do it.

The Bow in the Cloud; and the First Bereavement. By the Rev. John R. MacDuff. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 150.

A book of the same general class as the preceding.

Political Progress not necessarily Democratic; or, Relative Equality the True Foundation of Liberty. By James Lorimer, Esq., Advocate. London: Williams & Norgate.

Another volume preliminary to the discussion of parliamentary reform. Its aim is to present the dangers to which a liberal monarchy is exposed in the progress towards a pure democracy. The latter is assumed as the certain path to anarchy and injustice, and thence to despotism, where the liberal process would be landed at its original point of departure. Accordingly, the argument is addressed to the means of stopping liberal progress short of democracy, or, more precisely, short of universal suffrage. The method proposed is set forth in very general terms, but is designed to embody the principle that "Political influence ought, as nearly as possible, to correspond to social weight and importance."

The Historically received Conception of the University considered with especial reference to Oxford. By Edward Kirkpatrick, A. M., Oxon. London: Williams & Norgate.

A valuable treatise, chiefly occupied with the distinctive principle of the University and the history of such institutions in Europe. The excellences and defects of German and English Universities, and most fully of Oxford, are passed in review, and suggestions of improvement made, which seem, at least in the case of the last mentioned, to be most urgently demanded. The work is one of a scholar every way qualified to offer opinions on the subject, worthy of the gravest consideration.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

H. E. Howard, *The Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy according to the version of the Seventy, translated into English.* 8vo. pp. 430.

Goodwin, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.*

J. Stephen, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, in a series of lectures.* 12mo. pp. 592.

C. J. Ellicott, *Commentary on Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, with a revised translation.* 8vo. pp. 282.

H. Linton, *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul.* 12mo. pp. 579.

W. Williams, *Commentary on Isaiah.* 8vo. pp. 370.

J. Cumming, *Sabbath Morning Readings on the Old Testament—Joshua and Judges.* 12mo. pp. 518. *Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament—Corinthians.* 12mo. pp. 466. *Benedictions on the blessed Life.* 12mo. pp. 326.

A. Jukes, *The Types of Genesis briefly considered, as revealing the development of human nature in the world within and without, and in the dispensations.* 8vo. pp. 440.

The New Testament, with the Greek text of Scholz, the readings of Griesbach, and the variations of the editions of Stephens 1550, Beza 1598, and the Elzevir 1633, with the English authorized version. 4to. pp. 620. Bagster.

E. M. Goulbourn, *The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* 12mo. pp. 136.

J. H. Balfour, *The Plants of the Bible—Trees and Shrubs.* 8vo. 22 oil coloured illustrations.

Presbyterian Liturgies, with specimens of forms of prayer for public worship, as used in the Continental Reformed and American churches. Edited by a minister of the Church of Scotland, 8vo. pp. 38.

J. J. Blunt, *On the right use of the early Fathers.* 8vo. pp. 650.

W. Osborn, *The Religions of the world, being historical sketches of ancient and modern Heathenism, Romanism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity.* 12mo. pp. 352.

J. Stoddart, *Glossology, or the Historical Relations of Languages*. 1st Division. 8vo. pp. 386.

B. H. Cowper, *The principles of Syriac Grammar*. Translated and abridged from the work of Dr. Hoffmann. 8vo. pp. 184.

R. C. Trench, *On some deficiencies in our English Dictionaries*. 8vo. pp. 56.

FRANCE.

J. Ferrari, *History of the Revolutions of Italy*. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1030.

A. Gabourd, *History of France from the origin of the Gauls to the present time*. Vol. 8. 8vo. pp. 620. To be completed in 20 volumes.

GERMANY.

J. G. Vaihinger on *Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon*, with a metrical translation. 8vo. pp. 327. This is the 4th volume of the author's *Commentary on the poetical books of the Old Testament*.

A second edition of P. Schegg on the *Psalms*, in 3 vols.

F. Hitzig, *Translation and Exposition of the Proverbs of Solomon*. 8vo. pp. 347.

J. H. Kurtz, *The marriages of the sons of God with the daughters of men*. Gen. vi. 1—4. As an appendix to the 1st volume of his *history of the Old Covenant*. 8vo. pp. 100.

J. P. Land, *Disputation concerning the blessing of Jacob in Gen. xlix.* 8vo. pp. 100. In Latin.

F. Himpel, *The doctrine of Immortality in the Old Testament*. 1st Part. 4to. pp. 32.

Delitzsch has published a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, and Huther on the *Epistle of James*. 8vo. pp. 208. This latter forms volume 15, in Meyers' series of *Commentaries on the New Testament*.

H. Sengelmann, *The book of Tobit explained*. 8vo. pp. 122.

W. Zimmermann, *The History of the Church*. Vol. 2. 8vo. pp. 520.

A. Messner, *The History of Revelation*. Vol. 2. 8vo. pp. 315.

Aurora, or Selections from the writings of those who strove to reform the Church before Luther. Vol. 4. Hugo St. Victor. 8vo. pp. 51.

Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. xxvi. Part 1. 4to. pp. 416. Still continues the works of Melancthon.

J. Zhiszman, Transactions relating to the union of the Oriental and Romish Churches, from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Council of Ferrara. 8vo. pp. 258.

C. F. Keil, Hand-book of Biblical Archæology. Part 1.

The Religious affairs of the Israelites. 8vo. pp. 452.

A Knötel, System of Egyptian Chronology. 8vo. pp. 124.

M. Uhlemann, Hand-book of Universal Egyptian Archæology. Part 3. Chronology and History of the Ancient Egyptians. 8vo. pp. 278.

J. H. Krause, Plotina, or the fashion of wearing the hair among the nations of the ancient world. 8vo. pp. 270.

C. Lassen, Antiquities of India. Vol. 3. Part 2. Section 1. 8vo. pp. 417—784.

A. Castréns, Ethnological Lectures on the Altay Nations. 8vo. pp. 259.

J. W. Wolf, Contributions to German Mythology. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 468.

J. Kepleri Astronomi, Opera omnia. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 672.

A Manual of the Chaldee Language: Containing a Chaldee Grammar, chiefly from the German of Winer; a Chrestomathy, consisting of selections from the Targums, and including notes on the Biblical Chaldee; and a vocabulary adapted to the Chrestomathy, with an Appendix on the Rabbinic and Samaritan dialects. By Elias Riggs, D. D. Second edition, revised. 8vo. pp. 152.

The Chaldee has claims upon the attention of Biblical scholars, from the facts that portions of the Old Testament are written in this language; that it bears so close an affinity to the Hebrew as to be a valuable aid to its more perfect understanding; that it is the key to important paraphrases of the Old Testament, held in high repute among the Jews, and containing their traditional interpretation, and that it is necessary to any extended acquaintance with Jewish writings generally. We welcome this republication of Dr. Riggs's Manual, which is the best extant, and hope that many may be induced to avail themselves of the aid thus afforded them for the acquisition of this tongue.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1858.

No. III.

ARTICLE I.—*Annals of the American Pulpit*; or Commemorative Notices of distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations. With Historical Introductions. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Volumes III. and IV. New York: Carters. 1858. 8vo. pp. 632, 836.

WE have already paid our respects to the former volumes of this work, and we need not repeat the remarks which we then made upon the plan and manner of the collection. But this new portion has a peculiar charm, as containing the history of our own venerable and beloved branch of the church catholic. Delightful as it has been to turn over these pages, we have found it a slow process, as our progress has been continually interrupted by the emotions which memory awoke, as we saw passing before us in vision, the images, first of those whose names were perpetually on the lips of our fathers, and then of those at whose feet we ourselves once sat. The task or sacred office of recalling such associations has chastened every controversial heat, and made us fain to recall the day when the Presbyterian church in the United States was an undivided body; while the prospect of yet greater increase and diffusion over rising States and conterminous countries, lifts our hearts in thanksgiving and hope.

When we reflect that the series extends from 1683 to 1855,
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that it contains regular biographies of two hundred and fifty-six clergymen, and briefer notices of two hundred and twenty-eight, we recognize the wisdom and even necessity of the plan adopted. A work so wide in range, concerning so vast a territory, and constructed chiefly from unpublished sources, would have been the merest sham, if attempted by the unaided toils of any individual. The author has drawn largely upon the amplest and most competent circle, and we are constrained to say his success has been complete. We may not always think the hero worthy of the song, or the statue of the niche; this might be said of an *Iliad* or a *Walhalla*. Yet the selection of names is as judicious, we are quite sure, as any living writer would have made it. Inequality, as we said on a former occasion, will always be predicable of joint labours like these; but what then? we have contributions as often above as below the average mark; and some of the letters are gems of characteristic biography which would shine even without their present tasteful setting. We cannot always subscribe to the admiring verdict of pupils, parishioners, and kinsmen; but the hyperbole in such cases is not to be ascribed to the careful and wise editor. Instances of this kind it would be invidious to point out, and happily their number is very small; while it is pleasing to observe, that of the opposite fault, or the blackening of departed purity, the book, so far as we can discern, affords no example.

Of the fathers of American Presbyterianism, beginning with the revered MAKEMIE, the third volume gives full and authentic histories. The line of Tennents and Blairs, whose descendants are among us, and to whose eminent services Dr. Alexander directed attention by his "*Log College*," is duly illustrated. It is remarkable how many of these worthies might be classed as the associates and defenders of Mr. WHITEFIELD.*

* We observe a tendency, in quarters where accuracy might have been expected, to abridge the venerable evangelist's name into *Whitfield*, thus inventing a new surname, and sinking the graceful etymology which Cowper has sweetly consecrated in his *LEUCONOMOS*. By which we are reminded, that having many years ago spent a Sabbath with the late reverend Joseph Rue, who as a pupil of William Tennent had often met Whitefield, we inquired of him how the name was pronounced; Mr. Rue's answer was emphatically "*White-field*."

The biography of William Tennent may be selected as a fair specimen of the care with which our indefatigable author has searched into a vexed question of fact, and of the singular interest which can be thrown round the history of a quiet country minister. The striking letter of Dr. Woodhull reminds us of a visit which we enjoyed at the parsonage of that venerable man, then surrounded by relics of the battle of Monmouth; and of his showing us a life-sized silhouette of his pious predecessor. The name of President BURR leads us to note, as indicative of the learning which then prevailed, that we possess an autograph discourse, in Latin, which he pronounced to his students upon the occasion of Dr. Doddridge's death. The memoir of DAVENPORT is one which carries a moral, never to be forgotten; and the story of his fanaticism and his retractation, taken in connection with the notices of the Great Awakening, is as valuable to the coming age as anything in the book. Indeed all the narratives in this stadium of our church-history read like an entertaining story-book; nor can we see how anything more full of interest could be brought into a Presbyterian family. In the compendious life of President DAVIES we are pleased to observe that Dr. Sprague, with his characteristic accuracy, omits the blundering fable about the great preacher's reproof of King George, during a sermon. It is high time that an idle anecdote, awkwardly patched up out of a story well-known to all readers of Scottish history, should cease to be published in the front of this great and good man's sermons. We have perused his autograph journals of his British tour, and have found no allusion to any appearance before royalty. Indeed the very thought of a persecuted Virginia dissenter being invited to preach before George II., is, in the eyes of one who knows the times, simply ridiculous.*

* 1. The story of Bruce.—“The same person (Mr. Livingston) told another account of Mr. Bruce's freedom with the king. One day he was preaching before his majesty at Edinburgh, and the king was sitting in his own seat, with several of the nobility waiting on him. The king had a custom very frequently of talking with those about him in time of sermon. This he fell

2. The story of Davies.—“His fame as a pulpit orator was so great in London, that some noblemen who had heard him, mentioned in the presence of king George II., that there was a very distinguished dissenting preacher in London, from the colony of Virginia, who was attracting great notice, and drawing after him very crowded audiences; upon which the king expressed

Our earliest memory of sepulchral marbles connects itself with a slab in the aisle of the Pine street church, over the ashes of the Rev. GEORGE DUFFIELD; our infant feet often trod upon that sculptured stone, which had then been laid about eighteen years. His grandson and great-grandson, Presbyterian ministers, bear both his names.

Few names in the history of our church and nation are more worthy of record than that of JOHN WITHERSPOON. The succinct memoir here given is just, being indeed all that such limits allowed; but we crave more. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Green, the pupil and ardent admirer of Witherspoon, should never have received encouragement to publish the copious life which he had prepared of his great predecessor; we have reason to believe that the manuscript has left the country. The influence of Witherspoon upon such minds as those of Dr. SAMUEL SPRING and JAMES MADISON cannot now be calculated. If Mr. Rives shall consent to give to the public the results of a learned research which he so well

into that day. Mr. Bruce soon noticed it and stopped, upon which the king gave over. The king fell a talking with those near him a second time, and Mr. Bruce stopped a second time, and if I remember, sat down in his seat. When the king noticed this, he gave over, and Mr. Bruce went on with his subject. A third time the king fell a talking; Mr. Bruce was very much grieved that the king should continue in this practice, after the modest reproofs he had already upon the matter given him; and so a third time he stopped, and directing himself to the king, he expressed himself to this purpose: 'It is said to have been an expression of the wisest of kings, (I suppose he meant an apocryphal saying of Solomon's,) When the lion roareth, all the beasts of the field are at ease; the Lion of the Tribe of Judah is now roaring, in the voice of his gospel, and it becomes all the petty kings of the earth to be silent.'"—*Wodrow's Life of Bruce*, p. 154.

a strong desire to hear him, and his chaplain invited him to preach in his chapel. Mr. Davies is said to have complied, and preached before a splendid audience, composed of the royal family and many of the nobility of the realm. It is further said, that while Mr. Davies was preaching, the king was seen speaking at different times to those around him, who were seen also to smile. Mr. Davies observed it, and was shocked at what he thought was irreverence in the house of God, that was utterly inexcusable in one whose example might have such influence. After pausing and looking sternly in that direction several times, the preacher proceeded in his discourse, when the same offensive behaviour was still observed. The American dissenter is said then to have exclaimed, '*When the lion roars, the beasts of the forest all tremble; and when King Jesus speaks, the princes of the earth should keep silence.*'"*

* Dr. Hill, quoted by Mr. Barnes; Essay prefixed to Carters' edition of Davies, 1845.

knows how to conduct, we shall perhaps learn unexpected things concerning the early theological acumen of Madison, as evoked by the philosophic Scotchman. Dr. Sprague slightly errs in saying that the only American edition is of 1803, in three volumes; for we have before us an edition of 1800 and 1801, in four volumes, from the press of William W. Woodward, of Chestnut street, who may be described as the Robert Carter of that day.

It is to us a solemn memento, that we do not get beyond the middle of this first Presbyterian volume, before we find ourselves among those whom we personally remember; for the stately form of Dr. WOODHULL, the son-in-law of Gilbert Tennent, rises distinctly before us. We further recall his venerable relict, and her reminiscences of President Davies, in full dress, and with his gold-headed cane. Still more vivid is our memory of Dr. SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, in his beautiful old age, and of the affecting scene when in 1812 he resigned his presidency. Of Dr. JAMES HALL we could relate numerous anecdotes, as it was our privilege to look upon him with reverence in the home of our childhood. In addition to the valuable statements of Dr. Morrison, we think it not superfluous to state, that this devoted servant of God was sometimes visited with spiritual distresses of long continuance, and such gravity as even to silence his preaching. One result of these desertions of soul was, that he sympathized in an extraordinary degree with persons labouring under similar depressions; so that he would go miles out of his way to administer comfort to such, amidst his frequent visits to the north. In these journeys, which were always either on horseback, or in his own gig, Dr. Hall had so many friends at every stage to welcome him, that we remember his having said, that in coming to the General Assembly he once paid no more than half a dollar. That similar hospitalities are not obsolete, is attested by a distinguished clergyman of Paris, who has just left us, and who declares, that in travelling between three and four thousand miles in the United States, neither he nor his son ever spent a day in any public house.

Memorials like this sometimes instruct by their very reticencies, confirming our belief that the unwritten history of the

church is the greater and more valuable; inasmuch as the sayings and doings of the best and wisest men often pass without a chronicle.* A remarkable instance of this occurs in the case of the Rev. Dr. MOSES HOGUE. Valuable as were the few writings which he gave to the press, they are scarcely to be procured; nor could they give any notion of his profound knowledge, impressive discourse, and heavenly graces. Those who enjoyed the conversation of the late Dr. Alexander, can never forget the almost filial terms of loving admiration in which he was wont to speak of Dr. Hogue. The extracts which follow from letters of Dr. Hogue to Dr. Alexander, will not be without interest to a class of readers whom we are always solicitous to gratify. Of date March 12, 1811: "Several weeks ago I received a letter from you, which has made a very sensible impression on my mind. I am, however, in hopes that the designs of the most accomplished tyrant on earth, may not be as hostile to Christianity as Mr. Walsh supposes. That Barruel was, by his zeal for his king, as for royalty, and for his religion, led into many mistakes of this nature, is, I believe, acknowledged by his best friends. And I think it not improbable that this may be the case with a writer of similar religious sentiments. I intend, however, upon your recommendation, to send for the work itself by Mr. Wood." April 5, 1815: "For the account you have given me of the happy reformation which has lately taken place in Nassau Hall, I am much indebted to you. This is certainly a glorious event. Many of the youth of that place will no doubt become preachers of the gospel, and burning and shining lights in the church. I have long thought that the education of youth has, for the most part, been miserably mismanaged in our country. Piety and virtue seem rather to be secondary than primary objects in most of our seminaries. And can we reasonably expect religion to revive and flourish with us while this is the case? There are, indeed, some religious people in our country, who consider learning of little or no advantage to an ambassador of

* "*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*"

Jesus Christ; and the success which has attended an unlearned ministry in the world, ought certainly to check the pride of human learning, and lead us to depend less upon ———. Thus far had I written two days ago; but I was arrested by the prevailing epidemic. I think myself, however, better; nor am I under any apprehensions for the result. If I have any more to do on earth, my life will be prolonged, and if not, I wish not to live. It would, however, I acknowledge, be mortifying to me to leave the world, without having done something more for One to whom I acknowledge myself to be under infinite obligation; for Christian brethren whom I dearly love; and for impenitent sinners whom I sincerely pity. But the will of God is always right and best."

The sermons to which allusion is here made are really little else than full skeletons; for it was not his manner to write much in preparation for the pulpit. It was our lot to hear a sermon from his lips just before his last illness, in the summer of 1820; and on this occasion he reverently visited the burial place of Burr, Edwards, Davies, and Witherspoon. The wisdom, humility, and meekness of the apostolic man, are the more impressed upon us by reason of the solemn and paternal exhortations which he took occasion to give to a careless and inexperienced youth. Though Dr. Hoge often delivered sermons, which by the award of the best judges placed him in the very highest rank as a theologian, a believer, and a master of the human heart, it is almost proverbial that he looked upon his own performances with a sort of trembling contempt. In corresponding with Dr. Alexander, on the subject of ministerial education, which they both had so much at heart, he discloses his deep anxiety lest the day should arrive, when genius, erudition, and eloquence should carry it over heart-religion and zeal for the glory of God in the salvation of souls. There are many still living who remember him as the messenger of divine grace to their souls. In natural connection comes the name of DRURY LACY, a brother Virginian, who likewise by a notable coincidence departed this life in Philadelphia. The "silver hand" of Mr. Lacy is one of our earliest remembrances. It was a hemisphere attached to the wrist, in order to replace the hand which had been torn off by the bursting of a musket; into this

appliance he used to screw a table-fork. With the remaining hand he achieved an elegance of handwriting such as we may never see again, since the disuse of the "grey goose-quill." If the records of Hanover Presbytery are still extant, they present, we will venture to assert, an elegance unequalled by any similar document in the country.

The memoir of President GREEN carries us back to days when he, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Alexander, the Rev. George C. Potts, and Dr. Janeway, were the Presbyterian pastors of Philadelphia. In days when the flowing and powdered wig was not yet discarded, and when knee buckles were part of clerical insignia, Dr. Green was one of the most conspicuous men in the streets of our greatest city. Neither his piety nor his eloquence has any fit memorial. His masculine style of writing is not exemplified in the autobiography which he penned late in life; nor have we any collection of his nervous epistolary composition. We are very far from considering his baccalaureate discourses as his best. Indeed, nothing ever proceeded from his lips which we would be more desirous to reproduce, than those Thursday Evening Lectures, of which the words were extemporaneous, and which blended doctrinal discussion with close and affectionate appeals to the heart. As a familiar expositor of Scripture we consider Dr. Green to have surpassed all we ever knew. When President of the College he assembled the entire body of undergraduates, on the afternoon of the Lord's-day. Five chapters were commonly embraced in each lesson. Some are living, who are remembered as having uniformly recited the whole of this long lesson by rote. We might summon such witnesses as Governor Lumpkin, Mr. Senator Iverson, Chief Justice Green, and the Rev. Dr. Kirk. The Doctor had an extraordinary knack of fixing the attention even of the giddiest. His explanations recur to our minds, after forty years, as having justly settled for us the meaning of numerous passages, and as having forestalled the most formidable objections of infidelity. Throughout his career, President Green never lost sight of the spiritual good of his pupils, as paramount to all other considerations. If he was sometimes deemed imperious and despotic, he showed a very different mien, as we can testify, when any resorted to his study under religious anxiety, as was the case

in more than one of the revivals. We yield hearty concurrence to the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Murray, in regard to Dr. Green's Lectures to the Sunday-school teachers of Philadelphia. A touching instance of Dr. Green's piety, in the delicate relation growing out of a collegiate charge, occurs in a letter of his preserved by Dr. Janeway, in which he says: "Be assured, my dear friend, that I long, long since, laid it down as a rule, and have considered it as a sacred duty, to pray for my colleague whenever, in secret, I pray for myself."* A man of more guileless honesty and more perfect courage, we never expect to see on earth.

From Dr. Green it is natural to pass to his coeval and co-presbyter, the Rev. JAMES P. WILSON, D. D. Just fifty years ago his name became known to us, in connection with an incident of childhood. From that time onwards we were taught to think of him as a great theologian, and a prodigy of learning. His tall spare frame and bloodless visage are justly noted in Dr. Hall's contributions; where allusion is also made to Dr. Wilson's practice of bleeding himself. This, let us add, was in like manner the habit of President Smith. Both suffered from hæmoptysis; and both were intimate friends of the arch-phlebotomist, Dr. Benjamin Rush, whom we also remember among the good and great Philadelphians of that day. The comic letters of Doctors Patton and Ely give a prominence to certain oddities of this remarkable man, which were but as spots upon the sun, scarcely observable amidst the mild radiance of his truly remarkable excellencies. His entrance on a religious life, after long practice at the bar, and under impressions produced by the murder of a beloved brother, was such as diffused a peculiar influence over his whole ministry. That refusal of presents, which some have placed in a ludicrous light, was a corollary from his scrupulous opinions concerning the independence of the minister, as president of a court. A spirit of judicial argumentation ran through his pulpit discourses. Each was an hour long, and was continuous ratiocination, with avowed exclusion of addresses to the feelings. We never heard more interesting trains of thought; nor do we wonder

* Life of Dr. Green, by Dr. Joseph H. Jones, p. 589.

that the most cultivated minds of a city always prominent for letters, gathered in the First Presbyterian church. Of that revered edifice we have a print lying before us; and well do we remember the meetings of the General Assembly, when that court had not yet lost its prestige by becoming ambulatory; and when the huge pulpit was graced by the magnates of the church. It was a scene quite parallel to that of Edinburgh in May. While Presbyterian preachers were more free from manuscript hinderances in that day than at present, there were few who could go the length of Dr. Wilson's remark: "I have preached twenty years, and have never written a full sermon in my life, and never read one word of a sermon from the pulpit, nor opened a note, nor committed a sentence, and have rarely wandered five minutes at a time from my mental arrangement previously made." A few words of Dr. Hall's letter to Dr. Sprague more accurately present Dr. Wilson's mode of preaching, than anything we have seen. After hearing many noted preachers, in more countries than one, we find no exact parallel to this cool yet fascinating reasoner; he was *sui generis*. In his simple view of ministerial address, the preacher was a father, talking as simply and plainly as possible to the family which surrounded him. There was therefore no change of tone, and no jar to the hearer's feelings, when Dr. Wilson requested that a lady in the gallery would cease to cough; or, turning to the famous Orbilius of our schoolboy days, would say, "These are points of grammar, which we refer to the better learning of Mr. Ross." He was himself an enthusiastic linguist. Besides his *Essay on Grammar*, 1817, which was indescribably dry, he had issued in 1812 an *Introduction to the Hebrew Language*; in which he warmly espoused the judgment of Capellus against the utility as well as antiquity of the Masoretic vowel points. When Middleton's celebrated work on the Greek Article appeared, it deeply interested Dr. Wilson. His exactness of learning made him a formidable examiner in Presbytery. On a certain occasion, when a manuscript of theological lectures was submitted to Dr. Wilson, he not only pronounced it to be in the main a translation from Turretine, but added the odd remark, that the writer mended his pen at the top of each new page. He would sometimes examine young men upon books which

they had borrowed from him; and this we remember to have befallen our companion, Joseph S. Christmass, in regard to Edwards on the Will. Dr. Wilson died in patriarchal peace; and we gladly copy the most striking and edifying statement of Dr. Skinner. "He said to a friend, 'I have a difficulty, and you will perhaps think strangely of it; I am at a loss what to pray for;' and added, in a most solemn tone and with his eyes lifted to heaven, 'God knows I am willing that whatever he pleases should be done.'"

The name of the Rev. JAMES MITCHELL is one which connects our own generation with that of Todd, Waddel and Graham; for this veteran soldier laboured from 1781 to 1841. His frame was knotty and enduring. When he was seventy-eight years of age, we remember to have accompanied him on horseback fifteen miles from the place of preaching; and he was as alert as any one of the cavalcade. At times he delivered discourses which were remarkable for their fire. We have heard him speak of Dr. Waddel, whom he well knew; and who, according to his recollections, was not inferior to the glowing portrait of Wirt. Under the preaching of this great orator, Mr. Mitchell said, whole assemblies were often melted into tears.

We still wait for an adequate memoir of Dr. MILLER. Few men in our church have better deserved such a tribute. For the purposes of a work like this, the sketch before us is all that we could demand; but it is sad that we should lose the recollections still accessible, concerning one whose memory is sacred. Well did he discharge the debt, which, according to the dictum of Bacon, every man owes to his profession. A more staunch and loyal Presbyterian Calvinist never lived. The warfare which he waged against high-church assumption was prompted by pious conviction of the truth; its fruits are still held in honour as well by our brethren in Scotland as by ourselves; and we lately saw an Italian version of his treatise on Presbyterianism, printed at Turin. Here, as in other cases, Dr. Sprague's extensive knowledge and singular industry make his bibliographical lists highly valuable; it will be seen that Dr. Miller's pamphlet sermons reached a very high number.

His numerous volumes were chiefly in vindication of our ecclesiastical tenets.

Dr. Miller combined some admirable traits, which are oftener seen apart. For great and various reading he was noted from his very boyhood; yet no man showed less of the bookworm. His portrait, by Sully, as in early manhood, is fresh, beautiful and courtly; for he was the charm and decoration of the most select circles in New York; and all through life he stood unsurpassed, so far as our observation goes, for good humour in conversation, brilliant but innocent repartee, and a fund of anecdote at once jocund and inexhaustible. With all this, he was visibly growing in grace during his whole ministry. This was repeatedly remarked by Dr. Alexander, who lived by his side forty years, and who loved to testify, that he had never detected in his colleague a trace either of personal vanity or of envy. He was by nature fearless, we may even say polemic; yet a more melting forgiveness, or a larger charity, we do not hope to find. In all our knowledge of ministers, we never knew one who was so ready to own himself in the wrong, or so unfeignedly lowly in regard to his own attainments; nor one more conscientious in self-denial and special prayer. Those who judge him only by his books, can have but a remote conception of what Dr. Miller was, either as the vivifying spirit of delighted groups, or as the spiritual and tender Christian friend.

The translation is easy to Dr. ROBERT FINDLAY, the friend of African Colonization from America, towards which he was one of the first to propose any feasible scheme. Our personal recollections bring up the scenes connected with the early movements in 1816, particularly the earnest conferences between this fervent, energetic man, and the late Dr. Alexander, who shared in his enthusiasm, and was partner in all his counsels. And we pen these words with peculiar solemnity and grief, on the very day which reports the decease of a contemporary friend of Africa, we mean the excellent Mr. Anson G. Phelps, second of the name, and like his honoured Christian father, devoted to the work of Colonization. Dwelling in a house where ministers were continually entertained, we saw in our boyhood and youth many whose names adorn these volumes; for example, Doctors and Messrs. Balch, Romeyn, Grif-

fin, Richards, Lyle, Doak, J. P. Campbell, Blackburn, Flinn, Palmer, Fisk, Jennings, Blair, and W. S. Reid. But we cannot satisfy ourselves with a bare mention of one so honoured as the late Dr. BLATCHFORD of Lansingburg. His portly person and benignant countenance rise before us, as we knew him first in his punctual visits to Princeton as a Director of the Seminary, and then as dispensing the hospitalities of his own generous mansion. Dr. Blatchford was a man of no common energy and warmth. His youth in England had been much cultivated, not only by classical studies but by the fine arts; and we have lately been examining a finished drawing from his hand, which has been pronounced extraordinary, even by great critics. His friends remember the singular talent which he had, for dashing off at the fire-side impromptu profiles of his friends. As the patriarch of a large family, Dr. Blatchford shone conspicuous; and the generous flow of his heart led him to enlarge this home-circle until it took in a multitude. We have good cause to attest his tender and encouraging disposition towards young candidates for the ministry. He never lost what was dignified and cordial in his English clerical manners; and in the pulpit he fairly represented the better class of Nonconformists in his native land. Instructive, animated, full of gracious doctrine and unction, he always satisfied his hearers, and sometimes melted them by the gush of his own emotions. Two of his sons entered the ministry, and were familiarly known to us more than thirty years ago.

Dr. SPEECE is recalled with a glow of interest, by all who remember Lacy, Lyle, Alexander, and Rice. If the remaining groves and thickets about Prince Edward Court-House and Briery could speak, they would testify of many a high argument, held by these inquiring and enthusiastic young men, upon baptism and other professional topics. Speece was a favourite with all the rest. Dr. Sprague's correspondents give a good notion of his huge ungainly figure, and rotund, deliberate, gainsaying discourse, all reminding one of Samuel Johnson. True, he was a rustic moralist, as proud of his native mountains as the other of Fleet street. But, in his sphere, he, too, was elegant, ingenious, learned, sententious, polemic, and even oracular. Careful in his diction, even to purism, Dr. Speece

often poured forth to his rural flock discourses which, though extemporaneous as to their words, were periodic and terse. We remember no conversations in our youth more deserving of a Boswell, than some which fell from the lips of this Augusta pastor, as he bestrode his tall horse among those beautiful woodlands. The licenses which he allowed himself in his home circle were almost antics, strikingly in contrast with his elephantine port, and often intended to awaken the wonder of martinets and cits. Thus we have seen him in a short jacket play on his flute, after coming in from the day's work, and have known him clamber into an open window, to the alarm of more proper brethren, whose intellectual loins were thinner than his little finger. All the contributions given here, touching this generous and accomplished friend of our boyhood, are valuable. We will add to these a few extracts from letters to the late Rev. Dr. Alexander; remarking, by the bye, that they are almost faultless specimens of a round-hand which is now seldom seen.

In allusion to a manuscript work of religious fiction, he writes, August 15, 1808: "I am delighted with the prospect of seeing your sweet Eudocia presented to the public. Before I received your letter, I had resolved to write to you soon, principally to entreat that the door which confined her might be opened, that she might walk forth for the entertainment and edification of the world. I hope the humorous and satirical parts of the work will be retained. They will be useful in themselves, and render the book alluring to a larger number of readers. And though I should not like to differ in a point of taste from Mrs. Alexander, allow me to put in a word in behalf of the dream or dreams which you read to me in the manuscript. Dreaming is indeed a delicate subject both in philosophy and religion. But we believe that God does sometimes speak to men in dreams and visions of the night, to fasten important instruction upon their hearts." "I have long been collecting ideas for a treatise on liberty and necessity; not to increase the mass of metaphysical subtilties on the subject, but if possible to diminish it. But I have another design in hand, more likely to be executed; namely, to write a sermon or dissertation on the doctrine of Election. Presumptuous as it may appear, I

cannot but think I could produce something more satisfactory than I have yet met with on that doctrine, especially in the business of answering objections against it." March 17, 1809: "Is poor old Virginia to be easily abandoned by its religious teachers? Is not Presbyterianism the only visible preservative, under God, of sound evangelical truth, and rational religion here? Surely this is a matter of very serious consideration. I may mention in confidence, that my friend, Dr. Miller, has repeatedly desired me to put myself in the way of a call from New York. Did I suppose myself fit for New York or Philadelphia, which I hardly can suppose, I should not the less regret to see our Northern friends labouring to strip my native country of its ministers, and abandon it to infidelity, enthusiasm, and licentiousness. After all, I can conceive calls of duty which might induce me to leave Virginia some years hence, should it please God to give me life and health. Nor have I any peculiar antipathy to Philadelphia; I like it, indeed, the best of any city I have ever seen. You will collect from the above what to say to my German brethren, should they speak to you concerning it. It seems impossible that I should comply with any call from them now. By the way, do you know how any one of us could be constitutionally dismissed from the whole Presbyterian church, to join any other denomination of Christians?"

The Doctor, it should be remembered, was the son of a German; the name being properly Spiesz. It was this which drew to him the attention of German congregations, then less able than now to procure preachers, in New York and Philadelphia; while at the same time it attracted his insatiable mind to the rationalistic writers. We could produce his clever annotations on Bauer and Michaëlis. In his country home he treasured up most valuable authors, and sometimes kept his learned stores laid away in boxes. A great book was by no means to him a great evil; and we behold him now in memory, dilating with animation upon a reperusal which he had just accomplished of Plutarch's Lives. No man in Virginia was more completely *au courant* of the recent theological literature, and certainly no one was so fascinating in observation upon all that occupied the public mind. It is known to few now living, that Dr. Speece

and Dr. Alexander once had an amicable controversy in print, upon the old question often mooted in the schools, whether souls were *ex traduce*.

The longer we ponder over these attractive pages the more cause do we see for thankfulness that God has raised up for our country so many strong and illustrious men within our church; and this term we here accept in no narrow sense. Among these some of the grandest and most admirable characters have been formed by the hand of Providence and Grace afar from cities and conventional refinements; growing up to varied erudition and masculine energy amidst the day-labour of actual service. Such preachers were Brainerd, Dickinson, Davies, Waddel, Smith, Hoge, Speece, Rice, Baxter, Matthews, Jennings, and Nelson. It would be easy to swell the list, and to add those more splendid names of professors, orators, and authors, who have achieved a national reputation. It is not for us as Presbyterians to say how much truth there is in the following judgment of our New England neighbours; but the source of the statements gives them peculiar interest: "We feel ourselves—we are sorry to say—among men of higher mark, in these new volumes, than in those which commemorated the Trinitarian Congregationalists. True, among the latter there were clergymen, from the earliest times, who had no superiors, and hardly any equals, this side heaven; but among the leading divines of the Presbyterian church, we discern, as we think, a more uniformly elevated standard of distinctively clerical talent, learning and character. One reason for this undoubtedly is, that the Presbyterian church, occupying a much larger extent of territory, and reckoning, certainly for an entire century, if not longer, a more numerous catalogue of ministers, would, by the laws of proportion, furnish a greater array of choice names for the biographer. But this is not all. In New England, with the legal support secured for nearly two centuries to the Congregational clergy, and with the life-tenure of their office, many men occupied prominent pastorates while devoid of superior qualifications for their profession. Such ministers were generally men of strong minds, cogent influence, and distinguished reputation; and being literally the *parsons* (*personæ*) of their respective parishes—wield-

ing often an autocracy, little short of despotism—they had scope for the unchecked growth and exercise of eccentric traits of character and abnormal habits of life. And they often acquired the local fame which would entitle them to a place in a record like Dr. Sprague's, by oddities rather than by graces, or by services and labours outside of their profession, rather than by preaching and the cure of souls. Accordingly, the first two volumes of the 'Annals' exceed these last two in variety of character and incident, in the affluence of piquant anecdote and grotesque description, and in the exhibition of the *manysidedness* of ministerial life. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, never had a local establishment in this country, but has been compelled to conquer by the 'sword of the Spirit' all the ground it occupies. Its ministers have, for the most part, won and held their places because they were fitted for them, and laborious in them. With few exceptions they have given themselves wholly to their work, with such subsidiary avocations in teaching or agriculture as were necessary to eke out their support in new or feeble churches, and in sparsely settled districts. The circumstance that has impressed us most of all in these narratives, is the very large number of men of surpassing ability, endowments, and sanctity, who have been settled for life, or for many years, in very obscure localities and humble pastorates."*

We must again express our opinion that Dr. Sprague has accomplished a great national work, of which the value will be acknowledged by posterity. The plan was formidable for its extent; the mode of securing the material, lying scattered and formless all over the country, was nobly and ingeniously devised; and the execution demanded a diligence and a tact which belong not to one in a million. Errors, and inequalities, and omissions there are no doubt; but who will reckon these, in a task so patriotic, honest, and desirable? The subsidiary parts have sometimes fallen into most able hands; and some of the letters offer felicitous specimens of out-line portraiture from distinguished pens. It is no small attraction of the volumes that they contain complete letters, of biographical interest,

* North American Review, for April, 1858, p. 583.

from Dr. Miller, Dr. Alexander, Dr. Lindsly, Dr. Knox, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, and Judges Johns and Kane, among the departed; from such statesmen as Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Butler, Mr. Choate; scholars, such as Presidents Day, Nott, Carnahan, Ruffner, Maclean, and Talmage; and Professors Beecher, Breckinridge, Park, Dabney, Silliman, and Skinner; to say nothing of a host of clergymen, including some of the greatest eminence. The descriptive power, the stirring incident, and occasionally the humour of these articles, deriving variety from authorship thus diverse, combine to make the work a mine of entertainment.

Whether the gifted author will forgive us for saying it, we know not; but he has been providentially in training for this very service almost all his life. Always welcome wherever he went, in Europe or America; always inquiring, yet always communicating more than he received, he has ransacked the chests, files, and memories of half the distinguished men in the nation. Some notion may be derived of his collecting zeal, from the library of American pamphlets, filling about twelve hundred bound volumes, and extending from the earliest Puritan *origines* to our own day; all presented as a free gift to the Theological Seminary at Princeton. If we err not, he is again building up a similar pile of material, which will be invaluable for future investigators. The history of our church and country, and the biography of our noted men have always commanded Dr. Sprague's warm sympathy; hence he has become preëminently an inquirer and a collector. These tastes and pursuits have fitted him for that elaborate compilation and digestion of facts, of which we here have the results. He has differed from many gatherers, in that he has always been acquainted with his own accumulations, whether in print or manuscript. There is no good reason why we should be silent concerning our author's magnificent collection of autograph documents; especially as this has directly contributed to the chief labour of his life. We are not among those who indulge in cheap sneer at such tastes. These very contemptuous critics will themselves sometimes chuckle over a single stray letter of Washington or Napoleon, while they affect to pity the crotchet of a man who has brought together with immense care,

fine historic knowledge, and exquisite arrangement, myriads of letters, compositions, even entire works, from the most famous pens, each redolent of personal associations, and collectively precious from their completeness and continuity. Nature and reason get the better of the cynic, when, in the penetralia of the British Museum, or the Advocates' Library, he alights on the original Magna Charta, the Solemn League and Covenant, Ben Jonson's *Queen's Masque*, the *Aminta* of Tasso, *Comus*, *Irene*, or even *Waverley*. No man can seek, procure, classify and con a great body of historic manuscripts, without at the same time augmenting his fund of valuable information.

We speak without book, and from hearsay, for we have never enjoyed access to Dr. Sprague's collection; nor are we sure that we shall escape his censure for telling what is reported. But we believe there are few such prodigies of diplomatic wealth in the world. Counting letters and other documents, from persons of all sorts, more or less distinguished, the visitor of this collection will find it amount to not less than sixty thousand. In regard to American names, we have been told there is scarcely a single class or series—such as Presidents, Generals, Governors, Bishops, &c.—which is not complete. A connoisseur informed us that Dr. Sprague's British collection would be a large one in England; his French collection in France; and his German collection in Germany. Unless some men of learning and taste were endowed with this additional talent for preserving the memorials of the past, we should have no such encyclopedic works as that which we are here about to lay down. That it has received so large a share of public applause from all parts of the country, and every branch of the church, must be a reward to the excellent author, second only to the inward persuasion that he has rendered a grateful service to the cause of Christ.

ART. II.—*Historical Value of the Pentateuch.*

THE first of these books, in giving us the origin of things, recognizes in almost its very first word, [Elohim,] the great, the final hypothesis of all science. The creation of matter out of nothing is the sublime announcement of its opening sentence. We are carried back to a period when no primordial elements, so called, existed, out of which this matter could have been evolved or formed. We are made to see a presiding Intelligence behind, a controlling hand over the dread potencies which are at work among worlds and systems of worlds. A great First Cause is an intellectual necessity; that is to say, it, and it alone, satisfies the intellectual, judging faculty in man. Science must here sit down at the feet of a divinely-instructed historian. That most historical of all the sciences, but in whose vast cycles, years and centuries are lost, as inappreciable units, finds here in these pregnant sentences, either the outline of that record, or ample room for it in their designed ellipses, which is written out at large, in the rocks and strata of the earth.

But passing to what belongs more strictly to the domain of history, Genesis commences its account of man with his origin. It does not leave us to the absurd fables of heathen mythology, nor to the senseless theories of some who profess to attribute the mysterious principle of life to a blind and casual evolution of some agency of matter, and tell us in learned phrase, that a few leading types of the animal kingdom have sprung from "nucleated vesicles," from which all the rest have been gradually developed; and that man himself finds his immediate predecessors in the advanced quadrupeds of the woods. It tells us that God formed the body of man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul. That in this statement we have the origin, the common origin of all mankind, all the most able researches in psychology, and the physiology and physical history of man, have hitherto abundantly confirmed. Following the received chronology, the common date 4004 B. C., points to the time of the creation of the first man, and marks the commencement of

human history. The Mosaic history alone of all the writings, or records of any kind, in the possession of men, furnishes the *data* for determining, with a good degree of accuracy, this initial date. Without it, chronology would have no reliable starting point; and we should be wholly without any means of correcting ambitious and fabulous dates, in the mythological histories of the old nations.

The history of man is a history of crimes and follies—of tyranny and servitude, of invasions and wars; in a word, it is a gloomy chronicle of the dominion of moral evil. It is, moreover, the history of a race, labouring to extract a livelihood from an unpropitious soil, contending with famines, pestilences and storms. It must to the philosophical historian be a question of the deepest interest, whether this evil existed by the will of the great Arbiter from the beginning; and if not, when and how it was first introduced. The only satisfactory answer ever yet promulged, is found in the Pentateuch. The earth was not always as it is now; it was once a garden of fruitfulness. Man was not always as he is now; he was once a total stranger to evil.

The value of the Pentateuch to history may be inferred from the length of the period, covered by the narrative contained in its several books, which, according to the received chronology, is no less than two thousand five hundred and fifty-three years; of which long period it is the only reliable history. The stories of profane authors respecting Belus, Ninus and Semiramis, and the whole line, so far as they have preserved any, of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, even down to the Greek dominion, are fabulous, or at the best, rest on very uncertain tradition; and little better can be said of what they relate respecting the Egyptians and Pelasgians. Of the above long period, the fifty chapters of Genesis contain the history of two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine years, a period of greater length by more than five hundred years, than has elapsed since the birth of the Redeemer of the world, and more than six hundred longer than the period from the death of Joseph, the last event recorded in Genesis, to the death of the apostle John, near the close of the first century of our present era.

The fact is important to chronology, to know through which

of the branches of the family of Adam, his posterity has been perpetuated. We learn that it is the line of Seth, born the year after the death of Abel, which forms the true stem of history. The race of Cain survives, only in the arts which some of his descendants were the first to invent. The first tents were made by Jabal. Tubal-Cain, (supposed to be the Vulcan of heathen mythology) was the first who discovered the art of working in metals. And musical instruments were invented by Jubal.

From the fifth chapter of Genesis, which appears at first sight like a dry list of names and ages of men, we learn a fact most important to the authenticity of the Mosaic history itself, when viewed apart from its inspired authority; to wit, that a single individual, Methusaleh, was contemporary with Adam about two hundred and fifty years, with Noah about six hundred, and Shem one hundred. It may be added that Shem lived one hundred and fifty years at the same time with Abraham, down to the middle of the nineteenth century before Christ. Thus a single living witness connects Noah and his sons with Adam; and another connects Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew nation, with this contemporary of Adam. Abraham received from the lips of Shem what he for a century had been learning from one, who, for more than two hundred years had conversed with the progenitor of the race. When the time is considered, it might be called tradition, but when the number of links in the chain of witnesses is but two, (if that can be called a chain) it can hardly with propriety be so denominated. As the oldest historian of the world was a Hebrew, and prefaced his history with an account of the origin of all things, the importance of this close connection of the progenitor of the Hebrew nation with the progenitor of the race, will be seen. Of similar importance, in a historical point of view, before books or written language had been given to men, was the great age of the antediluvian patriarchs in general. Their average age was eight hundred and fifty years each. This great age was important, not only to the rapid increase of population, but no less so to the faithful transmission of history.

Moses in the account which he gives of a deluge, by which the entire human race, with the exception of eight persons, was destroyed, furnishes us with the true history of an event of

which tradition is found in every part of the earth; which, if it is not strictly universal, is the most widely spread of any tradition among men. It is met with in almost every mythology, and among the most barbarous people. It is found in the sacred books of the Parsees, in the Scandinavian Edda, in the Veda of the Hindoos. It is prevalent among the millions of the Chinese Empire; it was found in the Pacific Islands, by navigators; it was found among the original inhabitants of Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil, by the Spaniards; it was found by Humboldt among the wild Maypuses and Tamanacs, and other tribes in the wilderness that surrounds the Orinoco; it was found by our forefathers among the Indians of our North American lakes. Its form is somewhat varied in different localities, but all may clearly be referred to the same original, or retain a sufficient number of analogous particulars to identify them as one and the same tradition, and as founded on the same event, the Noachian deluge. It is the most ancient as well as widely diffused tradition among men. The flood of Ogyges, the flood of Deucalion, and other floods of Grecian mythological history, may be taken as traditions of the same event, preserved by different tribes, and modified by them as to some of the circumstances. The parentage of the Assyrian tradition may be traced to the same great event. As it may be gathered from the fragments of the Chaldean Berosus, preserved by the patristic writers, like that of the flood of Deucalion given by Lucian, it is almost a literal reproduction, even to the mention of the raven and the dove, of the Mosaical narrative.

The year B. C. 2347 was the year in which Noah left the ark; and it is from this date we fix the beginning of post-diluvian history. As we are indebted to sacred history for the initial period in the annals of the race, so we are indebted to the same source for this epoch of the new world. Not one of the infamous race of Cain was left. The eight persons saved in the ark, constituted the entire population of the earth. Noah was the second progenitor of the race. The inhabitants of the old world sprung from a single pair, the inhabitants of the new from four. It was the will of God that population should rapidly increase. (Gen. ix. 1, 7.) The theories of Malthus,

and of the political economists, and staticians generally, as to the rate of increase in the population of a country, even where the proposed data for calculation have been well ascertained, have proved of little value, furnishing much foundation for the observation that "the increase of mankind seems to be, in an especial manner, kept by the Almighty, under his own immediate sovereign disposal." Under his control the rapid increase of population, just after the deluge, probably had no precedent, not even in the first origin of the race, and has had no example since. For exact arithmetical calculations there may be no basis; but we cannot suppose that the law of population was then fluctuating and uncertain, as it has been since. It may be that for a considerable period quite every child born lived to be the parent of a numerous family. Everything was made to favour a rapid increase. Animal food was now first allowed to men; and human life was invested with a new sacredness by the express threatening, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The express will of God, and the provisions made by him for the increase of mankind, as shown by the inspired history, were sufficient to supply and account for all that population which the facts or most plausible theories of general history demand.

The Pentateuch gives us the true origin of those distinct races and nationalities into which the human family is divided. In the days of Peleg, in the third generation after the flood, the earth was divided by the families of the sons of Noah. Europe and Northern Asia fell to Japheth; Central Asia to Shem; and Africa to Ham. Shem, therefore, was the progenitor of the Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Assyrians, Persians, and Lydians. Japheth was the father of the Caucasian races. The tradition of the Arabs ascribed to him eleven sons, who were the parents of as many Asiatic tribes or nations. Ham was the father of Cush, whose descendants appear to have settled in Southern Asia and Ethiopia; of Mizraim, whose children peopled a part of Africa; of Phut, who also was the head of an African race; and of Canaan, from whom sprang the Phœnicians and inhabitants of Palestine.

It was the divine will, as it is most clearly intimated in Scripture, that the descendants of Noah should not be kept huddled

together in the land where the ark rested after the flood. There was very much land to be possessed, and replenished with inhabitants. There were vast continents, afterwards to be known as Europe, Africa, and America, and large portions of Asia to be peopled; and the process would require ages, if men were left to seek these new regions, only as they were driven out by their necessities. And the race would hopelessly degenerate, if only the most needy, desperate, and degraded, first found their way into these countries. It was therefore, by divine direction, that the descendants of Noah were required to disperse themselves in a regular and orderly manner, according to their families. And this doubtless was another provision of Providence for the more rapid increase of mankind, as it is a well-established fact, that population augments far more rapidly in a sparsely-settled, than in an over-crowded country. This provision it was, moreover, which prevented a confused mixture of the families of Noah, and enables the historian of our day to trace the history of the race back through its leading ramifications to its original stem, and the naturalist to classify the distinct races; so that the European can find his great ancestor not only in Adam or Noah, but in Japheth; the Asiatic in Shem; and the African in Ham. In a word, Moses has furnished the world with the great outlines and divisions of that primitive history, by means of which the modern student can find his way successfully through what must otherwise have proved to him an inextricable labyrinth.

The historical value of the Pentateuch is further shown from its enabling us to account for the great and essential difference in the languages spoken by men, who must have had a common origin. That division or partition of the earth, which it was the divine will should be made among the descendants of the sons of Noah, was, through the wickedness of men, resisted and deranged. The "children of men," disregarding the divine intentions, remained together in the land of Shinar, or the great plain between the Euphrates and Tigris, all speaking one language, and all apparently under the chieftainship of Nimrod. We must except perhaps Noah, who, as he had walked with God before the flood, still continued to set an example of obe-

dience to his expressed will, and went forth to an unoccupied portion of the earth. It has been supposed, and not altogether without plausibility, that he laid the foundation of what is called the Chinese monarchy. Fohi, on this hypothesis, is only another name for Noah. Fohi laid the foundation of the Chinese empire, B. C. 2207. We must except also some of the more pious descendants of Shem. And may not Shem himself be that Shing-nong, who is said to be the other patriarch, who, with Fohi, accompanied the first tribe that reached China? With these exceptions, all appear to have been under Nimrod, and under him began to build a city and a tower, to make them a name, and to bind themselves together as one people, that they might not be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. But God confounded their language, by causing part of them to forget the one they had hitherto known, and to speak in new tongues. It was a miracle. God was not only the author of the one original language of men, but of the distinct languages into which their speech was, at this early period, divided. It had the effect of arresting the work, and of scattering men, agreeably to the divine intentions, in groups or colonies, according as they were able to understand one another's speech. If, according to the researches of philologists, the languages of men may be traced to three principal roots, "it is enough to suppose," as Kitto suggests, "that the result was the formation of two new languages, which, with that already existing, would give one to each of the families of Noah—thus constraining their separation, their dispersion, and the fulfilment of their destinies." Thus does it appear, that as the ethnologist must go to Moses for the elements of that science which treats of the different races and families of men, the philologist must go to him, satisfactorily to account for the different languages spoken by them.

Approaching now the confines of profane or secular history, as it may be distinguished from sacred, we discover that we are indebted to the Pentateuch for all we know respecting the origin of an empire, which, in time, came to overshadow the earth—the Assyrian, or Assyro-Babylonian empire, of which Nebrôd or Nimrod was the founder. It grew up around the tower and city of Babel. The remains of that remarkable

tower, it is supposed by some, even now exist in one of the mounds [perhaps Birs-Nimroud] which still mark the site of ancient Babylon, afterwards formed by Nebuchadnezzar into the tower which became one of the wonders of the world. Nineveh was built soon after by Asshur, on the banks of the Tigris, and was probably before long united in the same empire with Babylon. For these facts respecting the origin of one of the most powerful empires of antiquity, we are indebted exclusively to Moses; but we hear no more of Babylon and Nineveh, from any authentic source, for more than one thousand three hundred years, or until the eighth century before Christ. The stories related in the fragments that remain to us of the early profane writers concerning Belus, said to be the same as Nimrod, and Ninus, said to be the son of Asshur, and Semirámis, the queen and successor of Ninus, must to a great extent be fabulous, as such vast armies, and such immense buildings and wealth as are attributed to them could not have belonged to times so soon after the dispersion of mankind, and so near the deluge.

It is a curious fact, that the twenty-second and twenty-first centuries before Christ, are nearly or quite a blank in history, sacred as well as profane. All that Moses records, in addition to what has been already mentioned, is contained in the last twenty verses of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, which gives a genealogical table of the descendants of Shem through Arphaxad, and an account of the birth of Abraham, B. C. 1996. But freeing the Egyptian chronology of its enormous fabulous era, this chronology would make the Egyptian history commence not far from this time. Menes, the first king in the historical succession, is supposed to be the same as Misráim, the son of Ham. In the same catalogue we have the name of Busiris, who founded Thebes. And then follow the names of the builders of the pyramids, preserved on monumental records. But the little that is known respecting this country is vague and unreliable, until Joseph was carried into Egypt. For a long course of ages, even down to the times of the Ptolemies, the scattered but valuable notices in the Scriptures, in addition to its own monuments, furnish the only reliable information.

The founder of the Hebrew nation, which has had a distinct

existence as a people longer than any other in the history of the world, was called, i. e. singled out and separated from his father's house, B. C. 1921. In Nimrod we had an example of self-love, ambition, and desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of Deity; in Abraham we have an example of the love of God, even to the contemning of himself. By the exceeding brevity of the historian respecting the centuries which separate these two, they are brought, as it were, in one view before us. Abraham was a descendant of Shem, born in Ur of the Chaldees. He was separated from the idolatrous fire-worship to which he was exposed, by being commanded to remove from his native country. God made him the founder of a nation, and the head of a race, which, although long since scattered and peeled, retain all their distinctive peculiarities. They witnessed the glory of Assyria and Egypt, of Macedon and Rome; "mighty kingdoms have risen and perished since they began to be scattered and enslaved," but still they exist the sole surviving people, with the single exception of tribes of Abrahamic origin, of the old historical ages. Abraham left Mesopotamia with a retinue of more than three hundred servants, or retainers born in his house, who were capable of bearing arms. Lot, son of a deceased brother, accompanied him. He crossed the Euphrates, and, directed by God, after a journey over mountains, and vast Syrian deserts, of at least three hundred miles, came into the promised land. Almost immediately after his arrival, a famine compelled him to take refuge in Egypt, where he found a flourishing kingdom. The Pharaoh who then ruled, was probably one of the Theban kings. Or he may have been one of the Hycsos, or Shepherd kings, supposed to be of Phenician origin, whose invasion of Egypt took place not far from this time. They reigned at Memphis.

The history of war has hitherto filled the largest space in the history of nations; it is, therefore, worthy of mention that the Pentateuch contains the earliest authentic record of what has proved so dreadful a scourge of the human race. It is that of the war carried on by Chederlaomer against the Pentapolis of Sodom, which having been tributary, had rebelled against his authority. Abraham for the deliverance of his kinsman, Lot,

pursued and overtook the victorious enemy near the sources of the Jordan, surprised them by a night attack, and brought back the captives and the spoils. This war, and this victory of Abraham, occurred about 1913, B. C.

We have recently been furnished with a striking proof of the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch, even in those parts of the narrative which partake of the miraculous, in the results of the United States Exploring Expedition to the river Jordan and the Dead Sea, conducted by Lieut. Lynch of the Navy. "We entered," says the intelligent commander of that Expedition, "upon the Sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaical account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we were unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain." He considers that the inference from the Scripture account, that the chasm which is now filled by the Dead Sea, was a plain which was sunk and overwhelmed, when these cities were destroyed, is fully sustained by the extraordinary character of the soundings obtained in that Sea. The bottom of the larger and deeper portion lies fully thirteen hundred feet below the surface. A ravine runs through it in a line corresponding with the bed of the Jordan, from which the inference is obvious, that the channel of the Jordan sank down, or rushed into the chasm made by a bituminous volcanic explosion, the waters helping rather than quenching the conflagration. The sinking of the plain of the Jordan, formed a bed for a lake sixty or seventy miles long, from ten to eighteen wide. Here the Jordan and its affluents are lost, for the Dead Sea has no visible outlet. This grave of Sodom and Gomorrah, stands as a monument to the historical accuracy of the Scriptural narrative.

To the Mosaical history we are also indebted for our knowledge of the origin of a numerous people still existing, that have played no unimportant part in history, and who were coeval with, if less important than, the Jews—the Arab tribes, inhabiting the great desert, which extends from Suez to the Euphrates. Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, was sent in early life into this desert, already inhabited by Cushite colonies and

the descendants of Joktan, where he became skilled in the arts belonging to a predatory life. He married an Egyptian woman, and his posterity remain to this day living witnesses to the truth of the prediction, "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, Mongols and Tartars have failed to subdue them.

When Alexander the Great conquered Asia, the Arabs alone disdained to send ambassadors to him to make their submission. Antigonus made two attempts upon them, but failed in both. When Pompey triumphed over three parts of the world, he could not conquer Arabia, and the failure of the expedition under Ælius Gallus, in the time of Augustus, was a proof that craft and treachery were not more effectual, when opposed to the invincibility of Ishmael, than force of arms or the terror of a name. The race of Arab kings to which Mohammed belonged, reckoned Ishmael among their ancestors. To the incidental notices in Scripture we are indebted for the little that is known of the ante-Mohammedan progenitors of these conquerors and powerful sovereigns. Josephus establishes the existence of an unbroken tradition in Arabia, from which the descent of the Mohammedans from Ishmael can easily be made out. St. Jerome confirms the fact. The wilderness of Paran, in the heart of which was Mount Sinai, was the primitive dwelling-place of Ishmael; but his sons, the twelve princes, spread themselves across the entire neck of the Peninsula of Sinai, from the mouths of the Euphrates to the Isthmus of Suez.

Lot sinned and became the progenitor of the heathenish Moabites and Ammonites, who occupied the country to the east of the Dead Sea. After the death of Sarah, Abraham married Keturah, from which marriage sprung the Midianites, a powerful people, inhabiting the country further north towards Mesopotamia. Esau, the eldest son of Isaac, laid the foundations of a powerful kingdom in Arabia Petræa, south of the Dead Sea, which was known as Edom, or Idumea. Its capital was Selah, afterwards known by the name of Joktheel, and there can be little doubt was the same as the ancient city of Petra. The Septuagint translators of the Scriptures make Job the same as Jobab, a great grandson of Esau, one of those kings of Edom

mentioned (Gen. xxxi. 31) as reigning before there was any king over Israel. If so, then, Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, his three friends or kinsmen were probably emirs, or Idumean princes of great wealth and authority. Arabia Petræa was once a powerful country, possessing highly frequented marts. It has been recorded as a well attested fact, that within three days' journey of the Dead Sea, there are ruins of thirty cities entirely deserted. And when a firman, a few years since, was applied for at Constantinople, to visit the ruins of Petra, the existence of such a place was entirely unknown. Yet long before the Christian era, it was a city of great strength and immense trade; and its ruins are said to present a scene of magnificent desolation, without a parallel in the world.

The posterity of Esau and the Ishmaelites, with the other Abrahamic stocks, at length dwelt mingled with each other throughout Arabia. Mr. Forster, in his Geography of Arabia, has made the ingenious suggestion, that as the Ishmaelites and Midianites were designated after their mothers, Hagarenes and Keturians, so the posterity of Esau were denominated Saracens, from Sarah, the mother of their race; as among Arab tribes, the Edomites alone were the lineal descendants of Sarah. He supports this suggestion with many striking facts and considerations.

Ancient Egyptian civilization finds its best illustration, in connection with its own monuments, in the beautiful history of Joseph, and the history of his nation, as connected with that country. Hengstenberg, availing himself of the investigations of such men as Champollion, Rossellini, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, has drawn incidental, undesigned, but most valuable proof, from witnesses that cannot be in favour of the trustworthiness of the Mosaic records: "Paintings, numerous and beautiful beyond conception, as fresh and perfect as if finished only yesterday, exhibit before our eyes the truth of what the Hebrew lawgiver wrote, almost five thousand years ago." In the far-distant age of Apophis, under whom Joseph was made prime minister, the history and the monuments attest alike to the existence of many of the same arts and customs which prevailed in the Augustan era of this people. Joseph may be traced in the ancient historians under the name of Hermes, as

having been persecuted by his brethren, and taking refuge in Egypt, where he was worshipped for having supplied them with riches, and as an interpreter of the will of the gods. From his history we learn that trade had been established by caravans with Egypt, at this early period, and that it consisted in part at least of slaves. No mention is made of the name of the royal city, the then residence of the Pharaohs. It was perhaps the ancient city mentioned as Zoan, or Tanis, situated in the delta of the Nile. We read of chariots, of vestures of fine linen or byssus, and chains, and rings of gold. The vine was cultivated, and the art of preparing different kinds of pastry for the table well understood. There was an established priesthood. The beard was shaven, and the hair cut short. They were in the habit of sitting, instead of reclining at their entertainments. The construction of the tabernacle and the priests' garments, by the Israelites in the wilderness, proves that the people from amongst whom they had just come out, understood the art of spinning and weaving costly fabrics, the arts of embroidering, of purifying and working metals, of cutting and setting precious stones, of carving in wood and the manufacture and use of leather. Champollion, Rossellini and Wilkinson have shown that all these arts were understood by the ancient Egyptians as early as the reign of Thotmes IV., and therefore that Moses is historically accurate. Pithom, one of the cities built by the Hebrews, under their Egyptian oppressors, was situated near the right branch, or Pelusiatic arm of the Nile, in the Arabian part of Egypt. It is universally admitted to be the same as Patumos, mentioned by Herodotus. Raamses, or Rameses, another city on whose buildings and fortifications they laboured, was, at the time of the Greek dominion, known as Heroöpolis. The materials used for building, to a large extent, consisted of brick, and not only for private dwellings, but public edifices. "But the most remarkable agreement with the Pentateuch is in the fact, that a small portion of chopped straw is found in the composition of Egyptian bricks. This is evident from an examination of those brought by Rossellini from Thebes, on which is the stamp of Thotmes IV., (one of the oppressors of the Hebrews.) We are carried much further by the comparison of our history with a picture discovered in a tomb at Thebes, of

which Rossellini furnished an explanation as a 'picture representing the Hebrews, as they were engaged in making brick.' The dissimilarity of the labourers to the Egyptians appears at first view; the complexion, physiognomy, and beard, permit us not to be mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews. The tomb belonged to a high court officer, and was made in the time of Thotmes IV." (Hengstenberg, &c. pp. 80, 81.) The Mosaic history contains the only account, in the possession of the world, of the remarkable events which took place in Egypt, during the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1491—the destruction of its harvests, its first-born, its army, and its monarch. The information which the writers quoted by Josephus profess to give, is evidently of Hebrew origin. It is a striking fact, that no trace of the tomb of the Pharaoh, Thotmes IV., called Pharmuthi, deadly, who pursued the Israelites, has been discovered in the valley near Thebes, in which the monarchs of the dynasty to which he belonged are buried. It may be mentioned here that the "mixed multitude" that accompanied the Israelites at their exodus from Egypt, was, it has been supposed, composed in part at least of a remnant of the Hycsos or shepherds, and that their leader, said to have been a brother of Amenophis II., who succeeded Thotmes as Pharaoh, may be identified as Danaus, who colonized Argos; who, after remaining with the Hebrews upwards of two years in the wilderness, proceeded to Greece, carrying with them those traditions and that mixture of Jewish rites and ceremonies which formed so remarkable a combination in the mythology and idolatrous worship of the Greeks. Danaus, according to the Parian Chronicle, arrived in Greece B. C. 1485.

In presenting a view of the historical value of the Pentateuch, we ought not to overlook the history which it contains of one of the world's greatest men—a man who was honoured to introduce a code which has existed for forty centuries, and long survived the more recent institutes of Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon. I refer to Moses, born B. C. 1571, a man whom pagan antiquity represents as possessed of profound learning, and who, considered merely in a human light, was not more celebrated as a statesman, than as a historian and a poet. Orpheus, one of the earliest and greatest instructors of the Greeks, was a

disciple of Musæus, who, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was Moses; and who maintained that thus may be accounted for that mixture of Mosaic revelation and Egyptian superstition which is discernible in all the Orphic fragments, and which in time was melted down into the fabulous mythologies of Hesiod and Homer. It is also supposed that Moschus, the celebrated Phœnician sage, was the same person. By the authority of Pharaoh's daughter, Ameuse, whom Josephus calls Thermutis, who reigned twenty-two years, and who evidently designed to make Moses her successor, being without children of her own, he was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The priests and magicians were compelled to open to him their arcana and mystic lore. When he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, she adopted Moeris, Thotmes III., and Moses soon after was compelled to flee into Midian. Mr. Cory, in his *Mythological Inquiry*, says that after the Exodus, the fame of the miraculous exploits of Moses and Joshua was wafted with the Danaan colonies to Greece, and with other fugitives, in whatever direction they journeyed. There is express historical evidence, he says, from Diodorus, to show that the colonies of Danaus and Cadmus went out of Egypt with Moses, and parted from him in the desert.

Nor must we overlook in this estimate that code of the Jewish lawgiver which contains laws, not for one time, or age, or people, but for man as an individual, and as a social being. It contains an epitome of the rules of social existence. It includes a summary of the principles of moral duty. No heathen country could possess a moral system to be compared with one that rested on the idea of there being one, and but one living, holy, personal, immaterial God. Love to this Being, from which is derived love to our fellow men, as we love ourselves, is the great ethical principle of that moral law, which lies at the basis of the Mosaic code. After so many centuries of inquiry and discovery, this great principle remains uneclipsed, the central truth of moral science, so that every man feels that to search for another, would be as wise as for a professed astronomer to search for another sun to our system. Many of the institutes of Moses owed their origin to the design of segregating the people from the rest of mankind, in order to preserve a divinely

revealed religion and cultus, from degeneracy and extinction; but the informing, animating principle of his entire code, as such, was derived from the Ten Commandments, and called into active demonstration a genuine philanthropy. It permits, or rather recognizes the existence of certain evils, and prescribes regulations for them, but it nowhere justifies them. The learned Michaelis, who was professor of law in the University of Gottingen, remarks that "a man who considers laws philosophically, who would survey them with the eye of a Montesquieu, would never overlook the laws of Moses." It was the opinion of the late distinguished Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, that "no man could be a sound lawyer, who was not well read in the laws of Moses." The laws of Greece, which exerted a moulding influence on the political condition of the entire classic world, were indebted, to a surprising extent, to those of the Hebrew state. Many unmistakable correspondences can be traced. The Agrarian law of Lycurgus has its prototype in that of Moses; and Solon appears to have copied many of his laws respecting the entail of property, and marriage, from the law of Moses.

To Moses, and not to Herodotus, belongs the honour of being styled the "father of history." Assyria and Babylon, Egypt and Greece, are all indebted to him. He was the only man, who from personal observation, had any considerable materials for the illustration of ancient Egyptian civilization. The disasters which befell Egypt at the epoch of the exodus, must have nearly extinguished its learning, as well as annihilated its power. Its priests and scholars, it has been suggested, probably accompanied Thotmes, and perished with him in the Red Sea. The writings of Moses contain the best commentary on the monuments of that land of wonders, and furnish Rossellini and Wilkinson the key with which to unlock the mysteries of its tombs and temples. The monuments of Egypt afford no evidence of a knowledge among its people of alphabetical writing; whence then did the first historian receive this art? whence but from God himself? And may he not have received it when he received the Decalogue? May not that perfect law be the earliest, the original specimen of written language given to men?

ART. III.—*Missions in Western Africa.*

THERE is scarcely any problem more difficult of solution than that involved in the duty laid upon the people of God by the great Head of the church, in relation to the evangelization of the African race. Reference is not now made to that portion of them who are to be found in our own country or in the West India Islands. Christianity has already done much to elevate the moral and religious character of these; and their future destiny may be safely left to the care of that kind and merciful Providence which has heretofore been exercised over them. But the 5,000,000 of this race in America are but a handful compared with the 100,000,000 of the same race on the continent of Africa. It is to the duty of the church in connection with these, that attention is invited in the present article.

When we turn our eyes to that far off land, what a vast continent spreads itself out before the vision! What untold multitudes of human beings are scattered in every direction over this great continent—along her seaboard, over her extended plains, along her mountain sides, in her rich valleys and throughout her unreclaimed forests! What a dark and unbroken cloud of ignorance and superstition overspreads the whole of these vast realms! What scenes of cruelty, inhumanity, oppression and brutality are enacted day by day among these benighted millions.

And yet these are our fellow-men—fellow-heirs with ourselves of immortal glory or of endless woe. To them the church is commanded to preach the gospel—that gospel which has a balm for every wound, a cure for every disease, and the power, under God, to raise up these people from all their deep degradation to that high and honourable spiritual destiny for which they were made, and for which they have been redeemed.

But plain as is the duty of the church, and urgent as are the circumstances of these benighted millions, it is scarcely possible to take a single step in remedying their condition without a severe trial of our faith. God, for reasons that are

wise and merciful, but not wholly apparent to human wisdom, has surrounded three-fourths of that great continent with a belt of pestilential air, which no civilized man, white or black, can invade with entire impunity. Whoever essays to rescue any of these people from their desperate condition, must do so at the peril of his own temporal life. It is impossible for any one to draw near to this fiery furnace without himself being scorched. We have had abundant and painful evidence of this in our past missionary experience; and it will scarcely ever be possible to prosecute the missionary work in that country, without trials and reverses growing out of the unhealthiness of the climate.

What then is to be done in view of this state of things?—In view of the solemn, unrepealed command of the Saviour, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, about which there can be no mistake:—in view of the wretched and helpless condition of these people, about which there is equally little room for doubt:—and in view of the difficulties of the work, which, in some respects, appear to be almost insuperable?

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this is a question of vast and momentous importance, and no serious minded Christian man will regard it with indifference. It may not involve our spiritual interests as individuals, or affect sensibly the church to which we belong, or the country in which we live. But touching the great interests of the Redeemer's kingdom among men, to which all Christians are solemnly pledged, and the salvation of a race of men four times as numerous perhaps as the entire population of these United States, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate its importance. The church of Christ, therefore, if she would be true to herself, faithful to her great Head, and would meet the solemn responsibility devolved upon her, will not turn away from this subject, but will take it up, and in the light of God's word decide what is to be done.

Can any other plan than the one now pursued be relied upon to accomplish the proposed work? In other words, can the services of white missionaries be dispensed with, in laying the foundation of that great spiritual superstructure, which we know is to arise in the midst of this profound darkness, and extend

its light and influence over the whole of these benighted regions? are they to be exonerated from doing anything in this work, simply because it is attended with hardships and perils? Is there any other kind of labour that can be substituted for that which is now employed in extending the Redeemer's kingdom among these people?

A great many expedients and substitutes have been suggested, but we know of none that will stand the test of scrutiny, or commend themselves to the judgment of those who understand all the bearings of the subject.

The Colonization scheme will not answer the purpose. As a secular, philanthropic undertaking, it is worthy of the countenance and support of all who feel an interest in the welfare of the African race. If it is carried on judiciously and efficiently, Liberia must ere long become an inviting home for such of the coloured race as find this country too straight for them; it will afford a good starting point from which the lines of Christianity may be extended into darker regions; and the people of Liberia themselves must, in the course of time, exert an important influence in promoting and extending Christian civilization among the aboriginal population of the surrounding country. But this is all that can reasonably be expected of the Liberians. If they can take care of themselves and develop the rich resources of the country, which they have adopted as their own, they will have done a great work, and all that can reasonably be expected of them for a century to come. To expect more of them than this, will be to insure disappointment.

Their geographical position precludes the possibility of their exerting an extended influence over the country at large. They occupy but a small spot on that great continent. They have no large harbours to draw people together from a distance for commercial purposes; and no rivers by which the country can be navigated to the distance of a hundred miles from the seacoast. They are not brought in contact with more than 100,000 native inhabitants at most. But what are these among the 150,000,000 of people in that wide spread country.

Nor are the Liberians, with a few honourable exceptions,

suitcd to carry on the missionary work, even if their position and other circumstances allowed them to engage in it. If there is any particular department of the work assigned the church by her great Head, that especially needs her strong men, we would unhesitatingly say that it is the foreign missionary department; and the deeper any people have sunk in the mire of heathenism, the stronger must the arm be that is to raise them up. How can it be otherwise? Look for a moment at the nature of the work which the foreign missionary must perform, if he would prove himself an able workman. He must study out, and in a majority of cases reduce to writing, for the first time, the language of the people among whom he lives; and perchance without the aid either of competent teachers or any written helps. He must translate the word of God into that language, and then expound it to a people who may be regarded as utterly destitute of all religious ideas. He must make himself acquainted with all the secret springs of the moral, social, intellectual, and religious character of the people, and perhaps in despite of studied concealment, so as to know how to influence them for good. He must know how to mould and shape the character of a people just emerging from the darkness of heathenism into the light of Christianity; and he must at the same time exercise all that patience, perseverance, and fortitude, which the foreign missionary work is constantly exacting. To meet these high requisitions, it will be seen at once, that none but men of high and respectable intellectual gifts and solid piety can be effective. And no one who knows anything about the coloured people around us, would think of looking to them for many specimens of such endowments.

More than this. The Liberians are regarded by all the missionary associations in this country, who have had any experience in African missions, as themselves the proper subjects of missionary labour. Four times as much missionary money is actually laid out upon their schools and churches, at the present time, as upon any other people of the same size on the face of the earth; and under the solemn conviction, on the part of those by whom these appropriations are made, that if anything less is done, there will be much more danger of the Libe-

rians relapsing back into the heathenism of their forefathers, than hope of their raising the natives up to Christian civilization.

The idea has often been entertained of establishing seminaries of learning in this country for the purpose of training coloured men for the African field, but hitherto without any decided success. The Ashmun Institute, recently established at Oxford, Pennsylvania, under the direction of the Presbytery of New Castle, promises much more encouraging results, and if the plan contemplated by its founders is carried out, it can scarcely fail to be a great blessing to the black population of this country. But no very early or important results can be anticipated, so far as Africa is concerned. There will be a demand for more educated coloured men in this country, for a long time to come, than this institution can possibly furnish, even should it take rank with the largest seminaries of learning in the country. A few occasional labourers are all that could reasonably be expected for the African field; and these, while they would form an important auxiliary in carrying on the work of missions, would be no substitute for the large number of effective white missionaries who are now engaged there. Besides which, it should be borne in mind, that coloured men, brought up and educated in this country, are liable to the same casualties in passing through the process of acclimation in Africa that white men are. The only difference in the two cases is, that coloured men may, in the course of time, become thoroughly acclimated, and enjoy comfortable health, whilst the white man seldom ever does, though with care and prudence he may live and labour there for a long series of years, as is the case with a large number of missionaries now residing in that country both from England and America.

After having looked at this subject under all its bearings, and from every possible stand-point, we find ourselves shut up to the solemn conviction, that the church must continue to carry on this work as heretofore, whatever may be its perils and trials, or these benighted millions in Western and Central Africa be abandoned to perpetual and unmitigated heathenism. We must of course adopt such modifications and alterations in our plans of operation as may be suggested by

experience. If it is ascertained that white men cannot travel through the malarious districts for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel, without too great peril of life, let them locate in some healthier region, and give themselves up to the work of training natives, who can perform this kind of service with impunity. White men must at least aim to lay the foundation of a better state of things—to give such an impetus to the work as will enable it to sustain itself after a while without any other aid than that which comes down from heaven.

Can these plans be carried out? Is there really anything impracticable in the task which is thus laid upon the people of God? Certainly not, if the subject is contemplated in connection with the trials, self-denials, and perils, which the Saviour assured his disciples would be inseparable from the progress of his kingdom in any part of the world, and in connection also with the promises he has made to his people, that their labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Men of the world, whom our Saviour pronounces wiser in their generation than the children of light, and whose examples, in some respects, are held up for the imitation of the people of God, would never think of abandoning any of their enterprises on account of such difficulties as cause multitudes of Christian men to falter and hesitate in relation to African missions. The Christian world has scarcely ceased to feel the vibrations of that mighty shock which one year ago came so near throwing the empire of India out of the grasp of the British nation. There is no part of the civilized world that has not felt the pulsations of that mighty struggle. The British empire itself was agitated to its very centre. The whole nation, as with the heart of one man, rose up to resent their injuries and regain their lost power. All classes of persons vied with each other as to who could render the most effective aid in securing to the country the prestige of her former greatness and power. The nobleman and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant brought their sons and their kindred, and offered them freely for the service of their country. And these brave men, as they turned their backs upon their native homes to encounter a two-fold conflict with an unhealthy climate and a bitter foe, carried with them the prayers,

the sympathies, the benedictions and the plaudits of the whole nation. And look at the actual conflict, how desperate and how prolonged! What treasures are expended! How much of England's best blood is freely poured out on the field of battle! Where are Lawrence, Wilson, Wheeler, Havelock, and many others of kindred spirit? But what is the object of all this intensity of feeling on the part of the nation, this unbounded enthusiasm, this waste of treasure and life? It is simply to make sure their hold of a temporal kingdom. And now that that object is attained, or likely soon to be, who begrudges the cost? Would less have been done, even if the whole cost had been known beforehand? Would those brave men, who have fallen in this conflict, have turned aside in the hour of their nation's trial, even if they had foreseen their own fate?

But if so much is perilled for the sake of temporal dominion in India, is nothing to be perilled for the spiritual renovation of a continent equally as large? Have the people of God reason to expect such an achievement without cost? But at the same time, is it probable that it will cost the church of Christ one-tenth part of the treasure or agency in extending the knowledge of the gospel throughout the African continent, that it has the British government to establish and maintain their authority over India? How is it, that in one case there is so much promptness, energy, and unshrinking firmness, whilst in the other there is so much indecision, hesitation and want of faith? How inconsistent with our professions, and dishonouring to the cause of Christ is such vacillation on the part of his people!

But this argument may be brought to a still more direct application. It should be known and borne in mind, and especially by those who are disposed to magnify the difficulties connected with African missions, that there are not less than six or eight thousand white men living on the shores of western Africa, and on islands adjacent to those shores, where the climate is essentially the same, engaged in secular pursuits; while there are not more than one hundred and fifty white persons engaged in the missionary work. Commerce, science, and the various governments of Europe and America can command

as many white men to carry out their objects as are needed. These men have their trials, their reverses and their losses, as well as the missionaries, but they never think of abandoning any of their undertakings on this account. If one man falls, another is ready to take his place. If one scheme does not succeed, another is substituted in its place. In the palmy days of the foreign slave trade there were probably more than ten times as many white men engaged in carrying on this nefarious business, as has ever been employed by the whole Christian church at any one time in diffusing the light of the gospel in the same regions. These men not only lived in the most insalubrious districts, but their intercourse was with the most barbarous portions of the population. They were in consequence exposed to greater hardships and more real dangers than it is necessary for missionaries to incur. They never thought however of abandoning their unholy calling on account of the unhealthiness of the climate. If all the existing restrictions to this traffic were taken away, there would soon be fifty or a hundred white men on those shores to engage in it, for every one now employed in the missionary work. But it is not necessary to pursue this humiliating comparison any further, and we abandon it for a more direct argument.

We refer now to the decided success which has attended missionary labour in that country. If God in his providence has been pleased to subject the faith of his people to a severe trial in this matter, he has, at the same time, given them such unequivocal evidence of his approval of their work, as to leave no room for doubt about their duty. We do not now refer so much to the results of any one mission, as to the work of missions in that country generally. On this subject the most erroneous impressions prevail, but in correcting them it will be necessary to limit our remarks to a few general statements.

Those who have given particular attention to the subject are aware that the history of Protestant missions in Western Africa, with the exception of two missions of somewhat earlier date, is substantially comprised within the last twenty-five years. What then has been effected in that time? More than one hundred Christian churches have been organized in that country, and upwards of fifteen thousand hopeful converts have

been gathered into those churches. Nearly two hundred schools are in full operation, in connection with these various missions, and not less than sixteen thousand native youths are receiving a Christian training in those schools at the present moment. More than twenty different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing, into many of which large portions of the sacred Scriptures, as well as other religious books, have been translated, printed, and circulated among the people; and we are no doubt in the bounds of truth and probability, when it is assumed that some knowledge of the Christian salvation has been brought, by direct and indirect means, within the reach of at least five millions of immortal beings, who had never before heard of the blessed name of the Saviour.

Now these general results, presented in this summary way, may not make a very strong impression upon the minds of our readers; but when we take a retrospective view of the missionary work in that country—the difficulties that had to be encountered in acquiring a footing in regions where the gospel had never been preached—the reverses that were experienced in connection with the unhealthiness of the climate, and ignorance of the best modes of treating the diseases of the country—the roughness and perversity of heathen character with which the earlier missionaries had to contend—the ignorance and superstition that had to be removed before the people were prepared to receive the simplest truths of the gospel—the difficulty of organizing and maintaining in purity and efficiency churches among a people just emerging from the darkness of heathenism—of establishing and keeping in efficient operation schools among a people who had but an imperfect appreciation of the advantages of education—the difficulty of studying out and reducing to writing these barbarous languages without any suitable aids, and the still more difficult and responsible task of translating the word of God into them—and then remember, that not only have all these difficulties been surmounted, (and that by a handful of feeble missionaries from this country and Great Britain,) but that bright Christian lights now begin to blaze up at intervals along a line of sea-coast of more than three thousand miles, where unbroken night formerly reigned—that the everlasting gospel is now preached in Kumasi and

Abomi, the capitals respectively of Ashantee and Dahomey, two of the most barbarous kingdoms on the face of the earth—that Christian missions are now being established all over the kingdom of Yoruba, a land once wholly given up to the slave-trade and bloodshed—that along the banks of the far interior Niger, where the bones of the great African traveller have slumbered for half a century, Christian lights are springing up in the track of the exploring expedition—that at Old Calabar, a place renowned in former times, not only for being one of the chief seats of the foreign slave trade, but for the unparalleled cruelties and barbarities of its people, the gospel is not only preached, but the Spirit of God is poured out upon that debased people—that the gospel has recently been proclaimed by our own missionaries from Corisco, on the heights of the Sierra del Crystal mountains, to a people who had not only never before heard it, but who themselves were unknown to the Christian world until within a few years past—when all these things are taken into consideration, every discerning mind must see at once, that a footing of immense advantage has already been acquired; and if present measures, with such modifications as may be suggested by experience, are followed up, in dependence upon divine aid, the time is not far distant when the light of the gospel shall reach the darkest and most remote corner of that great continent.

When we couple with all this the remarkable interpositions of Providence in laying open all parts of the country to missionary labour, and the newly awakened desire among the people in all those regions where missions have been formed, to know more of the gospel, the argument amounts almost to demonstration.

It is but recently that missionaries could have any access to that country at all. The unhealthiness of the climate, the barbarous character of the people, and the absolute predominance of the foreign slave trade over the seas and shores of Africa for nearly three centuries, seemed to preclude the possibility of doing anything to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among these unhappy people. And for a long time after the church, both in England and America, had been thoroughly aroused to the solemn duty of imparting the gospel to the hea-

then nations of the earth, Western Africa was still passed by as inaccessible. But a brighter day is now arising upon this unhappy land. The foreign slave trade, which once maintained undisputed ascendancy over the country, has experienced a severe check; and although it may find countenance and support in the cupidity of unprincipled men for some time to come, it can never recover its former power and ascendancy. Lawful commerce, commerce in the natural products of the country, has sprung up all along the sea-coast, and is increasing in value and extent day by day with almost unparalleled rapidity. Settlements of Christian and civilized men are being multiplied along her seaboard, and their influence is being extensively felt in all the surrounding regions, not only in developing the natural resources of the country, but in promoting the cause of Christian civilization. The geography of the country has been extensively explored by missionaries and men of science. The highways to the capitals of Ashantee, Dahomey, Yoruba, and the country lying beyond the Sierra del Crystal mountains, are all known and travelled by the missionary of the cross. The Niger is now being navigated into the very heart of Soudan, and a regular mail has been established between Rabba and the Gulf of Benin.

Now what has brought about these wonderful changes in the general condition of the country? We ask not about the various squadrons that have been stationed on that coast for the suppression of piracy and the foreign slave trade—not about the colonies of civilized men that have been planted there—not about the commerce that has sprung up there—nor about the Christian schools that have been established there. But by whom has all this varied agency been called into existence, if not by the providence of God? And is there no language in such a providence for the people of God? How can they hold back or turn aside from a work to which they are so plainly called by the providence of God?

Another consideration of great weight is to be found in the desire which is manifested by people in all those regions where the gospel has been preached, to have Christian teachers settle among them. This was not the case twenty-five years ago. At that time the great mass of the population were utterly

averse to the introduction of the mysterious art of reading and writing among them; and in a few isolated cases, where natives of the country had learned to read on board of foreign ships, they were under the necessity of concealing the fact from their countrymen; otherwise their lives would have been forfeited. But this state of things has passed away, at least in all those regions where the influence of missionaries has been felt. Thousands of the rising generation have been taught to read, not only without bringing down upon themselves any of the calamities that had been apprehended by their superstitious fears, but on the other hand they have secured thereby great advantages to themselves and their untaught kindred; so that their former aversion has been changed to an earnest desire to be taught. Missionaries residing in the country have applications for Christian teachers which they cannot possibly meet. It matters not that these applications in many cases arise from worldly motives; or that these people have but an indefinite idea of the nature and requirements of that gospel which they ask to be proclaimed among them. It is enough for the church of Christ to know that any such desires exist at all; and this is all that can be expected of any heathen people, until they have had some instruction in relation to the nature of Christianity. The views and wishes of these simple-hearted people are sometimes expressed in a very touching manner, and they ought to be so recorded, as not to be forgotten by the people of God. It is but little more than a year ago, that most of the religious journals of the country circulated the well-authenticated fact, that a messenger had been sent by a heathen chief in the interior to the sea-coast, for the purpose of seeking a Christian teacher for his people, and that after waiting there for several months, he had to return without one. Another fact occurred about the same time, and equally well-authenticated, of a chief who had performed a voyage of nearly two hundred miles in an open canoe, for the same purpose—promising if a Christian teacher would go with him, he would not only guaranty his personal safety, but would do all he could to promote his comfort and further the objects of his mission; and even he had received no response. These are calls, loud and clear, that ought not to be forgotten by the church; and

especially in connection with the aptitude for improvement which these people are evincing, and their readiness to yield themselves to the influence of the gospel, wherever it has been distinctly set before them. It is but a short time since, that one of these tribes, breaking through the fetters of ignorance and superstition, and, without any foreign aid, invented a new and original mode of writing their own language; and are now drinking from the fountain of living waters through this channel of their own opening.* Surely these are not the people to be forsaken. How can the friends of the Redeemer turn a deaf ear to such plain calls of Providence, or neglect the great advantages which have been brought about by the energy of these people themselves?

A very strong motive, if we had time to enlarge upon it, might be urged in support of the cause of missions to this part of the world, from the wonderful increase and perpetuation of the African race, and the preservation among them of a language eminently suited to convey the truths of the gospel to their benighted minds. The Ethiopian race, from whom the modern negro or African stock are undoubtedly descended, can claim as early a history, with the exception of the Jews, as any living people on the face of the earth. History, as well as recent monumental discoveries, gives them a place in ancient history as far back as Egypt herself, if not farther. But what has become of the cotemporaneous nations of antiquity, as well as others of much later origin? Where are the descendants of those who built the monuments and the cenotaphs of Egypt—the Numidians, Mauritanians, and other powerful

* Reference is made to the Vey people, residing half way between Sierra Leone and Cape Messurado, who have within the last twenty years invented a syllabic alphabet, with which they are now writing their language, and by which they are maintaining among themselves an extensive epistolary correspondence. The Church Missionary Society in London have had a font of type cast in this new character, and several little tracts have been printed in it, and circulated among the tribe. The principal inventor of this alphabet is now dead; but it is supposed that he died in the Christian faith, having acquired some knowledge of the way of salvation through the medium of this character of his own invention. Some account of the origin of this discovery was published in the *Missionary Herald* for June, 1834, and a more particular account has recently been published by Mr. Koelle, a German missionary at Sierra Leone.

names, who once held absolute sway over all northern Africa? They have been swept away from the earth, or dwindled down to a handful of modern Copts and Berbers of doubtful descent.

The Ethiopian, or African race, on the other hand, though they have long since lost all the civilization which once existed on the Upper Nile, have, nevertheless, continued to increase and multiply, until they are now, with the exception of the Chinese, the largest single family of men on the face of the earth. They have extended themselves in every direction over that great continent, from the southern borders of the Great Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and are thus constituted masters of at least three-fourths of the habitable portions of this great continent. And this progress has been made, be it remembered, in despite of the prevalence of the foreign slave trade, which has carried off so many of their people; the ceaseless internal feuds and wars that have been waged among themselves; and a conspiracy, as it were, among all surrounding nations, to trample out their national existence. Surely their history is a remarkable one; but not more so, perhaps, than is foreshadowed in the prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. God has watched over and preserved these people through all the vicissitudes of their unwritten history—and no doubt for some great purpose of mercy towards them, as well as for the display of the glory of his own grace and providence; and we may expect to have a full revelation of this purpose and glory as soon as the everlasting Gospel is made known to these benighted millions.

Nor is the preservation of their language, especially that of the great southern division of the race, a less remarkable feature in their condition and history. There is scarcely any known language of more marked features, or better adapted in its primitive condition to be a vehicle for conveying divine truth. For the completeness of its classifications, the philosophical and systematic character of all its arrangements, the precision and definiteness with which it gives utterance to the ordinary thoughts and emotions of the mind, and for the extent of its inflections, it is perhaps unsurpassed by any uncultivated language in the world. But the most remarkable feature about it is its power of expansion, its adaptedness to give expression to any new

thoughts that may be suggested. This will be seen at once to be a matter of vast importance in connection with the introduction of the principles of the Gospel among this people. The want of this among most of the heathen nations of the earth is one of the most serious difficulties with which missionaries ever have to contend. To find terms to convey definite ideas on the subject of religion to the minds of men who are absolutely ignorant of its first rudiments, is no easy matter. The process, in most cases, is tedious and unsatisfactory; and it is only by great perseverance that any important results are attained. This is not necessarily the case in relation to the language and people which we have under consideration. The flexibility of the language is so great, that not only may all ordinary thoughts be expressed in it by a little circumlocution, if need be, but new terms may be introduced, by simply carrying out the grammatical principles of the language, which will convey clear and definite ideas, though they had never before been heard.* This feature of the language, as well as others that might be developed if our limits allowed, shows that the hand of Providence has been over the language as well as the people by whom it is spoken; and it is but a natural and legitimate inference, that the one has been preserved as the instrument of enlightening, purifying, and elevating the other.

We have now laid before our readers, not in a very methodical manner, but as they have suggested themselves, some of the considerations which should induce the church to go forward with a steady and unfaltering step in the good and great work which has been begun in Africa; and it is necessary only to recapitulate some of these in order to secure their combined force, viz. the wonderful preservation of the race through all

* This may not be distinctly apprehended without an illustration. The people in their native condition have no knowledge of the Christian religion, and their language, of course, has none of the technical terms which belong to Christianity; as, for example, Saviour, salvation, Redeemer, redemption, &c. But they have a word, *sunga*, to save any thing on the point of being lost or destroyed; and another, *danduna*, for redeeming a man who is held as a pawn, or is a prisoner. Now, from a well-known law of the language, we derive from the first, *Ozunga*, a Saviour, and *isunginla*, salvation; from the second, *Olandune*, Redeemer, and *ilanduna*, redemption. These words, in connection with the name of the Son of God, are apprehended at once, though never heard before.

the untoward circumstances of their past history, and their language also; the marked interposition of God's providence for a few years past in laying open all portions of the country, and bringing the people within the reach of the gospel; the newly awakened desire of the natives to have Christian teachers settled among them; the marked success which has attended the efforts of the church, imperfect as they have been, to establish the gospel on these benighted shores; and above all, the command of the great Head of the church to proclaim the gospel in all portions of the earth. Surely no stronger or weightier arguments could be offered in behalf of any cause; no clearer tokens of the divine approval can be expected in connection with any undertaking, and the church of Christ must forget her own high calling and prove unfaithful to her great Captain, before she can withdraw from a contest, where duty is so clear, and where such decided advantages have already been gained.

This work cannot be sustained, however, without great trials and sacrifices on the part of those by whom it is carried on. Partial exile from Christian society, impaired health and constant watchfulness against the insidious encroachments of disease, are some of the peculiar and indispensable conditions of missionary life in that country. It may be found necessary too for the missionary to deny himself the high spiritual luxury of roaming extensively over the country to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, for the more quiet and less exciting business of training natives of the country for this kind of service. He may have to modify and alter his plans of labour, and it may become necessary now and then for him to retire from the field of action for the purpose of recruiting his impaired health.

But if the work has its trials, it has, in a higher degree, its consolations also. The missionary who consecrates himself to labour in a field where there are confessedly so many trials and dangers, must do it from love to his fellow-men and obedience to his Saviour. He carries with him the comforting reflection that he has left all for Christ, and he casts himself, as a matter of necessity, upon his Almighty arm alone for support and defence. Such persons may expect and always do

enjoy such tokens of the Saviour's approval, as they only know who are willing to forsake all for Christ. The missionary will find no want of stimulus or scope for the exercise of all the nobler faculties of his nature. He will find a fruitful field of research in the character of the people around him, in the study of their language and in the labours that will devolve upon him in his new calling. He will have constant opportunities by the wayside, under the wide spread shade-tree, in the smoky hut, and in the open council-house, to unfold to men and women who never heard it before, the wonderful love of the Saviour, than which there is no richer spiritual enjoyment on earth. And if called to die in that far-off land, he will have the sustaining presence of his Saviour, and find as direct a pathway to heaven, as from any other spot on the face of the earth.

ART. IV.—*The Present State of India.*

THE great event of this generation is the revolt in India. The standing of Great Britain among the nations; the destiny of the millions of India; and the progress of Christianity in the East, are all involved in the issue. The sympathies of the Christian world must be with the English in this momentous conflict. Not only are they our brethren in the flesh and in the faith, but it is patent to all men, that the outbreak in India is the rising of the powers of darkness against the kingdom of light. It is heathenism against Christianity. It is Belial against Christ. It is Satan against God. This is the essential nature of the conflict, whatever collateral or subordinate issues may be involved. There would have been no revolt, or it would have assumed an entirely different character, were it not for the deadly hostility of the people to Christianity; and the triumph of the rebels would be the triumph of heathenism and the suppression of the gospel. Viewed, therefore, either in its cause or consequences, this great conflict is essentially

the conflict of light and darkness. In saying this, we do not mean to say that the East India Company is a Christian institution, or that its government has been conducted on Christian principles. All we mean is, that the English rulers in India being Protestant Christians, they are of necessity the representatives of Christianity in the eyes of the people. Their presence gives facilities for the open inculcation of the gospel, and the progress and consolidation of their power must inevitably secure the progress of Christianity, and the consequent downfall of Mohammedanism and Hinduism. It is the consciousness of this truth which lies at the bottom of the conflict. Other things may be exciting or occasional causes, but this spiritual antagonism, this essential opposition between Christianity and heathenism, is the motive power. Temporal grievances may have weakened the levee, but the overwhelming rush of waters is from a higher source—from the inner or spiritual world—a world which politicians and statesmen, unfortunately, seldom take into account. The fatal error of the East India Company, its condemning sin, has been that they ignored their religion. They thought they could govern as neutrals in religion. They went about India, as men entering a cavern filled with bats and unclean birds, with dark lanterns, for fear of disturbing the inhabitants. Enough of light, however, gleamed through to arouse and terrify the spirits of darkness. Had they allowed the light to shine freely, those spirits would have fled or quailed. Our Lord said, “He that is not for me, is against me;” and the same is true of Satan. Not to be a Mohammedan is to be an infidel; and not to be a Brahman is to be unclean. The East India Company, by their assumed neutrality in religion, have Satan against them, without having God for them. Thus it ever must be with any individual or nation which acts on the principle of treating all religions alike.

A great distinction is to be made between the East India Company and the English in India. The former has, to a great degree, ignored their religion, while multitudes of the latter have been devoted Christians; and through them it is that Christianity, with its disturbing light, has been brought to bear on the powers of darkness. Christ said he did not come to send peace, but a sword. The East India Company were not wrong

in assuming that Christianity would be a disturbing element in India. Their mistake was in thinking that they could keep it out; that the sun could be hid under a bushel; that Christian men, the temples and organs of the Holy Spirit, could be scattered over the country, and yet Satan not know it, or knowing it, not resist.

In ascribing a religious origin to this revolt we, of course, do not deny the existence or reality of other causes. The mere disparity in numbers between the governors and the governed, forty or fifty thousand Englishmen controlling a population numbering a hundred and fifty millions, is of itself enough to account for this rebellion. To this must be added the diversity of race. If we should be restive under the military government of Malays or negroes, is it wonderful that the Hindus feel the domination of a handful of Europeans, whom they regard as a lower order of beings, a degradation? * Was a Mohammedan nation ever known to submit quietly to the authority of Christians? Then again the government of a semi-civilized people must of necessity be more or less arbitrary, and when exercised by a minority, forced to rely in a great measure on the natives for the execution of the laws and the collection of taxes, it cannot fail in a multitude of cases to be oppressive. The substitution also of the rule of Englishmen necessarily displeased the native rulers; whole classes of men, before powerful and wealthy from the possession of office, were necessarily set aside and reduced to insignificance, and of course rendered discontented and revengeful. All these causes of opposition would exist, even had the Company and all its European servants been perfect saints. No one, however, in England and America is disposed to deny that many mistakes and many crimes have been committed by the rulers of India. Surely therefore causes enough for this revolt are to be found, without attributing it to the peculiar injustice and cruelty of the English. The common sense and Christian feelings of the community would be shocked

* Father Spaulding, of the Ceylon mission, once said to us, that the meanest Tamul boy in their schools would feel himself degraded if forced to marry a daughter of the sovereign of England. A lady belonging to the same mission said, that even when professing Christianity, a Tamul youth would regard himself insulted if she should offer to shake hands with him.

at the assertion that the slaveholders of our Southern States are more unjust and cruel than the slaveholders of ancient Rome or of modern Africa. It would be regarded as a calumny against Christianity itself. No less revolting is the assertion that the Christian rulers of India are no better masters than the Mohammedans or Hindus. This cannot be true, unless Protestant Christianity is no better than heathenism. This charge is not only preposterous in itself, but it is contradicted both by the almost unanimous testimony of competent witnesses, and by facts patent to all men. Did systematic oppressors ever train their victims to the use of arms, organize them into regular battalions, discipline and marshal them as infantry, artillery, and cavalry, put under their charge vast magazines of all the munitions of war, and make them the custodians of the public treasury? Yet all this the English have done in India. Even Delhi, the sacred capital of the Mogul empire, with its countless stores of ammunition, arms, and money, was left without a single European soldier. Would the most benevolent and indulgent slaveholding community on earth dare to act thus towards their slaves? Would it answer to have a trained army of three hundred thousand slave-soldiers in our Southern States?

The conduct of the English is absolutely irreconcilable with the hypothesis of their being deliberate and cruel oppressors. The present calamity has arisen from their overweening confidence in the people. They confided not only in the prestige arising from their past achievements, but to the self-interest of their subjects. By bettering the condition of the masses, by substituting law and order for the arbitrary exactions and cruel treatment of the native rulers, and by petting and pampering the sepoys, they supposed they had sufficiently guarded against either popular insurrection or military revolt. They underrated the power of the hostile principles of race and of religion. The mass of the people of India are either Mussulmans or Hindus. To the former, all infidels are dogs, whom it is an act of piety to destroy; to the latter, all other people are unclean. Men with these sentiments wrought into their nature, the English have armed and disciplined, thus placing themselves, their wives, their children, their wealth and authority in their power,

and then, some would have us believe, goaded them into rebellion by deliberate injustice, insult and cruelty!

When we think over the real facts of the case, the comparative fewness of the English, the hostility of race and of religion, the reduction of so many princes and aristocratic families to insignificance or poverty, the immense mass of disciplined native soldiers to whom the English soldiers were in the proportion of one to a hundred, we must regard it as little less than miraculous that this revolt did not occur long ago, and we shall not feel constrained to believe our Protestant fellow Christians to be worse than the heathen in order to account for the event. All that was necessary to produce an outbreak of the hostile elements which everywhere existed in abundance, was combination. Skilful effort was all that was required to secure concert of action. India has long been like a vast galvanic battery, pregnant with latent fires. It was only necessary to bring the poles together to produce an explosion. The moment the Mussulman and the Hindoo joined hands the circuit was completed, and the whole fabric of British power trembled at the shock. It is generally admitted that the annexation of Oude brought about this fatal combination. Oude is one of the finest provinces of India, and the chief seat of Mohammedan power. The king resided in Lucknow. The whole land was apportioned off to large landholders, who farmed the revenue, giving a certain portion to the king and exacting manifold more from the people. Each of these talookdars, as they are called, had his castle or fort and his armed retainers. They were constantly at war among themselves, and exercised the greatest injustice and cruelty towards the cultivators of the soil. It was the feudal system in a heathenish form. The king was powerless, even if he had the inclination to control these landholders or to protect his people. In fact he cared nothing for the people, but was content to let violence take its course so long as he was allowed to live in splendour and debauchery in Lucknow. The whole land was filled with robbery and murder. The authority of this king the English government was bound by treaty to uphold, and by upholding became responsible for the character of his administration and the state of the country. After all other means had failed to induce

the king to discharge in some measure the duties of his station, and to protect the people, the Earl of Dalhousie determined on the annexation of the kingdom. This measure has been condemned by some as unjust, by others as inexpedient, while others who justify the act condemn the manner in which it was done. On these points we do not pretend to judge. If however the facts reported by Major General Sir W. H. Sleeman, British resident at the Court of Lucknow, after an official tour through the country, be true, then we think there can be little doubt of the justice of the annexation, whatever may be thought of its expediency or the mode of its execution. If it be right for any man to prevent another from robbing or murdering his neighbour; if it was right for England and France to prevent Turkey exterminating the Greeks, we do not see how it could be wrong for the East India Government to put a stop to such a state of things as is said to have existed in Oude under the late king. Whether the measure, in itself considered, however, were right or wrong, it is easy to see that the substitution of the strong arm of British power in place of the nominal rule of the king of Oude, would make the rapacious zemindars tremble for their right to plunder, and for the security of their ill-gotten possessions. These men were thus furnished with a motive for applying the spark to the train long since prepared. The malignity of the Mussulmans was always ripe for revolt. They had only to alarm the Hindoos, and especially the Brahmans, for the security of their religion, to persuade them that the English intended to force them to become Christians, or at least to make them lose caste—an evil to them a thousandfold worse than the loss of rank to European nobles—and the union of effort necessary to success would be secured. This was the course actually taken. A year after the annexation of Oude, a conspiracy had been organized, extending all over Northern India, which, by a merciful dispensation of Providence, leading to a premature outbreak, was prevented from being completely successful. The Mussulmans were the originators and plotters, the Hindus were the dupes. This view of the case accounts for the fact, that the Bengal army, recruited principally from Oude, was the first to revolt. This also explains why the outbreak assumed in Oude the

character of a rebellion, while, elsewhere, it was, in the first instance at least, little more than a military revolt. As soon, however, as the fire was kindled, it spread with fearful rapidity. The prisons were broken open and the convicts let loose, and all persons who had any grievance to avenge, and all who hoped to better their condition by plunder, joined in the revolt. So far as the facts are yet developed, this appears to us the natural account of this dreadful tragedy. "The heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing. The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision."

We hope our readers will excuse these remarks as introductory to an account of the revolt in India, from the pen of one of our missionaries, who has been on the ground during the whole progress of the conflict. Although this communication occupies more room than is usually allowed to a single article, and although it contains much already known from other sources, yet the ability and various knowledge which it displays, and the profound interest of the subject, must secure for it a cordial reception, and an attentive perusal. Our correspondent writes as follows:

In the history of mankind there are some pages much darker than the rest of that generally dark record. The passages which relate to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the dragonnades attending the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Sicilian Vespers, the Irish Massacres, the deeds of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, numerous scenes in the long drama of the Thirty Years' War, the Reign of Terror in France, are not read without a shudder and a melancholy feeling that such things could have been done by *man*. Our feelings are, perhaps, less enlisted as the distance of time increases which separates our days from those times and those events. But bitter, indeed, comes home to our own bosoms the truth of the utter corruption of mankind, when we are bound to insert another page into the dark record, detailing horrors that have

taken place in our own day, and that have befallen those of the same great race with ourselves.

The early part of the year 1857 saw Hindustan peacefully governed by the small number of its conquerors; the husbandman toiling in the field, the shepherd tending his flocks, the collector gathering the taxes, the banker weighing his rupees, the Brahman going out and in with rapid step at the low door of the temple of Mahadev, mumbling his formulas, pouring the water, strewing the flowers; the muezzin's call, loud and shrill, assembled the "faithful" to prayer; the Sikh blew his conch; the missionary preached in the crowded bazar, or taught in the humming school; the sepoy was bathing, or drilling, or practising at the target, or escorting treasure, or going on parade; the officer lived his listless monotonous cantonment life; the magistrate, with drowsy ear, listened to the drawling voice of the native writer reciting some evidence; the Grand Trunk Road was lively with traffic; the picturesque two-wheeled bullock-cart of the native; the large lumbering six-bullock wagon conveying government stores; the *dák-garí* conveying the solitary European traveller, or the palanquin, with its grunting bearers, or the rougher *doli*; numberless natives travelling on foot; regiments of Europeans, Hindustanis, Gurkhas, Sikhs, on their march from one station to another; in a number of places preparations going on for the commencement or completion of railroads; messages flashing along the wires from Bombay to Calcutta, and from Calcutta to Peshawur; men were digging canals, building barracks, erecting jails; whilst in the civil and military stations gayety and half-starved gossip were required to fill the time of many of their inhabitants; they were marrying and giving in marriage, when the idyl, in the twinkling of an eye, was terminated by the rattle of musketry and the booming of cannon, by the shrieks of maltreated English women—"the mother's, the maiden's wild scream of despair"—the piercing cries of English children caught on bayonets, the agonized wail of English infants hewn piecemeal, the dying groans of those that should have been their protectors, brave Englishmen. Rich and poor, young and old, all that was white, were overtaken in the one common calamity. From scores of places, almost simultaneously, rose the despairing

cry for mercy—for vain was it to withstand such massacre—in language foreign to their foes, and choked in their own blood. Delicate women, who the day before were accustomed to every luxury, which in that hot land becomes necessity—for whom the high, large, darkened room, the thickest walls, the constantly moving fan overhead, the platted, saturated grass filling the whole doorway, the large machine that is to produce a current in the atmosphere, were all required to make the Indian climate bearable, who at home, in the mild English sun, would never go out without sun-bonnet and parasol—these are seen to-day flying through the scorching, stifling dust, which the simoom blows into their faces, more than half naked, under the rays of a sun such as none can conceive who has not felt them, without shoes or stockings—for the savage villagers have stripped them of everything which, besides their lives, they saved from the hands of the infuriated sepoys and their own treacherous servants. Thus they fly for days, hiding and flying alternately, repulsed and maltreated in this village, and supplied with scant, coarse food in the next; looking death in the face a score of times in various shapes—yea, and worse, much worse than death—and sometimes reaching a place of safety only to die in delirium. Imagine the husband entering the home which he had left but an hour ago, and seeing there his wife swimming in gore, seeing the dread familiar look of that dear face distorted and ghastly; and here the child pinned to the wall, its blood oozing forth in a black, sluggish stream, in its broken eye a trace of life, and intense pain in its pleading glance. Think of young girls whose *end* (and oh, what a relief!) it was to be torn limb from limb; think of whole families obliged to witness the disgrace, and the cruel, foul butchery of those most loved; think of crucifying, flaying, and burning alive, of forcing the still quivering flesh, torn from the child's body, down its parents' throats! Think of children tossed for sport on bayonets, or *spitted*, writhing, living, on troopers' sabres. Think of Mohammedans, their notions of women, and the deep hatred they have always borne European ladies for their freedom and their virtue, let loose, unrestrained by *any thing*, and—yes, think of what has been most cruel in history and in fiction, what have been the greatest and most barbarous tortures, what the lowest

conceivable indignities; yea, imagine new ones, tax your imagination to the utmost, and all your conceptions will fall short of the dreadful realities of the mutiny of the Sepoy army.

For India, eminently, is the land of the habitations of cruelty; a land where people revolt because their government will not let them roast their mothers, choke their fathers, and strangle their daughters; where for pastime they torture their fellows with unheard of inflictions; where the practice of torture has become blended with the customs of all sects and classes; where the poor practise torture on each other; robbers on their victims, masters upon their servants, zamindárs on their ryots, (landlords upon their tenants,) schoolmasters upon their pupils, husbands upon their wives, and parents upon their children; where atrocity, brutality, and cruelty become ingrained in their very character. The methods they pursue (and they have a name for every method) are scorching various parts of the body by lighted torches, by red-hot iron, or by pouring boiling oil. They rub the face upon the ground so much sometimes as to fracture a jaw; they put a stinging beetle upon the navel, and cover it with a pot; they stick thorns under the nails; they fill the mouth with pebbles, and strike the chin upwards with sufficient force to break the teeth. These are their minor tortures. It is impossible even to name or describe some other methods. To such a people, infuriated and intoxicated with religious bigotry, and driven to madness by the falsehoods of their inciters, let loose upon Europeans and Christians, women and children looked in vain for mercy. They neither knew the word, nor acknowledged such a feeling. They ran riot in blood and shame.

In order to understand this insurrection in India, it is necessary to look at the causes which apparently led to it. Many of the best Indian statesmen had always said that the great danger to India was its sepoy army. But before we look at the army of India, it may be advisable to obtain a bird's-eye view of the country and the government of India.

According to a parliamentary return published in August, 1857, the gross total area of all the governments in India is 1,466,576 square miles, with a population of 180,884,297 souls. This area equals the whole of the United States, without the

Territories; and all these 180,000,000 are often said to be under British rule. This is substantially correct; the French and Portuguese, the only other European nations which have now any possessions on the Indian peninsula, occupy no more than 1254 square miles, with a population of little more than half a million. But still we hear constantly of about a hundred or two of independent kings and princes in India: *rájahs*, *ránas*, *ránís*, *peshwás*, *nizáms*, *nawábs*, *amírs*, and whatever else their names may be. And it is true we find in that parliamentary return, that the British States occupy 837,412 square miles only, whilst the remaining six hundred and odd thousand square miles are called Native States. A clue why these States have remained so long "independent," may be found in the same return, by looking at the population severally belonging to them, which is doubtless an index of the comparative value of the countries these powers occupy. The population of the territories directly under the East India Company's government is 157.6 to the square mile; that of the native States only 77.3. Moreover, all these States are independent only in a very qualified sense. Some pay as much tribute as the revenue under the British system, deducting the cost of collection, would amount to. There are treaties with all of them; none are allowed to have any diplomatic intercourse with any power except the Governor-General; and there is a British resident usually with the court of the prince, without whose consent no internal measure can be carried. Many also are obliged to support a military contingent, usually officered by the Company's officers, which is to aid the British government in time of need; whilst others again obtain the permission only as a privilege to organize and maintain police corps for the internal management of their appanages. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that 180,000,000 of people are ruled over by a company of annuitants in London, or rather by their Board of twenty-four Directors, very few of whom have ever seen the vast country whose destinies they sway.

Before the late outbreak, the number of Europeans in all India did probably not exceed forty thousand; and it was quite a matter of course to hear people speak of the irresistible moral force, prestige, and what not, as the instrumentality by which

England held India. Those who have the office of lubricating the machinery by which the rivets that attach India to the fortunes of England were held fast and in their places, smiled at such phrases. They knew that this "prestige," this "force of opinion," this "mental superiority" required a vast amount of nutriment, that there was a solid basis to all these intangible abstractions which absorbed the entire enormous revenue of India, and that of late years the *prestige* had been seriously encroaching upon the solid income, and that by an infallible law, at the same ratio, it could not go on much longer, and nothing would be left but an enormous "prestige" and an enormous debt. At one time, at the commencement of the late Persian war, it looked as if England were not conquering countries by the sword, but by the famous means of Philip of Macedon, the donkey-load of silver. They had become accustomed in India to a state of things which it was attempted to transfer bodily to a new soil. The Persian war was ordered by the British ministry to be carried on by the Indian government; the latter, however, has not been in the habit of going to war in Asia *à la Crimea*, i. e., of wasting millions of money and thousands of lives, and then leaving things pretty much *in statu quo ante bellum*. The Indian government were at once speculating upon a welcome extension of seacoast, and sent therefore their instructions to the commander of the expedition in the Persian Gulf, *at once to enlist fourteen regiments of Persian subjects on Persian soil in order to reduce Persia*. This is the plan: buy the people; in our day a talent of gold is cheaper than military talent; a good financier not such a *rara avis* as a good general; and the magic touch of gold and silver might overcome the hardy Arab, Lurian and Kurd, more easily than the baser metals, lead or steel. In India the institution of caste has made the enlistment of its population as mercenaries comparatively easy. The profession of a soldier belonging to a certain caste only, it was not difficult to keep the unwarlike castes unwarlike, and to attach the Kshatriya (the warrior caste,) by comparatively high pay and few demands, to the rule of the foreigner.

The country has really been always held by the sword. It could not be otherwise. Appropriated strip by strip almost

wholly within the memory of men now living, the elements of resistance are too numerous to be kept down in any other way than by physical force. There are the descendants of the countless chieftains who once held possession of the country, eager, whenever opportunity should offer, to assert their claims; there are always long lines of frontier to be guarded against powers mostly professing friendship, but naturally not to be trusted; there is the proud, restless Brahman priest, who sees his power waning, and who would willingly see his country rid of the "unclean" foreigners. There are the fanatical Mussulmans whose religion is war against the infidels and death to every one of them; and it is very doubtful indeed whether the taxes, the only revenue in that land, would be paid by the landholders and the peasantry, but for the ever present influence of a large standing army.

This army, on the first of January, 1857, consisted of about 300,000 men, a little over 30,000 of which number were Europeans, the rest natives of the country, and that pretty much all natives of one and the same district; a district in which most of the Hindu mythology had its home, and which to all Hindus is a species of sacred land—the last annexed province of Oude. For convenience we classify this native army into regulars and irregulars, Infantry and Cavalry. The Artillery consists to a large extent of Europeans. Of course, it is the regular army that forms the bulk of all this force. Their organization differed little from that of the English line; the officers of each regiment are partly Europeans, partly natives; the highest rank which a native can attain, is that of Subadár Major, about the same as Captain.

But it is not our object to give an account of the Indian army, as much as to show what predisposing elements and causes there existed in it for the development of the mutiny and insurrection so lately witnessed.

The history of the sepoy teems with tales of acts of insubordination, all of which had their origin either in some imagined or actual slight or insult to the sanctity and majesty of caste, or in some dissatisfaction with his pay and allowances. There is more tendency to mutiny, also, in the Hindu sepoy of the regular infantry regiments than in any other arm in or

out of India, in modern or in ancient times. It may be doubted whether this is due to reasons which have lately been brought forward prominently, viz. that with the large portion of officers holding staff and civil appointments, and those absent on medical certificate, furlough, and private affairs, the number present with their regiments is never sufficient; that they, as well as those of a higher grade, have lost, and are daily losing, much of their influence, in consequence of the measures constantly taken by government to diminish their immediate power and authority over their subordinates; and that the ties between the officer and the sepoy, from want of sympathies, are too weak. There is doubtless something in the moral tone of a corps of officers which may silently work for good or for evil; and it is to be feared, that with society, artificial as it must be in India, the latter predominates; and that the seniority system which prevails gives to many regiments but nominal commanders. Three or four years ago, a young officer related his Indian experience in the following language:

“How on earth a corps holds together with such an utter absence of discipline and *esprit de corps* on the part of its officers, I cannot imagine; I suppose that the adjutant is a good officer, and does the work of the whole regiment himself. The rest are nonentities; but I pity poor John Company, who must find them terribly expensive ones. As to the commanding officer, there *is* one I know, for I called on him, and saw the poor old man on parade at muster, but otherwise might be in happy ignorance of his existence; it would be hard to blame him for doing nothing, and being a complete cipher in the regiment which he is paid for commanding, because he is, I believe, physically incapable, half blind, quite lame, and almost imbecile. Whether the command of a regiment should be entrusted to such a man, is quite another question. I can only say that Jack Sepoy must be a very docile animal, and require very little commanding.”

A more solid reason for this tendency to mutiny may be found in the cowardice of government, who have pandered to the spirit of caste until it has become too strong for them. It is notorious that the scrupulousness with which the British government have regarded and treated caste, as if it was a reli-

gious and not merely a social prejudice, has actually increased the number of castes. Caste, and what it forbids, and the danger attending any attempt to control or weaken its despotism, have been grossly exaggerated and greatly overrated; and this, being only too apparent to the apprehension of the native, has suggested to him the advantage of keeping up the delusion, and gratuitously furnished him with a weapon formidable enough to check the progress of improvement, and a pretext under the cloak of which he could further his own ends.

A practice has prevailed in the whole of the Bengal Presidency, of not permitting one of the working class, or of menial birth or occupation, whatever may be his qualifications, to enlist. This causes many inconveniences, excludes many of the strongest and best men, and induces an aristocratic feeling among the native soldiers, which, however, as may be expected, is greatly prized by many Englishmen. But the recruiting monopoly must be still more contracted; and, therefore, with the plausible excuse that the peasantry of Oude are the finest of the Hindu race, and best adapted for the profession of arms, it was confined, with, comparatively speaking, few exceptions, to that country. And, to make the regular Infantry still more select and *recherché*, there is a tacit arrangement, by which each regiment, as far as Hindus are concerned, is allotted to, and reserved for, a certain set of families and kinsfolk; and even in hospital, a sick Brahman does not allow himself to be attended and waited on by *any* Brahman; no, it must be one from his own clan or village. Of course, the Brahmans refuse to dig, to build, or perform any one of the thousand services as needful in a campaign as fighting itself. A regiment of cavalry on arriving at its halting ground, would decline to picket, unsaddle, or groom its own horses, and would wait for hours in conceited indolence till servants of subordinate caste, called *saises*, come to do the work for them. At the quarter-guard of a battalion on duty is kept a gong, which is struck every hour to indicate the time, but a Bengal sentry would not demean himself by touching the instrument at his very elbow, and the gongs are sounded by men kept and paid for the purpose.

There was an order of several years' standing, that each

regiment should contain two hundred Sikhs, but this, with great infatuation, was generally considered by the officers a dead letter. The line, then, being by this process composed, with the exception of some Mussulmans, of men of one district and one religion, bound to each other by feelings, by ties of relationship, and ties of caste, it could not be an arduous task for an uneasy, or turbulent, or discontented spirit, to get up a conspiracy, using some scruple of caste as a pretext, which should travel with the speed of wildfire from soldier to soldier, and from corps to corps. It was the plague of caste which worried the Sepoy army from the beginning, and now has apparently worried it to death. The poisonous influence of the Brahmans, who enlisted in large numbers, contributed in no slight measure to the diseased spirit of these troops; for a high Brahman in a regiment, such is the deference paid to these people by all castes, though a mere recruit, had more real power than the colonel. And of regiments consisting of such material, and thus constituted, there were in the Bengal Presidency alone eighty-four, comprising nearly one hundred thousand men, and this does not include local regiments, contingents, and irregulars.

How this spirit of the aristocracy of caste has worked itself into the minds of the old Indian officers, was curiously illustrated as late as the 24th of August, 1857, at Barrackpore, the station near Calcutta where mutiny made its first appearance. The native troops there had been told by the General of Division, Sir John Hearsay, that they could to a great extent retrieve their damaged character, (for though the first to show a mutinous spirit, they had been prevented from actual outbreak by the overawing presence of a superior European force,) by volunteering for the campaign in China. On the day mentioned, the 24th of August, he addressed them again on the same subject, and after reiterating what he had said on a previous occasion, he told them that they had now had one week to consider the affair, and make up their minds; that they must remember it was a matter of free-will, and no fault would be found with those who declined to volunteer, these would remain in Barrackpore doing their duty as usual. This he said, that he, their General, told them: he also said, that a few *wretched*

banias (shop-keepers) and *low-caste scoundrels*, had lately attempted to make them believe that the government intended punishing their regiment, and had even collected carts to carry off their dead bodies, etc., but that this was false, etc., etc.

One would have thought that after the horrible exhibition that caste had made of itself by that time, in addressing men forming part of a most miserable remnant of an army that was numbered by scores of thousands, who themselves were prevented from making a similar exhibition of caste prejudices only by the pressure of outward circumstances, General Hearsay could have found some more appropriate way of expressing his scorn of wicked men, than by designating them as men of *low caste*, which in truth the individuals meant, in all probability were not. Yet General Hearsay was precipitately knighted for a speech very similar to this one. There is a volume in that expression. It brings, as said before, into full view the manner in which officers of the Bengal army have treated the subject of caste. Though themselves, in the eyes of the Brahman sepoys, and indeed of all Hindus, low caste, and lower than low caste, they made it their study to speak of men and things always in accordance with the Brahman standard. Whom their Brahman sepoys despised, they despised; whom their sepoys revered, they revered. To be of low caste was in their eyes to be low and contemptible. The monstrous injustice and oppression of caste, its utter opposition to all that is generous and magnanimous, its irreconcilable contradiction to morality and true religion, to right feelings, and to the law of God, all this was nothing: it was deemed fitting that caste should be flattered and pampered, even to its minutest requirements, and every Brahman sepoy treated as though he were a king. It was considered necessary to purchase the obedience of these religious monarchs, in a few things, by falling down before them, and giving them honour in the various ways insisted upon by them.

There were other things, moreover, which kept up a real irritation in the sepoy's mind; and the most striking, perhaps, is his attempted assimilation to a European model. Nothing is more ludicrous to one unaccustomed to the sight, than a sepoy of the line, with his black, handsome, bearded face, surmounted

by a rigid basket *shako*, which it requires the skill of a juggler to balance on his head, and which cuts deep into his brow if worn for an hour; with a stiff stock around his neck, well calculated for strangling; buttoned tight in a red swallow-tailed jacket, with white lace covering his breast; trousers in which he can scarcely walk, and cannot stoop at all, and can seat himself only by keeping his knees perfectly stiff; bound to an immense and totally useless knapsack, so that he can hardly breathe; strapped, belted, and pipe-clayed within an hair's breadth of his life. What a difference between this poor petrified relic of Frederick the Great's drill discipline on parade, and the same well-shaped, broad-chested native, swaggering through the bazar in his well-fitting, loose roundabout, his easy *lungi* gracefully slung about his loins, the smart turban on his head, and his well-developed calves unconcealed by trouser or boot.

The irregular cavalry is an approach to a more rational system. These irregulars are free lancers, receiving monthly pay for themselves, their horses, and arms. They are armed with sword and carbine. The horses are surveyed and passed by European officers, and none admitted under a certain value. Their dress consists of a small turban, worn generally on the side of the head, long frockcoats of peculiar semi-oriental cut, and high jackboots. They take immense pride in the condition and appearance of their horses, and in the brightness and temper of their arms. They ride long, and their seat is most graceful and erect. The handling of their horses, and the rapidity with which they wheel, halt in full career, and again dash off with the swiftness of the deer, made it almost impossible during the mutiny for one of them to be overtaken by any European cavalry. This service has usually very respectable men in it, and often men of property. It was at first believed that the disaffection of the native army did not extend to the irregular cavalry; but obligations of caste, and the bonds of a common country, in most instances, proved stronger than their sense of loyalty and fidelity to the foreign master.

Passing over the middle classes, the inhabitants of the towns and cities, the traders and artisans, because they are the least numerous and the least influential among the people of India, let us look at the aristocracy, or rather the remnant of the

ancient aristocracy. The Moghuls, to whose empire and institutions the English succeeded throughout India, resembled in many points the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The aristocratic element was the basis of their entire political system; but they differed from the Normans in the important particular, that they recognized no hereditary aristocracy. Rank was the result of official position, and of that alone; and official position was dependent upon the will and power of the sovereign. There was the *súbadár*, appointed by the king himself; he was the governor of a province. There were the *kárdárs*, appointed by the latter, with a delegated power within a certain district, called *parganna*, containing towns and villages to the number of two and three hundred. The *kárdárs* were invariably men of importance, wealth, and consideration; their powers were very considerable, as their functions included an almost irresponsible jurisdiction, fiscal as well as judicial, over their respective districts. But it is unnecessary to enumerate the various gradations of an official aristocracy, which can easily be conceived of; and the remnants of one like it may still be seen in England. The English conquest at once did away with this entire aristocracy. The honours and high emoluments of government are of course entirely in the hands of the English. Power and authority is abstracted from the natives, with a very few exceptions, which may be mentioned afterwards.

Now, although this Moghul aristocracy was not hereditary, it naturally created a class from among whom the high officers of state were usually taken, and to step beyond which was always a hazardous measure. This better class of natives, who are far more intelligent than the mass, have never been partial to the British government; they have no attachment for it; not a drop of blood or piece of coin would they voluntarily expend for its support; they are wealthy often, and they know the uses of capital; yet they will not voluntarily subscribe to government loans, though the highest interest be offered them; and there are hundreds of cases where they actually withdraw from contact with the English; they prefer living and serving under the openly corrupt and capricious control of a native principality, to passing an obscure and despised existence in

the Company's dominions. Sometimes, nay frequently, the effect of the extinction of that ancient aristocracy is sad enough. It is sometimes asked, what has become of the families whose members filled important and dignified offices, civil and military, under the various native powers that have been successively swallowed up within the last seventy years? Why, if the children of those men *were* willing to enter the Company's service, they could only enter the army as a sepoy at seven rupees a month, or civil employ as a writer at thirty. This the pride of family would never admit. There are *sháhrádas* (princes) in Lodiana, living with a pension of ten rupees (five dollars) a month, who would yet rather starve than work. The annals of one such family would form a curious and painful social picture. We may conceive an old *Diwán* (farmer-general, chancellor of the exchequer, or secretary of the treasury) carrying the wreck of his fortune to some large city. He receives a pension from the British government, which ceases at his death, or the half of which is continued to his son. For two or three generations his descendants cluster together and preserve a shadow of their former position in gradually increasing poverty and discontent. They pass their lives in killing time; they are ignorant, extravagant, and licentious; they are overwhelmed with mortgages, usurers, and religious leeches; and if they have any estates, they frequently fall into the hands of government by some process of assumption, resumption, or for want of heirs, (that is, such as the government would recognize as heirs,) or in default of payment of revenue. They present a sad picture of frivolity, baseness, and depravity; but certainly the occasion of their demoralization is the total annihilation of their former power, and influence, and circle of duties; the absence of a hope, an object, or a purpose in life. In all this, however, no fault can be found with the English government; they do not fail to perceive the evil, but it appears an inevitable one. One of the Reports, written by an Indian official, graphically states that "the feudal nobility, the pillars of the state, are tending towards inevitable decay. Their gaudy retinues have disappeared; their city residences are less gay with equipages and visitors; their country seats and villas are comparatively neglected.

But the British government has done all it consistently could to mitigate their reverses, and render their decadence gradual." These are reasons why we might have expected to see this large and still influential class the most bitter, intolerant, and brutal enemies of the European rule.

The last class we shall mention is the least numerous, but as events have proved, they were the main spring of the rebellion; and it is only necessary to mention them to make it clear why it should have been so; we mean the kings and princes. The entire empire now in the hands of the British, is made up of conquests, annexations, and so-called lapses, to all of which there are claimants, unseated princes, or their sons, to whom it still seemed possible to regain their lost position. These waited only for some favourable juncture to carry out their long-cherished schemes for the dismemberment of this great empire. The old king of Delhi received a sufficiently large pension (\$750,000 a year, together with his ancestral palace,) to keep up a considerable show of mock royalty within the walls of his fort; and by a considerable amount of literary patronage, he had adherents all over the country, besides those large numbers who caring less for the individual, yet wished for a restoration of the Moghul dynasty as a religious matter. On the occasion of his son's death, in 1856, who had been looked upon as his heir, the English papers had articles on the subject of this royalty, and discussed the expediency of abolishing the title. In appointing another of his sons heir apparent, his wishes had been somewhat thwarted by the British authorities, as there was a disagreement as to the person to be selected, and this added doubtless to the embitterment. Another lackland king had been added to the number of royal personages out of employ in India, in February, 1856, by the long-threatened annexation of the fertile kingdom of Oude. Indeed, however long discontent may have been brooding, and however slowly the conspirators were adding to their number, this most arbitrary annexation of all (*dacoitee in excelsis*, one calls it,) seems to have been the feather which broke the camel's back.

The annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, the late Governor-General of India, has been widely discussed, and frequently

blamed, not without reason. One of the earliest measures of his long reign was the nullification of the law of adoption. It had been the custom of the Hindu princes from time immemorial, in case there was no son to succeed the father on the throne, for the latter to *adopt* an heir to the crown. This law, being as everything else among the Hindus made a religious matter, was respected by the English governors until Dalhousie abolished it, and thereby added considerably to the Company's possessions. However much discontent the resumption of principalities by means of this abrogation of an old law caused, there was yet a show of legality about it, which the annexation of Oude could not exhibit. The last royal family had been raised to that dignity, it is true, by a former Governor-General; but there were several treaties in existence by which the British government were bound to give all needed protection to their neighbour, and which contained conditions none of which had been violated by that State. Indeed, Oude had often proved a friend in need, a most faithful ally in times of distress and pecuniary pressure. During the disasters in Kabul, Oude aided the British government to the extent of three millions of dollars in cash, besides furnishing numerous elephants, and other materials of war. Nevertheless the country was annexed "because the people were not happy" under their actual king. This is a phrase Alexander the Great and the old Romans never thought of. The "people" have their own thoughts about such matters, as is evident from the late insurrections. Bishop Heber tells us of a British officer, who, when riding through the country with an escort of Oude troopers, and freely conversing with them about the frightful misrule that prevailed, asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government. Whereupon the Jamadár in command of the escort replied with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!" "Why so?" said the officer, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude, and the honour of our nation would be at an end."

Nor did the fears of the people as to interference in their religion, and an eventual forcible conversion to Christianity,

appear to them so entirely without any foundation, as it has been represented they were. It was pretended on the part of the Legislative Council in Calcutta, that it was in accordance with the wishes of the people that they legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows, a thing supposed to be forbidden by the Shasters. It is, however, remarkable that though the new law has been in existence for nearly two years, not more than two such re-marriages are known to have taken place; considering, too, that there is scarcely a Hindu family in which there is not one of these extremely young widows. The projected law prohibiting polygamy, primarily directed against the Kúlin Brahmans, who contract as many as thirty marriages because they are paid for it, was nevertheless believed by the Mussulmans to be intended to interfere with their own domestic institution. They say, too, that government shows much more favour to the missionaries than they were wont to do. They remember the time when no missionary ever was allowed by the same government to trouble them, and when no attempt was made (as it is made now at the instance of the missionaries) in the government schools, to use expurgated editions of their Persian classics; and when missionary schools received no grants-in-aid as they do now. The missionaries, also, being almost the only Europeans in the country not connected with the government, the native cannot bring himself to believe that the missionary is not paid by government for preaching, knowing as he does that the other *padres*, the chaplains, are paid by government; and the inferior style of living common among the missionaries generally, the smaller number of their servants, and the great contrast between the single small tent of the itinerating missionary, and the gay camp of the travelling official, do not appear sufficient to convince him. And perhaps there may be also a secret consciousness in the native mind, that Christianity is slowly and silently, but surely, gaining the day; and that the old religion, now that people go on pilgrimages most shockingly by railroad, and now that the sacred goddess *Gangá* (the river Ganges) has allowed herself, like any other common water, to be diverted from her course, and been made, like a slave, to flow in a canal which the foreign *Mlechha* has built for her, in spite of all the evil prognostications of Brah-

mans and devotees, is gradually waning, and the old idolatry, like

“A mighty rock,
Which has, from unimaginable years,
Sustained itself with terror and with toil
Over a gulf; and with the agony
With which it clings, seems slowly coming down,”

is about to crush them by its fall.*

If we add to all this the existence of various classes and individuals who, for divers reasons, or for no reason at all, manifest that love of change, so apparent among all subjugated nations, that propensity *rebus novis studere*, which Cæsar considered his most turbulent foe in Gaul, and the prospect such people would have of plundering the well-furnished houses of the Europeans, and their well-filled treasuries, and the hope of rapine during such a state of anarchy as must ensue at the subversion of an existing, evidently careless dynasty, we shall be inclined to compare the masses of Hindustan to the heap of pine shavings upon which the oil poured by some designing hand produces what has been called spontaneous combustion.

The oil on this occasion was the religious bugbear of the greased cartridges thrown among the native army. It is difficult for us not to call it an absurd prejudice, which makes it so obnoxious to the sepoy to be compelled to handle a cartridge greased with materials which he cannot touch without loss of caste. But loss of caste in India is the most serious thing that can befall a man. There is nothing like it in any other country. Perhaps the Roman interdict *aqua et igni* resembled it; or the later Roman excommunication in the time of a Hildebrand, which Cardinal Bembo in his affected classicity also called *aqua et igni interdictio*.

In India, by a breach of the regulations of caste, the man becomes an out-caste, and can never more be associated with by his family or friends. No one will eat or drink from vessels polluted by his touch. His wife and children will no longer

* When, in the presence of many breathlessly expectant thousands, the water was for the first time let into the Ganges Canal, numbers of Hindus, in religious frenzy and *despair*, plunged into the flood, to reappear only as corpses.

dwell with him; they are separated from him for ever by their own feelings, perhaps, but certainly by the rigid priestly code under which they live. No house in his own village will receive him. This is the most fearful infliction. For one of the most prominent features in the character of a Hindu is his strong and lasting attachment to his village. However long his absence, however great his prosperity may have been elsewhere, however effectually death may have deprived him of the friends and relatives of his youth, he never ceases to regard his native village with feelings of lively affection; he never ceases to yearn that he may once again be enabled to sit gossiping under the old gateway, or to be dreaming for a few hours under the wide-spreading shade of the sacred *pīpal*, where he reposed so often when a boy; of patriotism he knows nothing; for his country, for his race, even for the neighbouring hamlet he cares nothing; the one may be conquered, or the other destroyed, still for them he has no sympathy; but for his own village his affection remains lively, and vivid, and unchanged to the end. What misery then to be shunned like a leper at this, of all spots! If he is unmarried, none but an out-caste will give his daughter to him in marriage, and wherever he turns, he is an object of loathing and disgust. The embrace of brother or sister he must never look for again; even the mother is taught to regard him with horror. He is incapable of inheriting property of any kind.* The temples of his gods are closed to him, and the priest turns away from him with the haughtiest disdain. Thus he lives the life of the accursed; he dies the death of the dog.

The hand pouring the oil was that of Mohammedans of the highest ranks, and of ample means, who were conspiring "against the state." The Secretary of the Punjáb government, a shrewd observer, remarks in reference to the difference of disposition manifested by the Hindus and Mussulmans towards the English government (in the *First Punjáb Report* :) "With the single exception of the Sikhs, it is remarkable that the Hindu races, whether converts to a foreign creed, or pro-

* This last item has so far been interfered with by an enactment of the Legislative Council, in Calcutta, that a man, on becoming a Christian, is not thereby incapacitated for heirdom.

fessors of their ancestral faith, consider themselves as subjects by nature, and born to obedience. They are disposed to regard each successive dynasty with equal favour or equal indifference—whereas the pure Mussulman races, descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia, retain much of the ferocity, bigotry, and independence of ancient days. They look upon empire as their heritage, and consider themselves as foreigners settled in the land for the purpose of ruling it. They hate every dynasty except their own, and regard the British as the worst, because the most powerful of usurpers.”

The unreasoning fatalism of the Mohammedan leads him to believe victory as entirely due to “luck,” that the prosperity of the British is owing to their *igbál* (good star,) which like all stars must eventually set; that power has been granted to them by God, but only for a time, say *one century*. That century, a native almanac, published at Benares, hinted, should, according to the conjunction of the stars and by the agreement of all prophecies, come to an end on the 23d of June, 1857, the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, which established the absolute dominion of the English in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

As far as the machinations of the conspirators can now be traced, from the intercepted correspondence, and the confessions of prisoners, they extend back to the year 1855, and seem to develope full activity several months before the annexation of Oude. This however does not invalidate the theory that this annexation gave the conspiracy its final impulse. For the English newspapers in India were discussing long before February, 1856, the impending annexation, some condemning, most defending it; the “*Friend of India*,” the principal organ in the Bengal Presidency, looking upon this and other annexations as inevitable events. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie informs us, that long before the edict went forth, he had fully matured his plans and preparations. A complete civil administration had been prepared, and the military force which it was intended to retain had been fully organized, before negotiations were opened with the king. Officers had been named to every appointment, and the best men that could be found available were selected from the civil and military services for the new offices. In a red-tape government like that in Calcutta, such

things take time; and in every office, from the highest to the lowest, natives, both Hindu and Mussulman, are employed; hence the preparations were no secret.

Warnings to government were not wanting from parties who were informed as to what was going on underneath, as well as from parties who made simply shrewd guesses, that this annexation should prove a perilous undertaking; but the Ides of March came, and Cæsar went to the Curia. The annexation of the province was not accompanied by an outbreak; the transference of power was accomplished peaceably; the government jeered the "croakers," and with the indifference of conscious power surrendered themselves to oriental *insouciance*, and to the pleasing delusion that they were welcomed as the deliverers of mankind wherever they went.

In November, 1856, old Guláb Singh, the astute Hindu on the throne of Kashmir, since dead, wrote to Lord Canning that the Mohammedans intended to rise and overturn the British government, and had offered him the direction of the projected movement. The government laughed, and did not even reply to the letter. Mr. Hamilton, a merchant in Cawnpore and Allahabad, who had gained the confidence of the native dealers, received notice to send away his family in six months. At first he refused to do so, but at last he followed the well-meant counsel. At the same time he wrote to the government, and offered to obtain further information, but received no reply to his letter. (A copy of this letter is in possession of a book-selling firm in Calcutta.)

The emissaries of the king of Delhi, of the Nawáb of Murshidabád, and of the court party of Lucknow, in the meanwhile were active among the people, but particularly among the native soldiery, (for without *them* nothing could be done,) endeavouring to show the utter faithlessness of this infidel government, how they broke treaties without the shadow of an excuse, and that the sepoy should now have to pay back again to the British taxgatherer his hard-earned pension, when after long years of service he should return to his native, but no longer his own, country, the song-famed land of Ayodhya, now invaded by the jails and the kutcheries (court-houses) of the foreign Mlechha.

Once give a Hindustanee an object, and it will be difficult to

find his equal in the art of scheming, and in a cunning seizure of every circumstance that can favour his plans, as the records of every court throughout the country can testify. An occurrence which almost entirely escaped the minds of the Europeans, was laid hold of by the natives to further their aim.

The extension of territory made it evident that an increase of the military force was necessary. Many military commanders had warned the Indian government against an increase of the native army without a corresponding increase of the European force in the country. The Court of Directors, therefore, probably at the instance of the Governor-General, applied to the English Ministry for permission to raise some more European regiments of their own, as distinguished from the Queen's troops, that are only *lent* to the Indian government, intimating at the same time their design to reduce their regular native army by about 50,000 men. With their usual jealousy, which often has been wholesome, frequently also injurious, the Ministry refused this permission.

The correspondence on this subject, through native employees in the government offices at Calcutta, doubtless became known to the conspirators, and the story they manufactured out of it was the following. It must be presumed also that Lady Canning appears to take a lively interest in missionary schools, and that the Secretary to the Indian government not long before had presided at an examination of the Free Church Institution in Calcutta. The machinators circulated largely among the natives, especially among the sepoys, a printed circular, setting forth with great circumstantiality, and in an inflammatory style, that Lord Canning, the new Governor-General, had quitted England, pledged that he would convert the whole of India to Christianity; that for this purpose he considered it necessary to kill off at once fifty thousand of the sepoys; and since to this end a large European power would be requisite, he had written to England for thirty-five thousand men, who had at once been despatched in steamers by the Mediterranean; that, however, the successor of Mohammed, Sultan Abdul Medjid, had informed the Pasha of Egypt of the design of this large force, and that the latter, as a good Mussulman, had annihili-

lated the whole army when off Alexandria; and that the English had sent another equally large army by the Cape. The proclamation then goes on, calling upon all the natives to rise and strike the blow before *they* should be able to carry out their nefarious purpose of conversion; to unite at once and murder all the Europeans in the country, etc. In addition to this, numerous agitators in the guise of *faqirs*, or religious mendicants, kept up irritating reports and rumours in every military station; one of these many, pretty generally believed, was, that a general parade was to be held, at which all the different castes of Hindus, as well as Mohammedans, would be obliged to eat together, and thus break their respective castes, preparatory to being made Christians. At another time, a report had been widely spread, and was possibly believed by some, that the flour which the sepoys had to buy in the regimental bazars had been mixed, by the order of government, with ground bones, (a most polluting substance;) that thus the sepoy would unconsciously break his caste; and what would remain then but forcible conversion? Again, a report extensively believed was, that as there were a great many widows in England, in consequence of the Crimean war, these were to be brought out and married to the different Rajahs; and that their children, brought up as Christians, were to inherit all the estates. Now it was this, now that; the whole mass was in a ferment with the connivance, and under the leadership of their native officers, the European officers being the whole of that time in profound ignorance as to the state of their respective corps, the most of them putting almost unlimited confidence in their men.

During the hot and rainy seasons of 1856, a phenomenon was observed by many district officers throughout Bengal and Hindustan, which some did not fail to report to their superiors, but which all deemed of very little consequence. A man would suddenly appear in a village with five *chápátis*; this is the common bread of the people; they are always made when they are to be used. They consist simply of coarse wheaten flour, kneaded unleavened, spread out flat between the hands, and dried rather than baked upon a hot iron plate; they have no

connection or kinship with *patties*, as Disraeli seems to think.* These *chápátis* would be distributed and eaten in the village, five new ones made, and passed on to the next village, and so on. These *chápátis* seem to have passed over the whole Bengal Presidency. The European officers could obtain no satisfactory account concerning their use or import. In one place they were said to belong to some religious ceremony connected with the harvest, which ceremony, however, had never been observed before; whilst in other places it was pretended to be a measure intended to stay the cholera, which was then raging in many places. They seem to have served the purpose of ratifying a mutual covenant, or engagement, by the old oriental method of eating together. It is certain that an extremely active and lively correspondence was kept up among *all* the native regiments, the sepoys but rarely entrusting their letters to the public mail, but keeping up messengers of their own, defraying the expense by regimental collections; money was also distributed, especially among the native officers, through the means of those vagabond beggars on horseback, and sometimes on elephants, the pretended faqirs.

Indeed, language which has been employed to describe the origin of the mutiny at Vellore, in the year 1806, is word for word applicable to the case in hand: "Hired emissaries, under every variety of caste, and character, and costume, swarmed in all directions, armed with the means of bribery and corruption. And these means were employed at once with oriental adroitness and Punic unscrupulousness. Working on the natural attachment of Mohammedan soldiers to rulers of their own

* Disraeli has fallen into another error to which all persons are so extremely liable in treating of Indian affairs, if they have never been in India. He speaks of a *lotus* flower, as a symbol of something or other, having passed from hand to hand among all the regiments. This *fact* is entirely unknown in India. It is supposed that he confounds the *lotás* with the *lotus*. A *lotá* is a brass urn which no Hindu can well be without. The Hindu bathes every day, that is, he pours the water from his *lotá* over his body, usually at some stream. The secret meetings of the sepoys took place generally when they went to bathe, all with their *lotás* in their hands. It is difficult otherwise to divine the manner how Disraeli's misapprehension originated. Those periodicals which, in consequence of Mr. Disraeli's speech, had learned antiquarian dissertations on the *symbol of the lotus flower*, and found that it was the emblem of *mercy*, made themselves very ridiculous.

faith—acting on the natural prejudices and bigotry of the Hindoo—appealing to the covetousness of the human heart by large promises of pecuniary aggrandizement—and playing, by turns, on the ignorance and all-devouring credulity of all, they succeeded in inspiring them with vague and indefinite fears of their own religion on the one hand, and indefinite hopes of promotion and prosperity under a restored native dynasty on the other. The alleged purpose of the British government to destroy their ancestral faith, and compel them to embrace the hated creed of their European conquerors, was the principal stalking-horse of the cunning intriguers; but the destruction of the British power, and the reëstablishment of a Mohammedan despotism indeed was their real object. There were thus at the outset the crafty deceivers and the simply deceived—the dupers and the duped; though doubtless, in the onward progress of events, many of the subordinate became principals—many of the misled, misleaders—many of the deceived, deceivers themselves.”

The plan of the conspirators was well laid; it may be doubted whether, with the vast and heterogeneous material they had to act upon, the details were sufficiently well taken care of; but there can be no doubt that had they succeeded even in the general outline of their plot, the massacre of Europeans which would have taken place in one day, would have exceeded enormously the actual loss of life, great as that has been. That day was to have been the 24th of May, 1857, the Queen's birthday. It is a sad thing that the European soldier in India should offer to the observant native no characteristic more prominent than that of love for intoxicating drink. This propensity, doubtless, carries off its hundreds in India, for the tens that fall under the effects of the climate. A Bengal officer reports that from the year 1840 to 1848, only 33 men died at a certain station from fever, and 41 died of *delirium tremens*; and in a strength of 3451 men, there were 2375 cases of drunkenness. At the delightful station of Kasauli, six men of Her Majesty's 29th regiment died in September, 1845, including three from *delirium tremens*, because, as their colonel remarks, a certain donation allowance “was paid on the 14th of this month.” It was thought a sufficient reason to account

for soldiers drinking themselves to death, when it was said that they had got some money.*

It is absolutely astonishing to see the eagerness with which the mass of European soldiers in India endeavour to procure liquor, no matter of what description, so that it produces insensibility, the sole result sought for. And the native, observant as a child, even in times of profoundest peace and amity, made his gain from this prevalent vice. Some of the most remarkable facts during the insurrection hinged on this matter of drink. Whilst the mutineers held Delhi, there were still numbers of natives living within the city who were suspected of friendship towards the British government, whose wealth at the same time excited the cupidity of a paramount unbridled soldiery. The uniform charge upon which their houses were plundered was that of harbouring some "Christian," and the uniform and sole proof of this latter circumstance which the military or non-military ruffians ever offered to give, was the production of a bottle of rum which they pretended to have found in the house—unmistakable evidence, this, that a European must be concealed there. At Allahabad there was a revolution and a counter-revolution, both drawn in deep grooves, first burnt by the incendiary torch, then filled up with streams of blood. When Colonel Neill (since fallen) arrived there, he found all the European soldiers dead drunk; indeed, he could only stop the unbridled drunkenness by buying up all the plundered wines and liquors himself for his own commissariat. When Dion returned to Syracuse, we are told,

"Lo! when the gates are entered, on each hand,
Down the long street, rich goblets filled with wine,
In seemly order stand,
On tables set, as if for rites divine."

A scene in Delhi reminds one of this. At the storming of that city it was found that the cunning sepoy had placed various favourite intoxicating beverages in conspicuous places, as the siren whose silent song he knew the European soldier could not resist; and—*proh pudor*—he partly succeeded; one of the

* The Bombay Quarterly Review, No. III.

attacking columns had actually to retreat, after having entered the city, partly, doubtless, because it consisted mostly of the Kashmerian auxiliaries, raw recruits, whose bravery was by no means commensurate with that of their European leaders,* but mostly because it was found that the artillery-men attached to some guns which were to support that column, had found some European stores which, for the time being, they having been at work for nearly eight hours, unfitted them for any further military duties.

Hence we may infer why the conspirators selected the 24th of May. It was easy enough for the sepoys to kill their officers and the families of these at any time, at those stations where there were no European troops; but where there were European troops, the first thing to be done was to put these out of the way.

On the Queen's birthday the European soldier receives double rations of grog, and besides, discipline being slightly relaxed on such a day, he avails himself of other facilities to obtain the loved enemy. This day was fixed for the entire native soldiery, foot and horse, regular and irregular, and even police corps, etc. in Bengal, the north-west provinces, Oude, the Punjáb, the Trans-Indus frontier, even in distant Assam, and as it appears from the event, also in some parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, to rise simultaneously. They were to attend on the parade usually held on that day everywhere, with muskets loaded, and provided with plenty of ammunition, not only their pouches, but also their haversacks filled with cartridges, powder and balls; and on the word to break line being given, the unsuspecting and unarmed Europeans were to have been massacred before they could reach their lines. Simultaneously with this movement, the sepoys on duty in Fort William, (in Calcutta,) the forts at Allahabad, Futtehghur, Agra, Delhi, Lahor, Multán, Peshawur, and other important places, were to have seized those strongholds, and murdered all the Europeans, whilst the whole Mussulman population was to rise *en masse* and slaughter all with the name of Christian—men, women, and

* When they were told to retake some guns which the enemy had taken from them, they answered that there was no need of it, as the Maharajah (the ruler of Kashmir) had plenty besides.

children, without distinction. The king of Delhi, until that time residing in the palace of the old imperial city, with a pension of three quarters of a million of dollars a year, was to have his old empire, the Nawáb of Murshídabád was to have Oude as a semi-independent province, with the title of king, and the king of Oude was to become the ruler of Bengal and Behar. This distribution shows the hand of some lover of the old regime, for the present royal family of Oude are such really only by the creation of the Company's government, and not by ancient hereditary right. In the proclamation, also, issued by the mutineers, calling upon all India to rise, the king of Oude is simply styled "ruler of Lucknow." It is notorious that the assumption by the Anglo-Indian government of the right to make the *Nawáb** (vicar or viceroy) of Oude into a *king*, was for years the pet grievance of the mock sovereign at Delhi; and the Mussulman population of Bengal and Upper India never ceased to offer daily prayers in their mosques for the restoration of the empire to the descendants of Timur. A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, October, 1857, says:

"The Kabul disasters showed how hot a fire of malevolence and bigotry burned under the thin crust of allegiance to which we trusted. At that season of peril many officers had opportunities of discovering the truth. One of General Nott's staff, returning from the war, continued to wear his Affghan dress as he traversed the north-west provinces, and his acquaintance with the language and customs of the East disarmed suspicion. He passed thus through Delhi and the neighbouring districts, visiting the chief places of resort, the mosques, and every spot to which a traveller would be attracted. Everywhere he heard the same avowal of rancorous hate from the lips of the Moham-medans. At that very time another political officer, the writer of this article, was invited by Saiyid Karámat Ali, the friend

* The same as the cognate Hebrew word *nálí*. There is really no such Kal as נָבִיא, as Gesenius assumes; and the *passive* forms נִבְּא, etc. only being used, might lead to the supposition that these are denominatives, and that the cognate Arabic verb is not *nba*, (*editus fuit*, and then by a change of the passive into the active, *annunciavit*, i. e. *edidit*,) but rather *nab*, *vicem subiit*; so that etymologically also, *nálí* would mean "a delegate or representative;" cf. Exod. vii. 1. This is the first and fundamental meaning.

of Arthur Conolly, to be present at a great religious meeting of Mohammedans near Calcutta. Two thousand Moslems of the higher classes thronged the Imámbárah, or Hall of Mourning, and amongst them were many of our native officers. In the costume of a Mogul, the European visitor passed unnoticed, and heard on all sides the eager and oft repeated hope that the star of the Feringis had set. There was not one of our native officials there who remembered the salt he had eaten; that salt had, indeed, lost its savour. The smiling mask had been laid aside in that secure assemblage of the faithful, and beneath it appeared a scowl of hatred and defiance."

The whole matter was, most skilfully, made a matter of religion with the Mohammedans; and next to cupidity, no more powerful motive in a Mussulman's breast could be appealed to. When the Meerut mutineers had arrived in Delhi, and demanded entrance into the fort, the native officer on guard demanded the countersign; and the words "Friend of the Faith" at once caused the gates to fly open. At Hissar the mutiny was excited by a number of troopers of irregular cavalry, who had come there from Hansi, after murdering everybody at the latter place. The principal magistrate at the former place put himself under the protection of the sepoy who mounted guard at the treasury. The sepoy seemed at first inclined to protect the officer, but on being asked by one of the troopers, "Art thou a friend of the Faith?" he deliberately loaded his musket, turned round and shot the magistrate dead.

Among the Mussulman portion of the army, it was not difficult to get up a factitious religious enthusiasm, Islam being a proselytizing faith, which commands every opponent to be put to death. But with the Hindu, religion is a matter of birth; nobody can *become* a Hindu; hence there is no room for proselytizing; and as for attacks on his own religion, he does not fear argument or discussion, being able to spin arguments thin as air, in a rare atmosphere, whither the earnest, truth-seeking European opponent can hardly follow him. But what the Hindu does fear is to break his caste, and on this vulnerable point, as said before, the wily plotters applied their irritating cataplasms.

In doing this, however, they evoked an element which soon

passed beyond their control, and which ultimately, in its violence, destroyed their craft. There is a legend of a wizard who used to call his familiar spirit to do for him the work of a domestic, to sweep the house, to bring water, etc. In the absence of the master, the apprentice calls the familiar, and bids him do what he has seen his master bid him do. The house is swept, and now he brings the water. He fills the different vessels about the house, and continues to bring water. The apprentice now with horror observes that he has caught the formula by which to call the demon, but the *abracadabra* which is to stay his activity has escaped him. In vain does he put on the master's magic robe and incantatory hat, in vain does he wave the mighty wand—the word, the spell, the charm he cannot recall. With the irresistibility of a machine the indefatigable spirit brings the water, fills the room, fills the house, fills the street, and the rash apprentice is drowned.

In playing upon the credulity of the Hindu sepoy in regard to the pretended attempts upon his caste, the Mussulman overstepped the bounds of that cunning craftiness which he had hitherto displayed. Besides the purely fictitious attempts which he imputed to the government, he also brought in the famous cartridge question; and this, most probably, saved *British* India. As far as the facts have become known, they are these:

At Dumdum, near Calcutta, there is a large artillery depot and a general military laboratory. One of the native labourers at this laboratory was one day found by a high-caste sepoy drawing water at a well usually frequented by the sepoys, at which the sepoy was very indignant, upbraiding the man with the lowness of his birth. The labourer* retorted by telling the sepoy that the days of his caste were numbered, as he and his companions would soon have to chew bullock's fat every day. The Enfield rifle musket was just being gradually introduced into the native army, the cartridge for which is greased at the ball end, to increase facility in loading. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that there being no grease at the extremity intended

* Whether the labourer was a bought or an unconscious agent of the Mussulman cabal, does not appear. It is certain that the Mussulmans in every regiment were extremely active in fanning the perhaps casual spark into a fierce flame.

for the bite, no good reason exists why the grease and the teeth should come into contact. Still, the cartridge *contained*, may have been the thought of the sepoy, the fat of that animal which he had been taught to revere as inviolable and sacred. He hastens to his comrades and coreligionists, and imparts the grievance. It is passed on from one to another; councils are convened forthwith, (with the knowledge of the native, but without that of the European, officers,) and grave discussions ensue. The priestly caste especially are entreated to take care *ne quid detrimenti Respublica Brahmanica capiat*; so that, finally, the hitherto languid adherence of the Hindu sepoy to what even *he* regarded as the Mohammedan cause, is changed into a violent partisanship, and an earnest personal concern. The government could not but become aware of some very serious agitations, which might result in a very great calamity. They do not seem, however, to have realized the greatness of the danger, and believing the ostensible cause to be the real and the only cause of the prevailing discontent, they addressed themselves to filling up the chinks of the apparently started timbers of the ship, whilst there was really a great hole unobserved below the water-line.

It was given out that a fraudulent contractor had substituted cows' fat and hogs' lard in lieu of the mutton fat ordered by the government, and that the objectionable cartridges had been cancelled. The sepoys would not believe it. They were then ordered to buy their favourite *ghi*, (clarified butter,) and grease the cartridges themselves. Almost as if to show that they were determined not to be satisfied, they now maintained, that as the *paper* used for the cartridges came from England, unclean animal fat was used in its manufacture. They were told to buy their own country-made paper, and manufacture the cartridges in their own lines; but like the spoiled children that they were, they said, No, the government had a design someway to deprive them of their caste; why else should they introduce a new weapon at all? Had they not conquered all India with the old musket? Besides, they said, they did not know how much injury had been already done to them before they found out about the fat, etc. The military secretary of government then published that none of the new cartridges had as yet been

served out; the commander-in-chief even was led to promulgate the humiliating, and, as it appears, ill-timed (because it came too late) order, that the sepoys should not be required to use any cartridges which were in any way objectionable to them. An exhibition of weakness this, which only urged the proud sepoy into the belief that government were afraid of him, and that he might, if he chose, also prescribe his own wishes in other matters.

This under-current of violated caste prejudices, whilst it helped on the fraternization of Hindu with Mohammedan, yet agitated the ocean of oriental life too much for the safety and success of the plot. But those feelings were now beyond control. The Asiatic, servile, cringing, sinister and untruthful, as his slavish nature is, no sooner becomes master than he is the most intolerable, unconcealed tyrant, oppressor and despot. In this instance his triumph appeared certain. He heard from all quarters of the country that there was but one heart and mind in the matter; that as all power resided in the native army, it was utterly impossible for the handful of Europeans either to escape him, or to resist him with any hope of success; the seapoy already revelled in the prospect not only of doubled pay under the new regime, but also of the large amount of property he should acquire in the shape of hard cash, since every treasury in the country was under the guard of sepoys. The native officer, the highest rank attainable to whom is that of captain, already saw himself riding in his colonel's carriage, and addressed as Brigadier, or General Sâhib Bahâdur, with his former general's daughter for his slave-girl. Many an idle scion of former royalty, with his large government pension, continued inviting the European officers to his table, at which, though sitting, he himself never ate, and whilst listening to the entertaining conversation of his guests with the blandest smiles, was thinking of the approaching day when he should bear his share in exterminating these hated Feringhis, these proud Englishmen who live on raw meats, and wines of fire, who laugh at their fathers, and never say a prayer, and who, when they can wring no more from their own peasants, plunder the kings of India. The servant, as he was setting out his master's table with the

plate and the crystal, was gloating over the shining array which so soon should be his own, and the place for whose reception he had already prepared. And the sanguine, hotblooded children of the sun could not conceal their anticipated triumph. The hitherto, generally at least outwardly, obedient soldier assumed airs of consequence, became sullen, disrespectful and contemptuous. He who always saluted with ostentatious military salute every European he met, now passed with firm unyielding step and scowling countenance every white face. Servants, so wofully familiar with the children of their masters in India, would tell the wondering little ones how soon their mamma would grind the corn for the king of Delhi's horses. These things could not remain unknown to the government and its servants; but, like the inhabitants of Catania, they had become accustomed to the rumbling of the mountain, and even to its occasional smoking; they did not believe in the predicted eruption which was so soon to overwhelm them. And yet there is mercy in severity. A judgment was to be brought upon a government that had failed to give God the glory, and to honour him in all their acts before the heathen; but God looked upon the churches gathered by his servants, even amidst so much surrounding darkness and forgetfulness of God, and he diverted the frightful stream of lava from its terrible course of destruction; it did not burst out in full fury, and there was time to sound the tocsin, and to warn the people.

The outbreak at Meerut, which was at first considered the origin of the mutiny, was really the cause of its failure; it was premature, deranged the preconcerted plans of the conspirators, gave time to the vigorous administration of the Punjáb to disarm the native forces in that important land, and ultimately to furnish the troops which were to save India for the crown of England. But we must not anticipate. Although we cannot pretend in these pages to give a detailed account of this mutiny and insurrection, we shall yet endeavour to give an outline of its main course.

As early as February, 1857, disaffection had ripened into open mutiny in two regiments stationed at Barrackpore, twelve

miles from Calcutta, which manifested itself so far as that the lives of some officers were attempted. The result was the execution of a native officer of one of the regiments, and the disbanding of the other. The words "caste" and "interference with the religion of the natives," were then much bandied about, and the General commanding the station, in a speech to the native troops, went even so far as to intimate (so at least it was understood) that he would not allow a missionary to remain in the cantonments under his command. Like Lord Ellenborough and those of like mind with him in the British Parliament, there were members of the Indian government who would have been glad to be able to trace the existence of the discontent to the direct labours of the missionaries. No attempt, however, could be more futile. Though missionaries make no distinction of persons, and preach to all that are willing to listen, yet from the nature of the case, and the peculiar circumstances of the native soldiers, their labours have been much less among these than any other class of people. Of Christianity the sepoys know far less than any other class of people. Indeed, neither the sepoys nor the populace ever opened their mouths against the missionaries during this insurrection; some have fallen victims to the bloodthirstiness of the fanatical miscreants, but not so much because they were missionaries, as rather because they were foreigners. The people, too, often revile the missionary to his face in the marketplace and at the city gates, but they usually speak well of him behind his back. It is impossible to say that the missionaries have been the cause of the discontent or the outbreak, in any way, but it is possible to say, and perhaps to prove also, that the *want* of missionaries may have something to do with it. Among the number of Mussulman officials who turned against the government whose salt they were eating, none have as yet been pointed out that have been educated in the missionary schools, whilst those who have remained faithful are of that class.

An interesting circumstance connected with the Barrackpore mutiny must not be passed over. The commander of one of the mutinous regiments was Colonel Wheeler, a man well known throughout the Bengal Presidency for his zealous Christian character. The obloquy heaped upon this man, when the

mutiny became known, passes all belief. He was known to have preached to the people, and to have distributed Bibles and tracts. Efforts appear to have been made to deprive him of his commission; he *was* deprived of his command; and during the investigation which ensued, he was obliged to write two letters to his military superiors, in vindication of the course which he had been accustomed to pursue. As an instance of the soul-crushing influence of a bad system, it may also be remarked, that the Military Secretary, who played the unenviable part of Inquisitor-General on this occasion, and to whom these apologetic letters had to be addressed, is himself an officer who is generally considered as possessed of decided piety. We regret not to be able to transfer these letters to our pages; but their length precludes them. He therein shows that he is not ashamed of Christ, and that he considers it the duty of every Christian to make known the glad tidings of salvation to every man; that whatever his military duties might be, they could not prevent his serving his "Heavenly Superior;" he confessed to the charge of having preached to the people whenever he could get them to listen, and that he was not careful that sepoys should not be among his audience; and he avows his conviction that he has been right in the course which he had been thus pursuing for twenty years. It is gratifying to know that this is by no means a solitary example of the Christian soldier among the officers in India. When the Board of Directors of the East India Company sent orders to the government of India, to proclaim to every native of India that they would proscribe any one of their Christian servants, who should afford pecuniary aid or countenance to missions, or to any such efforts for the enlightenment of the people;—which orders, we are expressly told by the Chairman of the Court, were in furtherance of "the policy so long observed by our government"—they were not carried out, because it was known that some, yea many, of the very best officers the Company had in India, would at once throw up their commissions, if such restrictions should be placed upon them. (*Kaye's Life of Tucker*, p. 562.)

After the disbanding of the mutinous troops at Barrackpore, there occurred, night after night, incendiary fires in the

different military stations throughout the north-west; officers' houses, churches, hospitals, and the huts of the native soldiers themselves illuminated every night the sky with their lurid glare, and might almost have suggested the beacon-fires on the heights of Switzerland, which called on the mountaineers to rise against their masters. Whilst the authorities supposed that this was the way in which the sepoy vented his feelings in regard to a fancied wrong done to him by government, and never dreamed that matters could go further, and that the fate of India was really then in the balance, the fact was, that these conflagrations were but the preconcerted signal to show which stations were "ready." The appointed day was approaching; the month of May, with its stifling hot winds, had already set in; a fortnight more, and the most brilliant gem in the crown of England would have been lost. But on Sunday the 10th, the Meerut mutiny broke out.

Meerut, a station on the road from Delhi to the hill Sanataria, the headquarters of the Bengal artillery, contained, besides artillery, also one regiment of European infantry, and one of cavalry, besides the third Bengal light cavalry, and two other native regiments. Eighty-five troopers of the light cavalry had refused to use the cartridges which had been served out to them. They were tried, and convicted of disobedience, amounting (as there was a distinct combination) to the crime of mutiny. The punishment in all standing armies is simply death. But from that principle of imitating and aping the Queen's service, which, as has been observed, has done so much to injure the Company's army, the Bengal articles of war necessitated the prisoners being tried by native officers, who in this case, of course, were their secret confederates. They, as may be expected, would not pass a death sentence; but they did not object—they knew at the time it was only for form's sake—to sanction the cruel and insulting punishment of twelve years' hard labour in chains. They were publicly stripped of their uniforms, manacled in presence of the entire division of the army, and led off to prison. The next day, towards evening, the native regiments openly revolted, killing every European they met. The cavalry galloped off to the jail, released their comrades, with twelve

hundred prisoners besides, obliged the commissariat blacksmith to free them from their fetters, and then they all joined in the worst of pillage and destruction, burning the officers' houses, and carrying away what they could lay their hands on. They were joined largely by the native domestics, by the bad characters that infest all military cantonments, and especially by the Mohammedan rabble of the city, who had been waiting with eagerness for the signal of rapine. And here commenced those unspeakable atrocities and heart-sickening horrors which were repeated in almost every station whither the mutiny spread, which make us ashamed of our very humanity; acts so abominable that they will not bear narration, for which our Western languages not only have no names, but hardly words to describe them. The perpetrators of the crimes may thus escape punishment from the very enormity of their offences. Those merciless, fiendish Mussulmans treated their masters, and still worse, their *ladies* and their children, in such a manner that even *men* cannot hint to each other in whispers the awful details. The narrative of such sufferings and such indignities could never be printed; they are too foul for publication. What is the murder of whole families in cold blood, when murder was mercy; and when the well-nigh universal massacre of the British officers by the sepoys must be called the very mildest feature in the affair? But who can speak of what preceded the hacking to death piecemeal? We occidentals have too sluggish imaginations to conceive of a tithe of the horrors perpetrated; and even were we told of some things, our minds could not take in the shocking picture, either as a whole or in its details.

One of the London newspapers, bolder than the rest, gave a short enumeration of some of the enormities committed at a few stations, and the heart of England shuddered at the recital, and a wail of horror arose from one end of Great Britain to the other, whilst a sad smile played on the features of the surviving English in India, when they read it, knowing how very far short fell that impassioned account of the unutterable realities. Especially guilty were the filthy bazar rabble who burst out of their dens to prey upon all; rapine their sole object. Plunder and defilement, cruelty and sensuality, Moloch and Chemosh, were

their characteristics. Brute force had the upper hand for a time, and they hurled themselves into the whirlpool of lust, as if this was only for them to live.

Of the marvellous fact that such enormities were committed in Meerut in the presence of a European force amounting to more than two thousand, and of the inaction or tardiness of the military authorities in that place, we cannot speak; everybody knows the sad facts, that British troops lost their way in going from one end of the cantonment to the other; and after the mutineers and released convicts had finished their fiendish work, and left the station, the European soldiers remained to guard the burning houses, "the corpses of the slain, their own barracks, and the slumbers of the division head-quarters:" while three regiments of natives, without leaders, made good a march of twenty-six miles to seize the native capital of the country! No explanation has as yet been given.

Twenty-six miles south-west of Meerut lies the city of Delhi, the ancient seat of the Mogul empire, and the modern residence of the pensioner, who has been known under the name of "King of Delhi." The name of the city most generally known is said, by Ferishta the historian, to be derived from Rajah *Delei* of Kanauj, its founder, who appears to have been a contemporary of Darius Hystaspis. Its ancient Hindu name is Indraprastha, or Hastinapúr, whilst the Mussulmans frequently call it Sháhjahánabád. It stands in the middle of a plain, surrounded on every side with the ruins of the ancient metropolis; it contained 160,000 inhabitants; it has nineteen gates, and walls seven miles in circuit. The Jumna, crossed by a single pontoon bridge, flows close under the walls of the palace of Sháh Jahán, which dominating the whole scene by its size, with granite-faced walls of sixty feet in height, is crowned with domes and minarets, and flanked by forts. Mosques with their enamelled and gilt cupolas are conspicuous, and some striking oriental buildings, intermixed with a specimen here and there of the curious nondescript European architecture of India, might be seen rearing themselves above the low flat-roofed houses of the Indian city. The royal palace, in which the king was allowed to exercise some shadowy sovereignty, was said to contain 12,000 inhabitants. The *Chándrú Chauk*,

a *wide* street, (a great rarity in oriental cities,) the principal mosque, and the *Diwán-i-kháss*, or Hall of Audience, composed of exquisitely carved blocks of white marble, and bearing the inscription mentioned in *Lalla Rookh*, (*Agar bihishte bar rúe zamín ast, hamín ast, hamín ast, hamín ast*, "If there is an elysium on earth, it is this,") are the boast of Hindustan. Couched under a ridge of sandstone rocks, lay the military cantonments, which, like most cantonments in India, presented the usual alternation of uniquely built houses for the European residents, low, windowless mud huts for the native soldiery, and groups of gaudy trees, among which the unfrequent palm formed a conspicuous object. The city wall or rampart is built of red granite, battlemented and turreted, and presents a sufficiently formidable aspect.

The garrison of this place, at the time of the outbreak, consisted of three regiments of native infantry, and three companies of native artillery, and no Europeans. The Meerut mutineers reached this city early in the morning, were immediately joined by the sepoy in Delhi, and together they took possession of the fort and city; the cantonments were soon laid in ashes, the treasury containing more than two millions and a half dollars in coin, was at once appropriated, the Delhi bank plundered, and the government college destroyed. The Delhi Gazette press was preserved to print insurrectionary manifestos and proclamations. The European males and children were assassinated with the most exquisite cruelties, and the ladies reserved for a worse fate. Some escaped these shambles, but only to perish on the road from hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and sun-stroke, and the hot wind, and fever, and the hostility of the villagers, who mostly turned against the Europeans, and also by the hands of robbers and marauders, who in a moment sprang up on every side, destroying the lines of telegraph, and intercepting the mails. Very few, indeed, and these through incredible sufferings, some by apostasy, saved their lives; for such was the rapacity of the villagers, that those who reached European habitations again, did so often in a state of utter nakedness.

The loss of this city was so much more important as it contained the principal magazine and arsenal of the North-west,

besides the splendid camp of the commander-in-chief. The magazine contained hundreds of cannon of all sizes, vast stores of muskets, sabres, carbines, and bayonets, and military accoutrements; shot and shell in uncountable measure; gun-caps, powder, in short, everything that makes an army efficient, and the want of which paralyzes the efforts of the largest numbers. So great was the quantity of these warlike stores, that after some brave officers, before finally evacuating the magazine, had laid mines and blown up a portion of it; after the mutineers in the city, soon swelling by constant accessions from without to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand, had been using them with the utmost profusion for one hundred and forty-five days, sometimes keeping up the fire on the besieging force night and day, and after much had been wantonly destroyed by explosions, the Europeans, on their re-occupation, found whole piles of ammunition entirely untouched. The plundered treasure the sepoy distributed among themselves; and as every man carried his entire property about him, we are told by native eye-witnesses that the men could hardly walk under their loads, and that they paid from twenty-four to thirty rupees for gold pieces whose real value was only sixteen, whilst the cunning Hindu bankers, who had not gold enough to exchange all the stolen silver, brought thousands of brass mohurs into circulation. The king, of course, was at the head of the rebellious troops; but the sepoy obeyed his orders only when they pleased; the king's sons were appointed to high military commands, but the sepoy derided their ignorance and incapacity. Men suspected of leaning towards the British government were plundered, while most of those decayed Mussulman princes whose subsistence depended hitherto upon their pension from government, remained unmolested. This premature outbreak, doubtless, took the other regiments by surprise, and by deranging their previously agreed-on plan, may have shaken the resolution of some. Still, the country being very large, and the means of communication soon getting into hopeless confusion and entire stagnation, some stations hardly heard of what had taken place before the day originally fixed for the rise really came on. Indeed, it would appear from the manner in which regiment after regiment mutinied and deserted, how every day for six months brought the information

of a new defection—one regiment revolting as much as six weeks after the recapture of Delhi—until at last but one regiment remained of that entire splendid army, the regular infantry amounting to seventy-five thousand men, who had retained their arms and had not mutinied, whilst most of the irregular cavalry and the contingents of the protected states “went,” that these regiments considered themselves bound in some way to mutiny, whether they could effect any thing thereby or not. In the meantime, the Meerut authorities had sent to Rurki for a battalion of native sappers and miners, who also at once proceeded on their march, but when in the neighbourhood of Meerut, they killed their commanding officers, and tried to make their way to Delhi.

Alighar is a station halfway between Agra and Delhi, containing a large establishment belonging to the government bullock-train, the great means by which European goods and stores are transported in India. The garrison here mutinied, drove away the officials, took possession of the treasury, destroyed the post-office, and the bullock-train magazine, containing at the time goods to the amount of more than half a million, belonging mostly to private persons in the Punjáb.

And now the mutiny and insurrection spread with great rapidity. One hundred and twenty miles southwest of Delhi is Nasírabád, a station with two regiments of native infantry and some artillery; they seized the treasure, but were fiercely opposed by some Bombay lancers, who remained true. They marched then to Ajmír, having first destroyed the cantonments at Nasírabád, and then to Nímach, where they were joined by two more regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, some horse-artillery, and marched all together to Delhi, which, it became soon apparent, was the rendezvous of the revolting regiments. But it would be too tedious to go over town, and city, and station, one by one; the mutiny, in a word, soon became general;

“Surge leaping after surge, the fire waved onward red as blood,
Till half of *India* lay engulfed beneath the eddying flood;
For miles away the fiery spray poured down its deadly rain,
And back and forth the billows sucked, and paused, and burst again.”

Everywhere the sepoy made it their first business to seize the

treasure, release all convicts and prisoners from the jail, then murder their officers, leave the wives and children of the officers to the mercy of the lustful Mohammedan rabble, and march to Delhi, or if Oude was more convenient, to Oude, and Lucknow, its capital. There are exceptions also to the universal ill-treatment. In some, though extremely few, places, some sepoy or troopers remained with their officers, until these had reached some place of safety, whereupon they returned to join their mutinous comrades. At one place in Oude, Fairabád, the troops assembled on parade in all due military order, then informed their officers, without rudeness, that they were taking possession of the country in the name of the king of Delhi, presented to them one of their native officers as the newly *elected* Brigadier, gave them money for their travelling expenses to Calcutta, from the government treasury, of course, and saluted them on their departure. However, these officers were all set upon by another mutinous regiment and killed.

The mutiny actually extended from the borders of Afghanistan to Assam, and from the Himalaya to the Deccan. Were the places to be enumerated where the British rule ceased for a time, it would but be a recital of the plagues of fire and sword, and in many places, where a brave band of Europeans made a stand, in some fort or other building—also of famine.

At Futtehgurh, a name well known to the friends of missions, information was received on the 3d of June, that the troops at Sháhjahánpúr (fifty miles north of Futtehgurh) and Baraili (about fifty miles further) had mutinied, and that a body of Oude mutineers, consisting of troops of all arms, were marching on Futtehgurh. This caused great anxiety, as the native regiment stationed there were known to be mutinously disposed, for they had given out that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers. That night a consultation was held, and it was considered absolutely necessary to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore, and as boats had been secured, it was settled that a start should be made at once, as it had been before agreed that it was impossible to hold the fort, and it was at that time thought that the river was quite open. The party started at one o'clock, A. M., on the 4th of June, and got on

very well that night. The next morning they were joined by the officers of the Futtehghurh regiment, who reported that their men had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the colonel, and fired on themselves, and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped. The fugitives proceeded on their way, and when opposite the village of Husúnakhore were fired upon by the villagers, but only one was slightly wounded. The next day they had not gone far when a report reached them that Oude troops were crossing at one of the ferries a few miles below. On a further consultation it was deemed best, as the party was very large, to divide. Accordingly, about forty Europeans landed and were received in the fort of a native. The remainder of the party, amounting to one hundred and twenty-six souls, proceeded to Cawnpore, as no intelligence of the mutiny there had reached them.

In the meantime, the Bhitúr Rajah, Sri Mant Dhundú Pant Nána Sáhib by name, had raised the standard of revolt, and made the region around Cawnpore the theatre of his bloody deeds. In bloodthirstiness, wanton cruelty, and utter faithlessness, he showed himself the true Maratta that he was. He was a son, real or adopted, of the vizier of the late ex-Peishwá, Báji Rao, the last of the recognized Maratta chiefs, and on some frivolous pretence (the Court of Directors said) had laid claim to the revenues of the Peishwá, but government had overruled his pretensions, and he thirsted for revenge. During the times of peace he showed himself most friendly and kindly disposed towards the English officers. He had some English education, professed to be a great admirer of everything English, and often invited the English officers stationed near him, gave them banquets and dancing exhibitions, or placed his elephants at their disposal for the exciting tiger-hunt or elephant chase. Before the mutiny fairly broke out at Cawnpore, and while the British were still temporizing, in the vain hope that Delhi would soon be recaptured, and that this event would restore peace and confidence, Nána Sáhib proposed to bring his fifteen hundred men to the assistance of the British garrison at Cawnpore, and for the dispersion of the mutineers. At the same time he was entreating his favourite English friends, among them the chief Collector, to send their young wives and

children to his castle at Bhitúr, as a place of safety. Nobody seems to have doubted his friendship and honour. Was he not a man of immense wealth and power, all through the favour of the English government? Did he not occupy a large estate, and a stronghold of very difficult approach, only six miles from Cawnpore, not inherited, but actually presented to him by the British rulers of India? At the same time he was organizing a corps of assassins, dug out the guns which he had kept concealed, and not a day passed during the bloody interregnum, in which some poor hunted European was not brought in, and literally hacked to pieces by his orders.

Before this tiger, the incarnation of brutality and treachery, whose crimes seem to surpass even what human nature was thought capable of, the pitiable Futtehghurh fugitives were brought, and put to death; all perished, cut to pieces on the parade ground in Cawnpore. Among these fugitives were four American families, the missionaries stationed at Futtehghurh: the Rev. Robert McMullin and his wife, who had only arrived from America three months before; the Rev. Albert O. Johnson and his wife, whose residence in India only dated from December, 1855; the Rev. David E. Campbell with his wife and two children, and the Rev. John E. Freeman with his wife; the latter had but lately removed from Mynpúri to Futtehghurh, to take charge of the Orphan Asylum. Thus did a most cruel and unexpected death terminate the lives of these brethren which had been devoted to the service of their Master. It must be a consoling reflection how these victims of barbarity were doubtless enabled to spend their last breath in directing their one hundred and sixteen fellow-sufferers, amidst the clangor of arms, to the Prince of Peace; how their last few days were possibly crowned with souls saved by their instrumentality; with what fervour, surrounded by enemies, they must have pointed to Him who is the friend of sinners, and how a dying Lord was offered by dying men to dying men. The church and the work of missions have lost, by a sudden stroke, their talents and their piety; but we know that *they* have lost nothing. A great gap has been made in those family circles with which these brethren and sisters were more immediately connected, but the Lord reigneth,

whose judgments are a great deep. He is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him!

The other fugitives from Futtehgurh fared hardly better. After remaining for a few days in the fort of Dharmpúr, where they had taken refuge, they returned again to Futtehgurh. The regiment used various artifices to make their officers believe that they would remain faithful, although they were in possession of the treasure—and they almost succeeded. But on the 18th of June they released all the prisoners and convicts from the jail; a regiment which had mutinied in Oude, crossed the Ganges, and entered Futtehgurh; a company of the Futtehgurh regiment then marched to the Nawáb of Furrukhabád, placed him on a throne, laid the regimental colors at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The Nawáb, however, at that time would have nothing to do with them, unless they made over to him the money which they had robbed. They would not do this, and ultimately dispersed. The Europeans, in number upwards of one hundred and ten, including women and children, now took refuge in the Futtehgurh fort, and there being thirty-three able-bodied men among them, they prepared for a siege. They defended themselves with great courage and perseverance for a number of days against an overwhelming force of sepoys, who had been joined by about one hundred and fifty of the Afghan settlers of that region. But after they had lost several of their number, and the enemy's guns and mines had effected two breaches, their position became desperate, and they resolved once more to take to the boats. This was nearly a month after the first ill-fated party had started. They were soon overtaken, however, by the pursuing sepoys, and men, women, and children, one by one, perished miserably, from wounds, by drowning, from exhaustion, and through treachery. But two survived, and reached a place of safety to tell the sad and sickening tale. In the meantime the district of Futtehgurh was formally taken possession of by the Nawáb of Furrukhabád, who was greatly assisted by one Hidáyat Ali Khán, who had been a taxgatherer under the British government, and who made himself vizier of the Nawáb, retaining all the government officials and employees, and continuing to collect the revenue for the coffers of the Nawáb. The latter put all that could yet be found of any European descent or connec-

tion to death; among them we hear of *twenty-one* native Christians, who had doubtless belonged to the Christian village gathered there by the Presbyterian Mission. A native witness tells how two of the women and one child were twice shot at, by way of execution, without being hit; whereupon they begged the Nawáb for their lives. He seemed inclined to relent, but Hidáyat Ali, who was also present, said they were infidels, and the Koran commanded such to be put to death. And this is the spirit of Mohammedanism wherever it has the power.

At the junction of the Ganges and the Jumná, five hundred miles from Calcutta, lies the city of Allahabad, called by the Hindus, Prayág. When the news of the Meerut and Delhi mutinies arrived, the sepoy regiment there volunteered to march against the mutineers; and on the same day, the 6th of June, they rose and killed eighteen out of twenty-six of their own officers. With loud invocations of Rám Chandra, their favourite name of Krishna, they proceeded to the jail, and liberated two thousand robbers, the offscouring of mankind. Even the native population of the city started with horror as the clanking of the irons, still dangling on the legs of the convicts, resounded for hours through the city. The sepoys in the mean time plundered the treasury of three millions of rupees, and each took away as much as he could carry, leaving the rest to become the cause of strife and bloodshed among the convicts and the mob. The sepoys, to carry the more, threw away their arms, and were consequently set upon by the villagers and spoiled of their spoils. In the city a Mohammedan schoolmaster set up the standard of rebellion, and by dint of much Arabic, or what passed for it, endeavoured to excite the populace to attack the fort in which the European residents had taken refuge. Though demonstrations were made against it, it remained in the possession of the Europeans, who thus saved their lives, though many who could not reach this place of safety were killed by the insurgents. A Sikh regiment, stationed there, though somewhat doubtful at first, ultimately remained staunch, and garrisoned the fort, assisted by thirty European artillery men, who had arrived on the day of the outbreak from Chunár. But nearly every European habitation was burnt to the ground; the church of the station as well as that of the American mis-

sion was gutted, the mission press destroyed, and almost everything was lost. The usual and more than the usual atrocities were committed; neither age, nor sex was spared, and we hear of whole families tied to trees and burnt alive. After the fort had been besieged* for about ten days, and the Sikhs had begun to waver, Colonel Neill, with forty Europeans of the Madras fusileers, who had arrived by a steamer, appeared most opportunely and restored confidence. The following day two hundred more of the same regiment arrived; a sally was made, and the rebels routed. Two of the Sikhs who were left wounded on the parade ground, whilst the English force pursued some mutineers, fell into the hands of the towns people, who cruelly murdered them. At this intelligence the whole Sikh regiment rose up, mad and infuriate, and demanded revenge. With a party of Europeans they proceeded to the town, and murdered every man, woman, and child they met. Those who a few days before had mocked the helpless Europeans, and exulted over their shame and their calamities, and danced howling round their burning bodies, were slaughtered like sheep. The Sikhs exasperated at the wanton cruelty practised against their brothers; the Madras fusileers stung to the quick by the dishonour of their countrywomen; European indigo planters who in one hour had been reduced from affluence and power to beggary and helplessness, and officers whose homes had been made desolate, and who but by a kind providence had escaped the miserable fate of their brothers, precipitated themselves upon the guilty city, and gave no quarter. At the approach of night the city was fired, and half of it destroyed. Many perished in the flames. The revenge was terrible. At such a time, when

“— Weiber werden zu Hyaenen,
Und treiben mit Entsetzen Scherz,
Noch zuckend, mit des Tigers Zähnen,
Zerreissen sie des Feindes Herz,”

what can be expected from an infuriate, *intoxicated* soldiery? A banker, who had encouraged the sepoy in their revolt, was stripped of his three hundred thousand rupees, and then nailed

* Fifty-nine women and children died during the siege.

to a large mahogany table, which he had obtained a few days before from one of the houses of the plundered Europeans.* The American Presbyterian Mission buildings, the school, the library, one of the best in Upper India, were all ruined; the missionaries plundered of nearly everything they had. Two of the missionaries with their families fled. Gopí Náth Nundy, a native of Bengal, a Presbyterian minister in Futtehpore, who had fled to Allahabád, was in the hands of the mutineers for some days, his feet in the stocks a part of the time; but he would not recant, in spite of all menaces; on the contrary, he maintained a good confession, and offered praise and prayer to the only true God, in the presence of his enemies. Some native Christians are said to have pronounced the Mohammedan creed, to save their women from dishonour.

The capital and the seat of government of the north-western provinces is Agra, called by the Mohammedans Akbarabád, well known to the Christian reader as a great missionary station. Here is the American Presbyterian Mission, with three missionaries, a fine Presbyterian church, and three flourishing schools; here the English Baptists had a mission, as well as the Church Missionary Society; the Romish mission dates from the days of Akbar; here was the centre of the North India Bible Society, with its fine depository of thirty-eight thousand Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, etc., in Asiatic and European languages; the Christian Tract and Book Society, with a depository of not less than one hundred thousand pages in various languages; here was the Secundra Orphan Press, one of the largest in India; a Mission College, and a Government College. To the reader of Indian travels, Agra is specially known for its remains of Mogul magnificence, and their crown, the Táj. But during the insurrection the interest of Europeans centred on the other side, on the fort, which extends along the banks of the river, and within whose lofty embattled walls there is the Motí Masjíd (Pearl Mosque) of pure white marble, unrivalled in chasteness of design and elegance; the remains of the palace, with its gilded cupolas,

* There may be inaccuracies in this account, as we have seen no details in the newspapers; our version is taken from an unpublished official document.

and rich tracery on the walls and ceiling; but also an arsenal, and numerous compartments and sheds for all the paraphernalia of war; for in this fort, hardly strong enough to stand an assault, was shut up a European population of nearly six thousand souls for three months.

Agra was garrisoned by three native regiments, one European, and a company of artillery. The native regiments mutinied early, and moved off to the focus, Delhi. Agra being in the very midst of the mutinous districts, was soon cut off from regular communication with east or west, north or south, and hence the government, as far as it depended upon the head, was at once paralyzed. The station remained quiet, however, until the end of June. Immediately south of Agra are some dependent states which are obliged to maintain military contingents; nearly all of these mutinied; and the Gwalior contingent, on its way to Delhi, after having shed the blood of their officers, passed near Agra. Now the Europeans took refuge in the fort; though a detachment of the European regiment, with two guns, marched out to prevent the mutineers from entering the station. An engagement took place, during an early part, in which the ammunition tumbrils were blown up; the Europeans had to retreat, with great loss; and the city and cantonment rabble soon made havoc of the station, burning and destroying everything, and murdering everybody that bore the Christian name, who had not been fortunate enough to reach the fort. So many people being crowded together in gunsheds, casemates, and verandahs, cholera made its appearance, though the mortality from this source does not appear to have been very great. Captain Thomas, well known for his beautiful sketches of Simla scenery, and Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces—the latter perhaps overcome as much by anxiety and grief as by disease—were among the victims.

The most disorganized and anarchical district, during the entire period of the insurrection, was that of Rohilcund, settled by Rohillas (Afghans) about a century ago, and the barbarities committed at Baraili, Sháhjahánpúr, and other places, only proved that the descendants of those wild warriors who had so often overrun India, held blood as cheap as their brothers across the Indus. At Baraili the native infantry destroyed

every European house, the college, and every public building. The green flag of Islam was raised, at the sight of which no Mohammedan dares remain neutral, and *Dín, Dín, Yá Alláh* became the watchword of the rebels. The artillery and the irregular cavalry soon joined them, and Khán Bahádur Khán, a Rohilla prince, proclaimed himself governor of the province, in the name of the king of Delhi. The Europeans fled, but many were cut up. Those who escaped owed their lives mostly to a few native troopers, who had remained faithful. They wandered about for a long time in disguise, often maltreated by the villagers, and suffering every hardship before they reached a place of safety in the hills. At Sháhjahánpúr, on the 31st of May, the European residents were nearly all in church, looking to God for protection, we may imagine with what intense fervour at such a time, when the sepoys rushed in with swords, and murdered most of them. Some fled to the fort of a neighbouring rajah, but were turned out the next day, and hunted to death like wild beasts.

In Hissar, the splendid government stud was destroyed; most of the horses houghed, the treasury plundered, the prisoners released, the European buildings burnt, the government records destroyed, the Europeans murdered. Prince Mohammed Azím Beg, who was in government employ, proclaimed himself governor in the name of the king of Delhi; and the other native officials immediately took service under him. He was ostentatiously engaged in the evening prayer when information was brought to him that two Feringhis were concealed in a certain place. "The prince thanked the Prophet that the merciful God had been pleased to keep the two Káfirs (infidels) for his share of the massacre."

"Ces monstres furieux, de carnage altérés,
Excités par la voix des prêtres sanguinaires,
Invoquaient leur Seigneur en égorgeant leurs frères;
Et, le bras tout souillé du sang des innocens,
Osaient offrir à Dieu cet exécrable encens."

At Jhansi, the famous episode of "the round tower" took place. Two officers, Skene and Gordon, had taken refuge in an old martello tower. They fought the mutineers, Skene's wife

loading his rifle for him, and thirty-seven of the enemy fell before their steady fire. But ladders scaled the place; the ruffians surrounded them; Gordon's head was pierced by a bullet, and he fell. All hope seemed then gone; Skene kissed his wife, shot her, and then shot himself. "Kiss of love and anguish; in famous story or true record of love and death, no kiss like that was ever recorded." The rest of the Europeans, fifty-seven in number, held out for days against large bodies of insurgent horsemen. At last cannon was procured, and the rebels effected an entrance into the old fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge. On this, the latter capitulated for the safety of the women and children, which was granted. Faith was not kept. The men were bound with ropes and placed in a long line, and their wives and children being forced spectators, were all beheaded with a cruelty such as hitherto it was believed belonged distinctively to the Chinese. The children were then cut to pieces before the eyes of their wretched mothers, who then were stripped, flogged—but how can pen describe the undescribable, the inexpressible? We stand aghast at such treatment; for we had forgotten that with the proud Brahman, we always were considered as out of the pale of humanity. We had forgotten that the Mohammedan is a ferocious animal, made so by his creed, which inspires him with a blind, vindictive exclusiveness, that makes him a true demon as soon as the restraint of fear is taken off. The very contact with a Western, a Christian civilization, had an influence over these wild natures, which, however, left the inner unseen man of these aliens entirely unchanged. When a set of low wretches once break loose from a spell which has long restrained them, there is on ordinary principles no knowing how far they will go. They exult in their release from the tie of respect, and think they cannot hurl the burden too far. They toss it off with wild and frantic delight, and rush into boundless insolence. They revel and wallow in the absence of respect as the greatest luxury they can enjoy, and having once torn the veil, rush with a voracious relish to the pollution of the sanctuary. This is the extravagance of vulgar irreverence, to soil the marble surface of the temple with vilest filth, to spit in the face of Majesty, and

kick the Royalty which has won such deference, in very revenge for the deference it has won.

But even such recitals fail to prepare our minds for the gigantic treachery of the Bhitúr Rajah at Cawnpore. He had already shown his temper by the wanton massacre of the poor Futtehgurh fugitives; but the tiger had tasted blood, and blood only could slake his bestial thirst. The first accounts of the mutiny at Meerut, and the reception of the rebels at Delhi reached Cawnpore about the 16th of May. The garrison of that station consisted of about four native regiments. Cawnpore is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, about six hundred miles from Calcutta, separated from Oude by the river. The station is built on a dead level; the lines of the different regiments straggling to the distance of five miles along the river bank; it possesses no fort or place of refuge, and is in every respect ill adapted for defence. The town contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants; many of them were armed; and the proportion of Mussulmans is large. It was a divisional station, commanded by General Wheeler, a man of nearly seventy years of age, fifty-three years in India; he had fought at the original capture of Delhi. He at once turned his attention toward the provision of a fortified position, in which, at all events, he might await the arrival of succours. He pitched upon the hospital barracks for the purpose. He intrenched it and armed it with all the guns of the battery. He had with him a few Europeans, who had been hastened up from Benares, but the whole force did not exceed one hundred and fifty men. The sepoys mutinied on the 5th of June, and then he had only this force to rely on, with about forty officers of various regiments. With this small body of troops he had to protect the depot of a European regiment, (who were in Lucknow,) consisting of one hundred and twenty women and children, and the whole Christian population of the place, which included civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, clerks, pensioners, and their families, to the number of nearly four hundred persons. He had very short supplies of food and ammunition. Against him were assembled a body of men probably exceeding four thousand in number, animated with fanatical rage, well supplied with ammunition, assisted by artillery, and led by the

truculent Nana. Lucknow was not fifty miles off, but no help could be expected from that quarter; and relief from Allahabad was soon rendered doubtful by the tidings that there had been a mutiny there, and that a large body of insurgents had assembled in the city. The enemy obtained mortars and sent shells into the crowded garrison—six hundred persons crowded together in a space calculated for two hundred—in an Indian June! Their supplies were exhausted, and water scarce. Daily men died from fever, and from the heat, and from wounds, and from hunger, and there was no place to bury them. Pulse, used to feed horses, was placed in buckets, raw, in the midst, and on this the delicate women subsisted until the 27th, when they capitulated. Favourable conditions were agreed upon; the garrison (including women, children, and camp followers,) were to be permitted to take their arms, property, and one hundred and fifty thousand rupees with them into country boats provided for their reception, in which they were to proceed to Allahabad. The miserable, half-starved Europeans were conducted to the boats, and pushed off into the stream.

“The starving mother clasped her shrunken child
And hurried to the boats, O ecstasy,
The thought of safety and of once again
Rejoining those they love! The gentle crowd
Is now on board, and, as the river air
Breathes in their faces, smiles are interchanged,
And thanks are wafted silently to heaven.”

But suddenly, on a signal given by Nana himself, guns on the bank were unmasked, and opened upon them. Out of the forty boats they embarked in, some were sunk, others set on fire, and the rest pushed over to the Oude side, where cavalry were awaiting them, and hacked them to pieces. Some, among whom was General Wheeler himself, got ten miles down the river; but they were pursued, overtaken, captured, and brought back in triumph to the barracks. The men were massacred, the women reserved for a worse fate. Some fifty or sixty ladies were kept as prisoners by Nana for about a fortnight. What their sufferings during this time must have been, can hardly be conceived. It is certain that they were allowed but very little food, and had to exist in the most revolting filth. On the wall

of the apartment in which they were kept, was found written, in a lady's hand, that such sufferings had not been endured since the siege of Jerusalem. When Nana heard that a British force was advancing against him, he ordered the execution of the captives. The native eyewitnesses, servants mostly, described the cries and screams of the ladies as heartrending. Gradually, they say, these cries ceased, and there was an awful stillness. All were left for dead: the wretches did not examine the bodies to see if life were extinct, but slunk quietly away. On the morrow it was found that twenty-five were still not dead; they had only been wounded. But it made no difference; the dead and dying, in a promiscuous mass, were thrown into a well, and earth heaped over them. Here, a few days after, they were found by the European soldiers, who came too late for relief; and the sight of all the memorials of the butchery so infuriated them, that they rushed upon their own native camp-followers, and killed many of them; and even slaughtering many of the inhabitants of Cawnpore, as well as of the surrounding villages, scarcely satisfied their desire for vengeance. Some of the scenes that occurred at the massacre, which were afterwards related by the native servants who were witnesses of them, bring the fearful distress of such a time vividly before us.

When the unhappy Europeans were brought back from the boats, they were separated from their wives and daughters, bound with ropes, and placed before their butchers. The chaplain obtained permission to read prayers, probably the burial-service, before the final command to despatch them was given; but he was interrupted by some of the victims who were suffering intensely, under that burning sun, from wounds they had received whilst in the boats. The women were present. The wife of a surgeon rushed upon her husband, embracing him convulsively, and determined to die with him; the other ladies followed her example, but the Nana ordered them to be separated by force. It was done; and the women had to witness the last death-agonies of their husbands, fathers, and brothers, with the exception of the surgeon's wife, whom no force could sever alive from her husband.

Here is the state of a single family in the besieged entrenchments during those terrible twenty-five days of June. The

whole family consisted of twenty-six souls, not one of whom is now in the land of the living. "Mrs. Samuel Greenway, who was delivered of a boy two days before she entered the entrenchment, became mad shortly after, and died about the 9th of June. Mr. Gee, while seated on a chair, received a part of the building, knocked off by a cannonball, on his head. He lingered till the following day, the 11th of June, and died. About this time, Louisa (a girl of fifteen years) was attacked by fever, which continued for three days. During this period her sufferings were agonizing, as little or no water could be procured to still her feverish thirst. She called to her father, and said, 'I am dying.' She kissed him, and expired. My master seldom got up from his mattress, and most deeply felt the death of his daughter, who was his favourite child. Under this grief he sunk, and died about the 17th. On the 18th, Miss Stewart, being frightened by the burning of the barrack in which she was, was running from it to the other quarters, when she was struck by a cannonball on her back. She fell, and died. Mrs. Gee became distracted at the scenes around her, and died on the 21st. The baby, who had subsisted on water only, died about eighteen days after its birth. All the dead bodies were thrown into a well by the soldiers." And so the sad tale of the domestic goes on. Then comes that moment, full of hope, when the boats received the deluded captives: "I saw my mistress seated in the boat, resting against a post, holding the Bible, from which she had never parted. Frederick (seven years old) was seated near her. About this time the fire commenced from a battery of masked guns. I saw my mistress's boat burn. I saw her open the Bible, clasp Frederick to her arms, and then she sunk under the flames. A horseman cut Henry (eleven years of age) with his sword, taking the right shoulder off entirely. Henry then ran a little, fell, and died. John and Mary, with Mr. Samuel Greenway's two children, were taken prisoners, and subsequently barbarously murdered."

Calcutta did not escape at least a panic, and but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from Mauritius, might have fallen into the hands of the conspirators. During the latter part of the month of May and the beginning of June, hundreds of people took refuge in the fort and shipping. A plot was

discovered in which the entire native garrison, and many of the Mohammedan inhabitants of that large city were implicated, in which the taking of Fort William and the destruction of the city were contemplated. At that time there were only three hundred and fifty European soldiers in garrison, and five hundred in Barrackpore, the military station a short distance from Calcutta. It was arranged that the sepoy should release the prisoners in the Alipore jail, join the body-guard of the ex-king of Oude, then living in Calcutta, which amounted to a thousand well armed men, and aided by the Mussulmans generally, march on Fort William, while the three native infantry regiments were to come in from Barrackpore, after destroying the Europeans there by surprise at night, join another set of Mohammedans who were to be in readiness, take possession of the government-house, the mint, the treasure, and plunder and murder all they could. At the same time, two other native regiments which had just arrived from Burmah, and were encamped near Kúli Bazar, were to seize Fort William, aided by the native guard within, amounting to seven hundred men. The city people were to rise *en masse*, and murder the European and Christian inhabitants, while the regular and irregular regiments stationed at Behrampore were to destroy that station, and march down to Calcutta. The higher classes of the English in Calcutta were, in fact, all invited to an enormous banquet by some native prince, where they were to have been surrounded and destroyed. But a thunderstorm of unprecedented violence burst upon Calcutta that evening, so that no one could move from his place. At the same time an unaccountable panic seized the Barrackpore sepoy, the execution of the plot was delayed, and hence defeated. For in the mean time the authorities in Calcutta received such authentic information in regard to the existence of this plot, that no doubt remained even upon their incredulous minds that the English rule was really upon the edge. They found, for instance, that a number of firms who dealt in firearms, especially revolvers, had disposed of nearly their entire stock to certain wealthy natives, and the manufacture of native weapons had also been going on very briskly. But though cognizant of the true position of affairs, they felt themselves paralyzed, not having

sufficient European troops to enforce any measure of disarmament which they might have devised, or to change the fort guard; which measures, if unsuccessful, would only have precipitated the crisis. At that critical moment, unexpectedly, the steamers came in, bringing European troops from Ceylon and the Mauritius—and Calcutta was saved. The ex-king of Oude and his prime minister were at once imprisoned, their communications with their followers cut off, and thus probably the head of the rebellion was, at least, scotched. For after all, Oude must be regarded as the hotbed of the whole insurrection. The annexation in February, 1856, was, as one of Lord Dalhousie's admirers has termed it, "a miracle of quietness." This quietness should have alarmed a sagacious government. The population had been turbulent on religious questions immediately before. Should the edict of a foreign infidel *really* have the power to produce "a miracle of quietness"? There is such a thing as the silence of rage; when a man gnashes his teeth, he cannot speak. Did the government read the native newspapers during the summer of 1856, the Koh-i-núr of Lahor, for instance? A country covered with forts, bristling with arms, filled with armed and warlike men, *peaceably* admitted a foreign ruler, whom the kings of the country had been constantly buying off during the last half century! Marvellous, indeed! Strong zamindars entrenched in their castellated dwellings, ryots living in villages surrounded by the impenetrably interlaced walls of the rank bamboo and belts of thorny jungle; a numerous, turbulent, ill-disciplined, exacting soldiery; chiefs, nawábs, and rajahs, in possession of strongholds and guns above and under ground, all submitted quietly to a system of taxation which nothing could escape. Wonderful! Lord Dalhousie himself, in his minute of the 28th February, tells us with pride, that despite the long prevalent and latterly universal anarchy, and the most disproportionably large army kept up by the king, the transference of power was accomplished peaceably, and without a drop of bloodshed.

Lucknow, of course, the capital of the country, and the residence of the king, a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants, was perhaps the point concerning which most apprehensions had been entertained. There was there a class of courtiers and

hangers-on of the royal family; the inmates of an unusually well-stocked harem, their numberless relatives and their attendants; the office-bearers of the court, chamberlains, mace-bearers, soothsayers, physicians, savans, musicians, men-in-waiting, falconers, lion-tamers, elephant-trainers, jugglers, rope-dancers, actors, most of them Mohammedans, who had considerable influence upon the lower orders of the population. From these, who by the deposition of the king lost almost everything—for such men are not provident—most had to be feared; and there is no doubt that they at once set to intriguing against the English government. One of their most prominent and able men is said to have boasted, after the outbreak, that he had surrounded the English with toils which they would not readily unravel. This whole class, indeed, were banished from the capital, and the lawless royal army of some sixty thousand men was replaced by some ten or twelve *native* regiments, and only a single regiment of Europeans. General Sir James Outram was the man whom Lord Dalhousie had selected for the task of annexing and conducting the administration of the new territory. At the sailing of the expedition against Persia, however, he was chosen to conduct it, and a man put in his place, in whose character “were singularly blended the heroic chivalry of the old Greek, and the inflexible sternness of the old Roman, in happy combination with the tenderness of a patriarch, and the benevolence of the Christian philanthropist.” This was Sir Henry Lawrence, a man alike distinguished for the noblest qualities of head and heart, a glorious warrior, a great civil administrator, a far-sighted statesman, and a man who ruled with justice and humanity.

Before the outbreak at Meerut the military station at Lucknow had been troubled by incendiary fires. On the 30th of May, one of the irregular regiments, which had been in the king’s service before the annexation, mutinied; but the mutineers were overawed, threw away their arms, and fled; and the personal courage and the judicious measures of Sir Henry were thought, for a little while, to have subdued the discontent. But the troubles of the handful of European soldiers at once began. For the sake of increased vigilance they were encamped; and at that season it is one of the greatest hardships

imaginable to have no shelter but a tent against the furnace blasts of the hot wind, with the thermometer in the coolest spot constantly at 110°. On the 19th of May the sepoy, three regiments, rose in arms, killed the brigadier and other officers, burnt the station, plundered all they could reach, shot down all who opposed them, and advanced on the city. Sir Henry Lawrence, however, had not neglected to prepare for the worst; he had fortified the Residency, and placed in it the women, wives of officers, clerks, and others. The Residency is a piece of ground elevated above the rest of the city, allotted by the king of Oude to the British civil residents, when he first put himself under British protection, some fifty years ago. It is walled round, almost entirely; on one side native houses abut upon it, but on the other three sides it stands clear of buildings. This space contains the chief and other commissioners' houses, the post-office, city hospital, electric telegraph office, a church, and some other buildings. The cantonments were about five miles from the city. Lawrence also repaired, armed, and manned the old castle of Machibhawan, and a magazine, all these being adjoining to one another. As soon as he heard of the outbreak in the cantonments, he moved to the attack with three hundred Europeans and two guns. He attacked the rebels, beat them, and pursued them for miles, capturing more than one hundred of them; these were all hung. He foresaw worse things, and continued his preparations to stand a siege; he laid in provisions, and bought up very large quantities of wheat, flour, sugar, etc., knowing well that the whole country would soon be up; for in despotic countries with a centralized system of administration, Paris is France, and Lucknow, Oude. Hence the outbreak at Lucknow was immediately followed by a general rising in the whole of the province. In the military stations, all of which were garrisoned by natives only, the Europeans were killed, or if they escaped immediate death, it was mostly to find a slower end by privations of all kinds, and the hostility of the villagers. Sir Henry Lawrence's force now consisted of some six hundred Europeans, and a company of artillery. He mounted every available gun upon the Residency, placed ten guns to play upon the city, and adopted every precaution to strengthen his position. He was now

besieged by all the Oude regiments which had not gone to join the mutineers in Delhi.

On the 2d of July, the besieged Europeans, pressed by want of meat and fuel, made a sortie in the direction of the enemy's camp. The advanced guard was taken by surprise, and utterly routed, after two hours' desperate fighting. A considerable quantity of provisions fell into the hands of the English troops. This operation was conducted in person by the noble chief, Sir Henry, at the head of less than three hundred Europeans. Returning from the scene of action, bearing the proceeds of their hard fight for the relief of the poor sufferers in the fort, just as the troops reached the town, the native artillery who had accompanied the expedition, suddenly wheeled round and opened a deadly fire from the guns on the unfortunate Europeans, and before they were able to recover themselves and face their assailants, one hundred and thirty men were killed, and several of the officers severely wounded; among the latter the gallant leader, who was cut in the leg by the splinter of a shell, and died two days after of lockjaw. "In him," says the eloquent Dr. Duff, "the native army, through whose treachery he prematurely fell, has lost its greatest benefactor; while the girls' and boys' schools, founded by his munificence on the heights of the Himalaya, of Mount Aboo, and of the Nilgírís, must testify through coming ages to the depth and liveliness of his interest in the welfare of the British soldier's family in this burning foreign clime. I mourn over him as a personal friend—one whose friendship resembled more what we sometimes meet with in romance rather than in actual every-day life. I mourn over him as one of the truest, sincerest, and most liberal supporters of our Calcutta mission.* I mourn over him as the heaviest loss which British India could possibly sustain, in the very midst of the most terrible crisis of her history." In consequence of these casualties the Europeans had to fall back entirely upon the old fort. At this time one of the civilians among the besieged writes: "The most painful consideration is the number of ladies and women, and helpless people who have fled for

* Many other missions in India bear a like testimony to his worth and liberality.

protection to the fort, and are now here. Upwards of two hundred of these poor creatures are crammed into this narrow place, where it is impossible to describe their sufferings. Death would be, indeed, a happy release to many of them; and it is enough to melt the heart of the hardest soldier to witness their cruel privations, while it is wonderful at the same time to see the patience and fortitude with which they are enabled to endure the unparalleled misery of their position."

The number of rebels besieging the Europeans ultimately, is stated to have been not less than one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, about twenty thousand of whom were well-equipped troops of the Company's service, the rest an armed rabble, under wealthy and aristocratic Mohammedan leaders. One of the sons of Wájíd Ali, the ex-king of Oude, Birgis Qádir Bahádur by name, was proclaimed regent for the king of Delhi. His prime-minister was Sharífuddaula, who had been formerly minister of Oude. He reënlisted the disbanded regiments of the former reign, invited the petty rajás and great zamindárs to join him with their followers, issued orders to the villagers to kill all the Europeans passing through their villages, promised rewards for every European killed, and struck a new rupee to commemorate the downfall of the British power, bearing an inscription in Persian in honour of "Saltan Alum Shah," the nonagenarian Delhi miscreant.

Wonderful to tell, this closely pressed handful of English in Lucknow were able to hold out, thanks to the foresight of Lawrence, until, after many, many delays, they were relieved, towards the end of October, by the gallant and Christian soldier, General H. Havelock, who himself never was to leave that city again. He died, of dysentery, on the 25th of November.

It would be endless to recount all the places visited by these disasters. Let the reader imagine the whole of the Bengal Presidency from the Sutlej to the sea, one scene of anarchy and bloodshed, and he will have in his mind a faint shadow of the reality; women and children, naked and destitute, crowding the river boats from Allahabad downwards, to fly from the scene of their husbands', their fathers' murders; the beautiful cantonments a desolation, churches, colleges, schools, presses,

banks, court-houses, destroyed; the fine costly European furniture in heaps on the roads, ruined for ever; the thousand things that go to make up what the Englishman in India must prize so highly, *comfort*, all adding on every side to the impression of some convulsion; *destructae urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est*, like the once fertile Campagna, after the Vandals had swept over the smiling land. During the latter half of the month of July and the month of August, there was not a single European living between Ráníganj and Benares; from Calcutta to Allahabad the English held only those districts which were commanded by English troops, and from Allahabad to Delhi the forces held but little else than the ground upon which they stood. The Bombay and Madras Presidencies remained free from a general rising, but there were in both Presidencies, especially the former, a number of active mutinies, connected with the murder of officers, burning of stations, and a general flight of Europeans; this, however, took place mostly in districts contiguous to the Bengal Presidency, or in territories nominally under native rule. Nevertheless, all over India, even where no active outbreak took place, plots continued to be discovered, the ringleaders of which were usually Mohammedans in government employ. So, for instance, the Kotwál (or ward officer) of the Landour Bazar, to rescue one of his friends, a khidmatgár, (or table-servant,) sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes for indecent and insolent behaviour towards unprotected ladies, tried to get all the Hindus of the place to rise. To effect this, he cunningly and schemingly reported to the commandant of Landour that a Hindu temple near at hand had become so dilapidated and mutilated by the rain that it would fall and injure passengers, if not immediately thrown down; hoping that the representation of such an emergency would cause an order for its immediate demolition to be given without previous inspection; but the commandant went to the temple, and found it strong and complete in every respect. The object of this Mussulman was twofold; by destroying a Hindu temple he would have secured a heavenly reward as *but-shikan*, or iconoclast; and secondly, by studiously impressing the Hindus with the belief that the destruction of this

temple was but the beginning and a specimen, and that it was the intention of government to throw down all Hindu temples, he might undoubtedly, in the then excited state of the minds of the populace, and the illimitable credulity of the heathen, have succeeded in producing a general rising.

But in this case, as in the case of the cartridge myth, and in several other instances, where the Mussulman endeavoured, by playing upon the sensitive religious or caste prejudices of the Hindu, to make a cat's-paw of the latter, he overshot the mark. The Hindu, unlearned and careless of history as he is, had forgotten that he had no greater foe to his religion than the bigotted bawler of the *Kalma*; but the insurrection had not progressed very far before he found it out. In Rohilcund, where the fanatic descendants of the fanatic Afghans loudly proclaimed that the times of their great idol-breaker, Mahmud of Ghazni, had returned, they proceeded *bona fide* to destroy the Hindu temples, after they had made such short work of the few Christian churches within their reach. The Hindus, therefore, had their eyes opened very quickly, and actually sent a petition to Meerut, praying for the return of their English rulers, and for deliverance from their tyrannical Mohammedan masters. In Delhi, too, the shaky descendant of Timur committed the capital blunder to proscribe the Sikhs, and actually sent a Sikh, whom the insurgents had taken prisoner, into the English camp with lips, nose, and ears cut off, and his hands hanging by a string round his neck. This may have contributed much to the generally staunch adherence of the Sikhs to their English masters.

The mention of the Sikhs brings us to the Punjáb—the Punjáb which saved the English rule in India in 1857. Strange things certainly do happen in this strange world of ours, with its strange, surprising, startling history. Any one might have predicted, ten years ago, that in 1857 the Bengal sepoy would be opposed to the Sikh in the field, for the Sikhs were then the enemies of the British, and had their own independent government in the Punjáb, and were even threatening to cross the Sutlej and march on Delhi. The great arsenal of Delhi was therefore expressly provided against the dangers of such an invasion, and its walls and fortifications were repaired and

strengthened by English engineers. But could the prophet of ten years ago have foreseen the position of the English at this period, that *they* should be the assailants of Delhi, that the Sikhs should fight on their side? Ten years ago, an English army was marching against Kashmir; it might not be strange, therefore, that one of the columns assaulting Delhi on the 14th of September, 1857, should consist of three thousand Dogra Rajputs, sent by the ruler of Kashmir; but it is strange that these three thousand auxiliaries should have been supported by English artillery. Ten years ago, the indomitable mountaineers from Peshawur and Multán were fighting against the Company's sepoys, and for the last eight hundred years Delhi has always been the cynosure of covetous Afghan eyes; no wonder then that men from the Sulimani mountains should to-day make incredibly quick marches to reach Delhi in time to plunder it; but that they should receive, for this service, fifty thousand rupees a month, from Colonel Edwardes, the British commissioner at Peshawur, would not readily have been foretold by our supposed prophet. Calderon, in his tragedy of *Absalom*, makes an old wise woman predict to Absalom that "his locks would lift him high," which he interprets to mean, that his personal attractions should procure him the favour of the people and raise him to the throne. So there was a semi-political prophecy current, that Delhi should once again be found in the pathway of the conqueror from the north-west. Russophobia had a ready interpretation of this sibylline dictum. It would have been difficult, *a month* before the event, to predict that England should be outside Delhi, and herself at the head of the deprecated invasion, literally coming from the north-west, to conquer Delhi and Hindustan.

This shows the unreasonableness of those who would throw the entire blame of this mutiny on Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie, they say, annexed Oude. But Lord Dalhousie also annexed the Punjáb. The foresight of a Lawrence saved the Europeans in Lucknow; the energy of a Lawrence preserved the Punjáb, and saved India. The General Order after the capture of Delhi announces:

"The Governor-General in Council will not postpone his

grateful acknowledgments of the services which have been rendered to the Empire, at this juncture, by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjáb.

“To Sir John Lawrence, K. C. B., it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all direct support from the Lower Provinces, has been constantly recruited and strengthened so effectually as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success. To Sir John Lawrence’s unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his own disposal, it is due that Major General Wilson’s army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjáb, and that the authority of the government in the Punjáb itself has been sustained and generally respected.”

That the comparative tranquillity of the Punjáb was preserved, not because the mutinous and insurrectionary elements were wanting there, but simply on account of the energetic measures of Lawrence and his coadjutors, is proved by the fact that a number of more or less successful outbreaks did take place where the orders of Sir John had not been sufficiently obeyed, or where the peculiar position of things made the authorities helpless. As soon as the telegraph had announced in the Punjáb the outbreak at Meerut, a general disarming of the sepoy throughout the Punjáb was ordered, and a movable column was formed without delay, to march in haste upon any point where disturbances should take place. Still, some mutinies did occur. A native infantry regiment in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawur seized a fort, but fled at the approach of a European force; their commanding officer, who had put great trust in them, killed himself. This is not the only instance of suicide from such a cause during this mutiny. An irregular cavalry regiment who were ordered to fire upon those mutineers, but refused, were ignominiously disbanded. As late as the end of August another regiment in Peshawur mutinied, after having been comparatively quiet, without arms, for three months; they were all killed. A like fate overtook a regiment in Lahor, who killed some of their officers. In Rawal Pindi executions and numerous imprisonments were necessary to keep the sepoy quiet. At Jilam a regiment refused to be

disarmed, and killed and wounded more than sixty Europeans, among whom were several officers. When this news reached Siálkot, the brigadier there began discussing the propriety of marching his sepoys against the Jilam mutineers, when a mutiny broke out in which he and other officers were killed, as also a missionary of the Scotch church, with his family. The brigadier in Jalandar delayed the carrying out of the wishes of the Chief Commissioner as to disarming the native troops; hence the latter, after firing buildings in the station, went off with their arms to Delhi. On their approach to Lodiana, a Kashmirian rabble availed themselves of the confusion, and plundered the Presbyterian Mission; fourteen of the criminals were hung the next day, and the city had to pay to the mission a compensation of about twenty-five thousand dollars. In Filaur the native troops mutinied and went off to Delhi. In Firozpúr the confusion was great; several Europeans were killed, and there were two mutinies, with an interval of three months. Multán and other stations escaped risings with difficulty. Even the hill sanatorium of Marí, forty miles from Rawal Pindi, had to repel an attack of the hill people, who thought that such a favourable opportunity for plunder should not be let slip. At Gogaira there was a rising of the prisoners in the jail, but it was suppressed, not without bloodshed. "Groves of gibbets" had to be erected in all these and many other stations, and those whose lives were finished by the hangman's rope, must be counted by the hundred, besides those much larger numbers even who were blown from guns, or despatched by musketry. There are multitudes also imprisoned, who will probably be transported whenever the country settles down in some measure. The road from Lahor to Multán, the only one remaining by which the northwest had any communication with the world without for nearly six months, was also closed up for a time. This road passes through wastes overgrown with grass and brushwood, scantily threaded by sheep tracks, and the footprints of cattle. Here and there a dirty village stands alone in the wilderness, tenanted by a semi-barbarous population, the Fattehánas, Bharmánas, Kharsals, and other tribes, probably the very aborigines of the land;—lawless pastoral tribes, who collect herds of cattle stolen from the agricultural districts.

These, probably stirred up by straggling, wandering mutineers and deserters, rose in large numbers, robbed the mails, attacked the villages and custom-houses, and committed various outrages. Forces had to be sent against them, and it was only after experiencing tremendous losses that they were pacified. An assistant commissioner and some European travellers were killed by them.

But on the whole, Sir John Lawrence succeeded not only in keeping the Punjáb tranquil, but also in raising at once a large number of regiments of Punjábis, Sikhs, and through the admirable management of that accomplished administrator, Colonel Edwardes, even Afghans, to replace the mutinous, disbanded, or disarmed Purbia troops. He did not hesitate even to denude the Punjáb (with the exception of the north-western frontier) of European troops, in order to reinforce the small army before Delhi; and what is more, he had, from the ordinary resources of his province, only with the aid of a small, but successful, forced loan, to maintain all the troops which he had raised. But he failed in nothing; and had but his instructions been fully and promptly carried out in the different stations, there is no doubt some mutinies would not have taken place, and some lives would have been spared. The thing for which he deserves, perhaps, most praise, is the boldness with which he took upon himself that from which so many Englishmen shrink, preferring routine to it, viz. responsibility. Though aware of the jealousy existing between the Queen's and the Company's officers, he did not scruple to raise a Company's officer, a regimental captain, John Nicholson, to the rank of Brigadier-General—and the result fully justified his eagle-eyed choice. Nicholson, at the head of the movable column, promptly and severely punished the Siálkot mutineers, defeated an overpowering number of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Delhi by most consummate generalship and unsurpassed bravery and hardihood, urged the attack on Delhi as soon as he had joined the besieging force, contributed much to its success, and fell on the ramparts of the hard-contested city.

The siege of Delhi, if such it can be called, lasted from the 8th of June until the 14th of September. When the Commander-in-chief, whose headquarters during the hot weather

are generally in the pleasant hill-station of Simla, heard of the fall of Delhi into the hands of the mutineers, he proceeded to the plains, in order to advance with a force towards Delhi. But the change from the cool regions of the Sub-Himalayas to the burning plains of Hindustan in the hottest time of the year, was too great for Sir George Anson, and he died in Karnál, whether of cholera, from the heat, from anxiety, or, as is loudly whispered, in some other way, (for the relation of the Commander-in-chief to the whole army is very much like that of a commanding officer to his regiment,) does not clearly appear. This untoward circumstance, the want of carriage and artillery, and other causes, combined to delay the arrival at Delhi of the small English force available, for four weeks. The senior officer, General Reid, also called from his summer retreat into the field, had to retire again to the Hills, (he, like nearly all the other generals of division in India, is very old,) and General Barnard, who had been in the Crimea, took the command of the force. He was a cautious man, and also died of dysentery. Major-General Wilson, who had been Brigadier of Meerut at the time of the outbreak, now took the command, and retained it until the end of the siege. He also thought that the English force was too small to assault a city held by a far superior number of desperate men, who would contest every inch of ground. But when, finally, sufficient troops had been engaged and raised in the Punjáb, and when the Land of the Five Rivers was sufficiently quiet to warrant the measure, General Nicholson was despatched to his aid with a column, and the city, after an ensanguined fight in its streets, which lasted nearly a week, was ultimately captured, entirely denuded of its inhabitants, who had all fled. Perhaps the name of Nádir Sháh was then in their mouths, who, when he had captured Delhi, in 1739, ordered a massacre of the inhabitants, in which the number who perished were eight thousand, according to the lowest estimate.

During the siege there were almost daily engagements with the sepoys, who would come out in large numbers to attack the entrenched position of the English, but were uniformly routed and driven back. Many incidents of a very curious nature took place during this time, which, however, we cannot mention

in this place. A European woman came out from the city as a spy for the sepoy; she was captured and hanged. During the first day of the siege two Europeans were taken and killed, who had been engaged in laying the guns for the besieged; they confessed that there were ten more Europeans in the service of the king of Delhi. One of the Baraili regiments obliged its European sergeant to remain with them, when they mutinied and marched to join the rebels in Delhi; he was found in the city at its recapture, and cut to pieces. The old king and some of his large family were captured in the tomb of Humáyun, a few miles from the city; the officer who took him prisoner at the same time killed two of his sons and a grandson. His life has been guarantied to him, although there was a report that he was to be tried for the disappearance of a lady who was known to have been alive in Delhi up to the capture of the city, but was probably murdered when the royal family evacuated the palace, which held out longest. The fearful nature of the engagement on the 14th of September may be conceived, when it is remembered that the three assaulting columns consisted in all of two thousand seven hundred and fifty men, Europeans and natives, whilst the defenders of the city were at least ten times that number. No wonder that on that day the number of killed and wounded on the side of the English was eleven hundred and forty-five; it was a bloodier affair, old soldiers said, than anything they had seen in the Crimea. Of the king's family twenty-nine had been executed by the middle of November; others were kept prisoners; others fled and remained concealed; whilst some joined the insurgents in their irregular warfare and continued resistance to the government forces. The capture of Delhi by no means terminated the insurrection; for that the reinforcements from England were urgently required; and the first ship-load of these only arrived a month after in Calcutta. Their reaching the upper provinces would consume another month. In the mean time we hear, for instance, that on the 7th of October, Sandar Sháh, "late a prisoner for life at Hazáribágh," takes possession of Sambalpúr. About the middle of this month, a battle was fought under the walls of Agra, in which the same force who plundered the station more than three months ago, were severely

punished. About that time also General Havelock arrived with a force in Lucknow, but only to strengthen the position of the European garrison, not really to relieve them; for this purpose his own force was too small, and that of the insurgents too large. He could only join the besieged Europeans, and wait for further reinforcements, which finally arrived, on the 12th of November, under the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, who had to fight his way through the city step by step; he was himself wounded in an engagement in its streets about a fortnight after.

The task which the British still had in India was not a light one; they had to reconquer strong positions and extensive districts, to destroy some hundred regiments of treacherous mutineers, to chastise and terrify into submission independent princes, numerous contingents, crowds of irregulars, whole tribes of robbers and murderers, and a population naturally apt to side with the rebels. But we must stop here. The first act of this sad drama doubtless closed on the 14th of September, and we cannot, at this time, pursue the course of the revolt any further. It might have been interesting also to glance at the part which it is alleged Russia and Persia had in this revolt, the attitude of Afghanistan in reference to the Trans-Indus frontier, the perilous situation of the English mission at Candahar; the policy of *suppressio veri* adopted by both the English and the Indian governments during this crisis; the deep religious feeling which it appears to have excited in England, the influence it is likely to have on the future of India and its millions, especially in reference to the evangelistic work; and the changes which it will necessitate in the administration, and probably also in the form, of government; but space forbids.

In endeavouring to enumerate the causes of this remarkable mutiny, we have hardly alluded to the highest and deepest consideration which must arise in the mind of a reflecting Christian, namely, What national sin called down such a severe national infliction? We have refrained from speculating on this topic for a very obvious reason. It is with nations as with individuals; the charge is too often a true one, that we are liable to regard the calamities that befall ourselves as chastisements, and those that befall our neighbour as punishments.

But, nevertheless, if we believe in a special providence at all, we must believe that "affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;" nations live only in this world; their national sins must be visited on them. It is not difficult to charge Great Britain, and especially the Indian government, with many things. A Russian organ has said, "We should be justified in considering these bloody dramas as a retribution for Kertch, Odessa, Uleaborg, etc." Some, with greater probability, have pointed to the opium trade as most likely to have incurred the wrath of the Almighty. But we find in Scripture that God pursues a certain method in his dealings with nations, which may serve as a clue to guide us in our contemplation of great historical events.

We find in the ninth chapter of Exodus that the boil that broke forth upon the Egyptians was caused by Moses sprinkling the ashes of the furnace. The furnace spoken of is supposed to have been that of the brick-kilns used in their taskwork by the Israelites; and Matthew Henry thus remarks on it:—"Sometimes God shows men their sin in their punishment. They had oppressed Israel in the furnaces: and now the ashes of the furnace are made as much a terror to them as ever their task-masters have been to the Israelites." In Isaiah, ch. xxx., we find a woe denounced against Israel, "that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt." Hence their punishment is to come from that very quarter: "Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion." One burden of Hosea's impassioned speech is the infatuation of Israel in regard to foreign alliances: "They call to Egypt, they go to Assyria." Hence their punishment is to arise from that very quarter: "How will he remember their iniquity, and visit their sins: they *shall* return to Egypt;" "And they shall eat unclean things in Assyria;" "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them." So, without doubt, at a previous period, their backwardness in obeying the divine command in reference to the extermination of the wicked Canaanite nations, became the means of their corruption and

their consequent punishment. When the sea, and the rivers, and the fountains of waters become blood, the angel of the waters says, "Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink." (Rev. xvi. 3-6.) We may, therefore, not be accused of presumption, if we endeavour to find in the infliction the index to its internal moving cause. We find that the mutiny, from beginning to end, was placed on a religious ground. Mohammedans and Hindus, who have nothing in common, except hatred of the truth, joined in a crusade against Christians. This is not natural; it is rather surprising. The whole creed of Islam is opposed to idol-worship; and the Brahman is, perhaps, the subtlest and at the same time the grossest idol-worshipper that can be found; his most spiritual conception of a Deity is a most hideous, unreal, pantheistic idol; and at the same time, there is no religion that has so outraged decency in its audacious representation of the infinite unseen Being, that has dragged him so uncereemoniously to the very surface of the world of sense, and clothed him in such gross, grotesque shapes. Islam, on the other hand, exhausts the plasticity and copiousness of that opulent language, the Arabic, in its attempts to remove the Deity from human sense, to divest him of form and quality, and to enwrap him in seventy thousand veils of mystery and inaccessibility. The cobweb-metaphysics and fine-spun abstruse speculations concerning the Deity and his attributes, which we find in Aquinas and the schoolmen, are but the grosser northern imitations of the ærial fabrics proceeding from the earlier thought-looms of Cordova and Granada.

The extraordinary spectacle of a union of such discordant elements justifies us in saying that this insurrection is a solemn call on the Indian government to review their religious policy and tactics. The most cursory observation will soon convince them that it is not opposition to heathenism and idolatry with which they have to charge themselves, but a cowardly concession to the Hindu religion, an undignified bowing to caste prejudices, and a want of either seriousness or moral courage to confess Christ before men. Says the Psalmist: "If we have

forgotten the name of our God, or stretched our hands to a strange god, shall not God search this out?" We have said above, that the feeling of the Hindu as to the decline of his religion, was not without foundation, and his ascribing this to certain government measures, was not so entirely without some show of reason, as some have thought. But this does not militate against what we are maintaining now. It is a remark of the greatest profundity, and one betokening close observation, and true philosophy, which has been made by an English writer, that "our present difficulties are due, in some degree, both to the neglect of the fundamental maxim of Anglo-Indian administration, that the religious and social prejudices of the natives are, above all things, to be respected, and to a mistaken and exaggerated application of that maxim." If infanticide and *sati* were put down, was it not after seventy and eighty years' toleration of them? These and similar measures could never have provoked even astonishment among the natives, much less such dissatisfaction as could lead to a revolt, were they not so entirely different from what the Hindus had been accustomed to see in their *Christian* rulers. Did they not see temples and mosques restored at government expense, whilst most stations, with their Christian inhabitants, were left without churches? Do they not know, that even now hundreds of idol-temples are endowed and supported by their Christian government?* Did not, until very lately, if the practice does not exist even now, the government derive some revenue from the horrid exhibitions at Púri? Did the salutes from the ramparts, in honour of idolatrous and Mohammedan festivals, even on a Sunday, never sound in the natives' ears? Did they not know that grants were made from the public treasury, in seasons of famine and drought, for idolatrous rites to propitiate the Hindu deities for rain? Did they not see the offerings presented in the name of the government to idols, whilst in the next street the missionary was proclaiming—"The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God"? Do they not know, that in the government colleges, where maulwís are paid to

* In the small Bombay Presidency alone, the annual expenditure under this head amounts to no less than one million five hundred thousand rupees. (See "A few Remarks upon the Present Crisis." London, 1857. Page 9.)

teach the Koran, and pandits are entertained to expound the Shasters, the Christian teachers are not allowed to open their mouths in the defence, or even explanation of any point of their professed creed? Was not a native officer, a man of good birth, a Brahman, and an excellent soldier, expelled from the Bengal army, under the immediate orders of the Governor-General, on the sole ground that he had sought Christian baptism? Were not the natives aware that a Mohammedan or Hindu employee of government had but to profess Christianity, to be summarily dismissed from his situation? Is this not being ashamed of Christ?* Was not high caste, as we have set forth more fully in a previous page, the idol before which English officers loved to bow? Is not that great evil, now almost ineradicable, viz. the multiplicity of servants necessary to be kept by every European in India, the result of this ignoble compliance with absurd and spurious pretensions of caste? It is true, there are officers in India who are much better than the government or its policy; and this, by the way, makes Indian matters so extremely difficult to be understood. The traveller or foreigner in India comes in contact with a variety of officers, and he finds none of them the despotic, heartless sultans which sciolists and demagogues would have led him to believe he should find. On the contrary, he finds many actively engaged in devising means for the amelioration of the condition of the natives. It is the *system* that is bad in plan and bad in faith; but it is ably, and on the whole, kindly administered by energetic, generous Englishmen. The cold cruelties, the fatal mistakes, the irremediable blunders of Indian rule, come from the apprentice statesmen in England, or civilians high in office, who never see a poor native during their whole stay in India; whilst the genial sympathies and good tact of the military instruments and subordinates alone give the system what efficacy it has. There are

* The revolt, in this respect, seems to have inaugurated a new era. Mr. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjáb, has expressed, by a circular to the different Commissioners, his desire that special efforts should be made to employ native Christians in the government service. It is possible that this example will be imitated in other parts of India. We have no space to remark on the probable effect of such a measure on Christian missions. The Directors, however, appear opposed to such a course.

pious officers also in the army; but there is a government order interdicting their speaking to the sepoy on the subject of religion. When some, on their march to Kabul, took Persian Bibles with them for distribution, their attempts were absolutely prohibited by the English authorities. It was surely not the Bible, its doctrines, or its morality, that caused the rising of the Afghans!

It is all right and proper to grant religious liberty, to permit freedom of conscience, and to respect the right of every man to worship after his chosen fashion; no one calls on *government* to proselyte India; but what can justify their throwing the immense weight of their influence all into the other scale? What can we say to an exhibition such as was witnessed in the House of Lords, when one lord, an ex-Governor-General of India, ascribed the mutiny to Lord Canning's having contributed to some missionary fund; and other lords said that if Lord Canning had really committed such a great crime, he ought to be at once recalled? Must a man cease to be a Christian on becoming Governor-General? Is it no interference with the liberty of the individual to say, that civil and military officers, and even Governors-General, may not in their private capacity, subscribe to missionary funds? It is perfectly gratuitous to say that Colonel Wheeler, and Christian men like him, have done harm by their religion; no one has ever attempted to bring any evidence of it; nobody can prove it. But there is no doubt now in the mind of any one, that truckling to native prejudices has done harm. Even the government's policy, not to say anything of their Christianity, has conceded far too much to the pride of caste. The sepoy, so far from thanking them, has simply accepted their concession as the reluctant homage of fear, and has risen in his own conceit of himself proportionally.

The nature of Christianity is such that without the sword, and often without the word even, merely by its silent influence, it proselytes and propagandizes; and where it fails to do this, it arouses opposition and hatred. No external agency seems to be required frequently to produce either effect; the Mohammedan hates the Christian because he is such, and the Brahman feels his religion tottering by the mere presence of a man who

he knows believes only in one incarnation. If the Indian or the English government think that they must not proselyte, they must stay away; they cannot help proselyting; the very presence of the Christian religion in that country is a missionary appeal. In the Hindu mind, everything begins and ends with religion. He sees European greatness, power, wisdom, and justice; and he ascribes these attributes, involuntarily, and perhaps unwillingly, to the religion of Europeans. If the government think the preaching of Christianity dangerous, then they must abandon all schemes for improving and elevating the natives, enlarging their minds and acquainting them with European literature and history; for such advance in knowledge must have the effect of making them discontented with their old absurd religion, and introducing them to the evidences and moral fruits of another.* Whilst, therefore, the Indian government are not called upon to preach the gospel, let them not pander to a vile idolatry; let them cease to bow down in the house of Dagon; let them not be ashamed of the religion they profess; let them now hear the rod, and Him who hath appointed it; let them give God the glory, lest a worse thing befall them than even THE MUTINY OF 1857!

ART. V.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly met in the city of New Orleans, May 6th, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D. D., from 2 Cor. xiii. 11. The Rev. WILLIAM A. SCOTT, D. D., of California, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. D. X. JUNKIN, D. D., Temporary Clerk. The next Assembly was appointed to be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on the third Thursday of May, 1859.

The American Bible Society.

In the Assembly of 1857, an overture had been presented by the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., in reference to the

* This view has been fully recognized and endorsed by the *London "Times."*

action of the American Bible Society in the preparation of a new standard edition of the Bible, which was referred to this Assembly. The subject was called up on the first day of the sessions, and, after some discussion, was made the second order of the day for the following Monday. When the subject was again called up, the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge presented the following minute, which was unanimously adopted:

“By a vote of the General Assembly of 1857, an overture to that body, which is printed in its Minutes, pp. 35, 36, relating to the American Bible Society’s new standard English Bible, and to the best method of preserving, in its integrity, the common version of the English Bible, was specially referred to the consideration of the present General Assembly. During the year which has intervened, the attention of the Christian public has been diverted to this important subject in a very unusual degree; and, so far as this Assembly has the means of judging, it is apparent that the Presbyterian church throughout the country is decidedly opposed to the line of conduct in the premises, pursued by the late Committee on Versions of that Society, and to the circulation by that Society of their new standard English Bible. It is, therefore, matter of great satisfaction to this General Assembly, that the Directors of the American Bible Society have resolved to cease publishing and circulating the aforesaid new standard Bible, and to resume the publication and circulation of the standard English Bible in exclusive use by the Society before the late work of collation and change, commenced about the year 1847. We also cordially approve the further action of the Board of Directors, so far as it secures a more vigilant oversight, in future, of the work of its Committee on Versions, and prevents any future change, either of the text or its accessories, without the careful consideration and special order of the Board of Directors. With regard to any change whatever, either in the text of the English version of the Bible, commonly called King James’s Version, or in the accessories to that text, as they were commonly printed at the formation of the American Bible Society, we do not admit that the said Society has any power or authority to make any alteration in said accessories or said text, except such as appertain to a printer, and not to an editor.

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By the text of King James's Version, we do not mean a copy corrupted by errors and unauthorized changes—no matter where that copy may have been printed, nor how those errors may have occurred, nor who may have ventured to make those changes;—but we mean the true text in English, produced and published after the labours of the translators appointed by King James the First of England, which for nearly two centuries and a half has been the standard Bible of all people speaking the English language, and which the Presbyterian church in the United States of America is resolved to preserve in its integrity and purity, and to use and circulate. Along with the greater portion of the Christian public in this country, we have confided to the American Bible Society the great work of circulating the English Scriptures in the version in common use; and while we deeply regret the serious error into which it was betrayed, its recent action, in the premises, demands a cordial response from all the earnest supporters of the great work in which it is engaged. In discharge, therefore, of our duty as the General Assembly of one branch of the church of the Lord Jesus Christ, to which he has committed his most blessed Word for the guidance and salvation of men, we have made this deliverance. And upon the terms herein set forth, we reiterate our approval of the principles upon which the American Bible Society was founded, our desire to coöperate with our brethren of all Christian denominations, in united efforts to furnish the whole world with the word of God, and our earnest recommendation to our people to give liberally to the support of this good cause."

We hope that the exciting and painful controversy on this subject is at an end. It is not the Presbyterian church alone, but the Christian sentiment of the country, which has decided the matter, and settled, we trust, finally, the principle that the Bible Society has no authority to alter the received version of the Scriptures or its accessories in any manner or degree affecting the sense. This principle lies at the foundation of the constitution of the Society, and faithful adherence to it is essential to its existence. The Directors seem never intentionally to have called this principle into question. The avowed object of the collation instituted by the Board, and referred to the Committee on Versions, was to correct the "discrepancies still

existing between the different editions of our English Bible; and also between our editions and those issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society." These discrepancies related to "orthography, capital letters, words in italic, and punctuation." The removal of these discrepancies was a perfectly legitimate object, and the collation of the different standard editions was the legitimate means of effecting that object. The whole difficulty has arisen from the Committee transcending not only the power delegated to them, but the power of the Society itself. Instead of limiting themselves to the removal of discrepancies, they assumed the authority of altering the text at discretion, not only in matters of orthography, capital letters, italics, and punctuation, but also as to the words. The objection is not that they exercised this discretion recklessly, or even unwisely, but that they assumed it at all. They had just as much authority to alter a whole book as a single sentence. Besides this, they substituted a new set of headings for the chapters, a work entirely transcending the powers of the Society, and which the Board never referred to the Committee. It was assumed, as the Committee state in their Report, p. 16, "in practice," i. e., without any authority from the Board. This is a work which the church would not commit to any six or six hundred men in the country. Its assumption by this Committee, the acquiescence of the Board in this assumption, and their sanctioning the stereotyping and distribution of thousands of copies of the Bible with these spurious headings, has done more to shake public confidence than anything which has ever occurred in the history of our benevolent institutions. It is the greatest public wrong that, so far as our knowledge extends, has ever been committed by any of our national societies. The fact that these changes, in almost all instances, eliminated the evangelical element from these headings, tended greatly to increase dissatisfaction and alarm. The pertinacity with which the Committee (with the honourable exception of Dr. Spring) have defended this great wrong, and the principles avowed by some of its members and friends in their justification, have rendered the matter, so far as they are concerned, manifold worse. It was asserted, according to the published reports of the debates on this subject, that the Society was bound to give the people

the best Bible they could; that it would not be justified in circulating a version which did not express the mind of the Spirit; that the received version had already passed through many changes and still remained the same version, implying that any alterations consistent with the identity of the version were within the constitutional powers of the Society. The old frigate Constitution, it is said, has had her timbers renewed one after another until scarcely a beam of the original structure remains, and it is the Constitution still. Thus, according to this principle, King James's version may be changed, chapter by chapter, or sentence by sentence, until nothing of the original remains, and be none the less King James's version. It is evident that such assertions assume that the office of the Bible Society is not merely the circulation of the Scriptures, but the improvement of the English version, according to the judgment of the Board or of its Committee. It is the practical assumption of this principle, despite its formal renunciation, which has created so much alarm in the public mind. And it is the explicit condemnation of that principle, by the Christian public, which the controversy on this subject has called forth, which is the permanent good God has brought out of the collision. The foregoing remarks are not made with the design to keep up irritation of feeling, but with the intent that the importance and true nature of the question at issue may be understood and remembered. We do not impute any conscious or intentional wrong to the Committee. We cheerfully acknowledge the zeal and ability manifested in their work. They, as was the case with the Apostle, no doubt thought they were doing God service. This, however, does not render the wrong done either less obvious or less dangerous.

The Board of Domestic Missions.

Dr. Musgrave, Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, gave the Assembly a brief summary of its action during the past year, of which the following is an abstract.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary commercial and financial revulsion which has overtaken the country, and produced for a time almost a total suspension of business of every kind, bringing bankruptcy to thousands, the Board have been able to

execute the work entrusted to them with extraordinary success. Indeed, no sooner had the gloom begun to disperse, than the contributions to its treasury largely increased. In the month of February, the receipts exceeded those of the corresponding period of the previous year by \$5,000. The Board have increased the number of missionaries by twenty, making the number now employed by them 600. The appropriations for the past year are slightly in advance of those made during the one preceding it. The total receipts are \$105,277.52; the entire disbursements for the same period are \$104,143.67. The receipts of the Board are considerably above the record of any previous year, and this increase is not the result of individual bequests so much as of the contributions of the churches. The excess of increase in the past year over any preceding one, is above \$8,000. An average reduction of \$3.00 has been made in the appropriation to each missionary, in view of the embarrassments of business; but the churches in which they laboured have increased the amount which they contributed to the salary: so that the salaries received by those engaged in missionary labour average \$500 each.

The reports from the missionary churches indicate the most extraordinary success. There is a sensible manifestation of the influence of the Holy Spirit in a revival of the church, and an awakening of the people. Although the fruits are not reported to this Assembly, it can be confidently stated that such an extensive interest on the subject of religion has never before been witnessed.

The usual series of resolutions expressing the gratitude of the Assembly for the blessing of God on the labours of the Board, confidence in its wisdom and zeal, and urging on the churches their duty, was presented, and, after recommitment and amendment, adopted. The point in the resolutions which excited debate, was the expression of regret that so large a part of the funds were absorbed by feeble unproductive churches. This was considered as an intimation that such churches should not be sustained. Dr. Musgrave disclaimed any such interpretation of the language used. He advanced it as a principle of the Board, that churches however feeble, and however little prospect there might be of speedy increase of strength, should

be sustained. What the resolution objected to really designed, was discountenancing the application for aid on the part of Presbyteries in behalf of churches which did not really need it, or which could be sustained by a less liberal appropriation. The resolution having been modified so as to express that idea was adopted.

The Board of Foreign Missions.

The receipts from all sources, (including a special contribution of \$13,112.57 to repair losses in India,) have been \$223,977.79. The expenditure has been \$207,051.51, (the sum specially donated for India, \$18,112.57 being reserved,) leaving a balance against the Board of \$1,186.29.

Thirty missionary labourers have been sent out during the year, twelve of whom are returned missionaries, and ten others are waiting opportunities to embark for the fields to which they have respectively been designated. Under the direction of the Board, there are nine missions among the Indians; one to the Jews, and one to the Chinese in California, within the boundaries of the United States; two in South America; two in Western Africa; one in Siam; three in China; two in India, embracing fifteen stations, and extending over a region of country more than a thousand miles in length; besides which, pecuniary aid has been extended to the Evangelical Societies of Belgium, Paris, Geneva, and to the Waldensian Synod.

Connected with these various missions, there are 170 missionary labourers from this country; 54 native helpers; 50 principal stations and out-stations; 23 organized churches; and nearly 5,000 native youths under Christian training in the schools connected with these missions.

A general survey of the missionary work, during the past year, brings to view facts and events both of a painful and a cheering nature; the former calling for sorrow and humiliation, the latter for praise and thanksgiving.

Under the former head stands out painfully and conspicuous the sad disaster at Futtehgurh, in which the lives of eight beloved and valued missionary labourers and two children were sacrificed by sepoy violence; the removal by death, in other parts of the field, of five other valued missionary labourers;

the partial interruption of the work at one of the principal stations in China; and the withdrawal of a considerable number of labourers from the field, either temporarily or permanently, on account of the failure of health. These are occurrences that call for deep humiliation, and they ought to awaken the heart-searching inquiry, why these reverses have been permitted to befall this great work.

On the other hand, there are facts of an encouraging nature, that are equally deserving of the grateful consideration of God's people. Among these may be mentioned the merciful preservation of the health and lives of the great body of our missionary brethren and their families in India, during all the trials and dangers to which they have been exposed; the noble testimony which the martyred brethren were enabled to bear to the truth, in the immediate prospect of a cruel and violent death, and the heroic fortitude with which their Christian converts endured persecution, and in some cases, met death, forming together a lesson that will be rehearsed from generation to generation in India, and will long be cherished by the church of Christ, as a sweet and precious memorial. The early prospective settlement of disturbances both in India and in China, on a basis more favourable to the spread of Christianity; the quiet and effective manner in which the missionary work has been prosecuted in most of the fields occupied by the Board, in connection with which a large number of immortal souls have been gathered into the fold of Christ; the opening of new fields for missionary enterprise in portions of the earth heretofore inaccessible, and the enlargement of the area of labour in those that have been partially occupied; the present great outpouring of God's Spirit upon the churches in this and other Christian lands, furnishing and sanctifying the means and agents, as it is hoped, for a great extension of the missionary work; the increased contributions of God's people to the support of this great cause notwithstanding the existing financial pressure, and the growing disposition manifested, not only by the students of our Theological Seminaries, but to some extent by settled ministers and laymen of the church, to devote themselves personally to the promotion of this work—all these, if the indications of divine providence are rightly interpreted, betoken

a purpose on the part of the great Head of the church to bring about grander results in connection with the enlargement of his spiritual kingdom among men, than have ever been witnessed before, and a willingness on his part to employ the church as the honoured agency for the accomplishment of this great end. How shall the church respond to this solemn call? How shall she act in view of this momentous emergency?

Mr. Lowrie, the Corresponding Secretary, gave a detailed and most lucid account of the operations of the Board during the past year. Rarely in a lifetime, can it have been the good fortune of an audience to listen to such a narrative of martyrdom, and to such examples of fortitude, worthy of the earlier days of the Christian church, as were illustrated in the death of native Hindoo converts as well as of American missionaries. The mighty influence of this church organization upon the civilizing, the evangelizing, the humanizing of savage nations, was most conspicuously displayed.

He said that in the twenty-one years during which annual reports have been submitted, we have made the discovery that missionary work is never stationary. If it does not advance, it always goes backward. That work consists of three distinct, but harmonious branches: 1st. Preaching the word as soon as the language is sufficiently mastered to enable missionaries to be understood. 2d. Translating and printing the Bible. 3d. The education of the young natives in boarding-schools, for the specific object of raising up a native agency. To supply India alone would require one hundred thousand ministers, and China would need not less than three hundred thousand. They never can be obtained in America; and these necessities can only be supplied by the countries themselves. He spoke of the terrible financial straits to which the Board has been reduced, to meet demands of the holiest character. Though a native missionary in Africa, "a white man, all but his colour," was ready, and most admirably fitted for the work, it took the Board three weeks to make up for his support the indispensable sum of five hundred dollars. Mr. Mattoon, in Siam, the finest Siamese scholar in the world, has completed the translation of the Scriptures, of tracts, and of school books. If we sent him no printing press, or other means to print, of what use was it to send him? Yet all the

Board could do was to send him the promise, relying on, they know not what resource, to meet the promise. Such expenses are often caviled at as needing justification. Preaching is thought to be the great and paramount work of the missionary; but is not the use of the Bible, and the dissemination of religious knowledge, a process of declaring the will of God to man? And is preaching orally anything more? Even to preach requires travelling, which, in all those countries, is expensive. There are no inns; the people dare not receive you into their houses, nor give you food. They dare not give you drink; the glass that has been polluted by your lips must be broken, and only metal vessels can in any way ever be made fit to be used again. Missionaries must go, as in apostolic times, by two and two. They must take with them tents, provisions, and all else they need to maintain life, and these require a team, and are expensive in such countries. In China and in Siam they can avail themselves of the canals; but there are thousands of localities which these do not penetrate, and there they must travel on foot. They can nowhere stir without additional means.

These details of expenditure refer mostly to small funds; but there are so many of them that they exhaust the treasury, despite any supplies hitherto poured into it. The contributions of churches, since the disuse of agents to collect money for missions, have slowly but steadily increased; but it is a mournful fact, that nine hundred and forty churches, with four hundred and thirty-seven ministers, and sixteen thousand one hundred and twenty-eight communicants, have, during one whole year, not contributed one cent. Were every member of our church to contribute half a cent a month, our receipts would have been increased by five or six thousand dollars. Were they to contribute one cent a week, it would produce a fund of twenty thousand dollars. Of all the contributions of Presbyterian churches, for every purpose, the amount actually given to foreign missions amounts to barely four per cent.

He spoke of incidents of recent martyrdom in India. A native missionary was tied to the mouth of a cannon, and cut to pieces with swords, after the gun had twice missed fire. A mother and her babe left to die, remained two days unburied,

and were at last flung into a stream by men of the lowest caste. The speaker's own son was mentioned in this connection, in the simplest words that could describe his drowning, by violence, in a Chinese sea; but it electrified the Assembly, as nothing but genuine feelings can do, and the entire house melted into floods of irrepressible tears. He told of the personal loveliness of four ladies who were victims; of four men who are not excelled by the greatness or the excellence of any four brothers in this Assembly. When taken, they threw away all weapons, offering no resistance. Mr. McLain, an Indian planter, offered one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for their ransom, and used all other possible means to save them; but the cry was, "We want not money, but blood!" Husband and wife were tied arm to arm, and, carrying their infants, they were marched to the place of butchery, and received the crown of martyrdom. But we need not grieve. In the Revelation, these things are described like a history more than a prophecy, and we are assured by the word of Him who permits such things, that "the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder thereof he will restrain." "Not by power, nor by might, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord."

On a motion to adopt the report, Mr. Atkinson said: The church is essentially a missionary organization. It is its character to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. It is the first instinct of a new-born soul to gather in other souls. What motion is to the health of the body, and exercise of the faculties is to the well-being of the intellect, missions are to the well-being of the church. Macaulay's wonder at the sudden arrest and congelation of the Reformation, would never have been recorded in his history, had he understood church history as he did secular. The church lost her missionary spirit.

He looked on nothing human as so great as the man who takes his life in his hand, and goes forth to the ends of the earth to carry the gospel of Christ. He hoped this Assembly may be hereafter distinguished for the missionary character of its present meeting, beyond all that have preceded it. The best bestowed wealth is that given to this cause. It was his deliberate conclusion that the highest elevation attainable by a

mortal is in the gospel ministry. He knew the martyr Lowrie in the Theological Seminary, and he could not but look with reverence on that father, here among us, whose son is now a glorified saint.

Mr. Paynter spoke in terms of overflowing gratitude of one of the missionaries whose murder had been referred to. He owed to him his nurture, training, education, and love of missions. He had always brought the claims of missions the most prominently of any before his church, and every member of it freely gives to this cause. One whose husband prohibited her from all means of giving, with feeble health, had laboured at midnight to earn means for this cause, and placed it where it was found and secured to missions—almost literally a widow's mite. He thought it essential to keep the heart warm on this subject. Unless the heart is moved, it is little we shall give from mere principle. He hoped that no member who has anything to say on this subject, calculated to send us home with new enthusiasm for this cause, will withhold it.

Dr. Palmer moved that the Rev. Mr. Hay, a missionary recently arrived from India, be requested to give an account of the disturbances in India. A recess was then taken.

On resuming the session, the Rev. Mr. Hay occupied the attention of the Assembly with a thrilling narrative of the mutiny, which lost nothing in its interest from the reflection that in many of the most terrible scenes he had been a personal sufferer.

He said British India embraced a population of not less than one hundred millions. It is not homogeneous in race, language, nor religion. The greater part are idolatrous Hindoos, occupying the eastern, northern, and central portions. Nearly all the rest are Mohammedans. Three hundred years ago the Jesuits first established their missions in the extreme southern parts, whence they spread and extended into other parts, assuming the dress and habits of the people, and propagating their religion under the forms of Hinduism. The Pope at length caused a rigid examination to be made into the condition of Indo-Catholicism, which resulted in repeated bulls and edicts, condemning it as heretical.

After them came Schwartz and his followers, until the Pres-

byterian church established its missions in the northwestern provinces, along the Ganges, up to the Punjáb, and when that was annexed to the British empire they were protected by that government.

The distinction of caste meets the missionary everywhere, and is recognized by the British government. The high caste Hindoos claim their descent from the brain of Brahma, being themselves but divided portions of him, and after death they are to return into him, like cups of water returned into its original reservoir.

He gave an account of the peculiar policy of the British government in organizing armies of native troops, placing caste against caste, so as to have a check upon each other, and Mohammedans against them all. Previous to the arrival of the British the Mohammedans ruled the country; they destroyed the temples, suppressed the practices of many religious rites, and subdued the people.

Amid this mingled population, the missionary enterprise succeeded in a most remarkable manner. They established schools, translated the Bible, tracts, and other religious books, and were greatly prospered in their work.

The speaker had heard during his voyage to this country, that the missionary effort in India has proved a total failure. The same was asserted as to the Sandwich Islands. But these statements are based on insufficient data, and proceed from persons hostile to missionary enterprises. The mission work has stamped its influence upon all eastern life. But a few years since, thousands annually bowed before the car of Juggernaut, and human life was crushed out beneath its ponderous wheels. Now the temple of the idol is nearly deserted, and human sacrifice no longer propitiates its divinity. Not long since, through all India, widows were burned upon the funeral pile, and government itself dared not interfere. Now the custom is disused. Infanticide prevailed as a part of the religion of the inhabitants; and the crocodiles of the Ganges fattened on human flesh. Now parents exhibit the natural affection that marks civilized life, and cherish the offspring they once were taught to destroy. It was the power of mission influence in India which eradicated these horrible customs, an influence

which was brought to bear upon an unchristian government, compelling the Governor-General, contrary to the remonstrances of the Company, to crush out with iron hand the superstition grown strong through centuries.

Better than this, we see fruits of Christianization in India resembling those in our own country. A short time since a pagan prince from the Punjáb visited England, was presented with a Bible, and became a Christian; and at Futtehgurh he has long given liberally of his wealth in support of the mission cause. Another Indian, a Brahman, a Pundit, learned in all oriental science, a man of rank and honours, purchased a Bible, and in the self-sufficiency of his learning, *answered* it. It was hailed by his caste, and believed by himself to be a demolition of the book. But he reviewed the Bible to revise his criticism, and was converted. This man has now no higher ambition than to go into the highways and preach Christ to the lowest orders. He is willing to sacrifice his caste, his honours, his wealth, to spread the gospel. Have you such men here? But this is not a singular case. Similar examples are found in every caste.

The speaker had sat by the bed-side of dying men who but a little while before had worshipped stones and reptiles—degraded, morally and socially, below our conception, and had seen them, supported by the hopes of the gospel, meet death with composure, walking down through its gloomy portals to a glorious immortality. Do we need higher proof that missionary labour has accomplished much in India?

But the missionaries took with them the printing press—the arts and the sciences of the old world, and in that great land of ignorance, men of certain classes who enjoyed no privileges of learning are now compelled to learn to read and write. Mission schools are scattered throughout the whole fifteen hundred miles of territory occupied by your church. Five hundred pupils were in the schools of Allahabad; and these young men, convinced of the errors of paganism, go forth, not Hindus, yet not Christians, but prepared, when the Spirit of God comes down upon the land, to be converted in such numbers as to astonish the Christian world.

The missionary who has seen an hundred thousand of the

highest caste, drinking, as "the waters of immortality," water of the Ganges in which they had bathed their feet, and then, under the transforming influence of the truth, has seen these same men divested of their superstitions, and elevated to the Christian standard, has the strongest proof of the truth of the Bible, and of the success of the missionary work.

The speaker then detailed at length the difficulties with which the missionaries have to contend in India, and gave many interesting illustrations of the Brahminical arguments, and the manner in which they were refuted. There are now in India four hundred evangelical preachers, and sixteen hundred native helpers, and he felt that the day is not far distant, when the whole empire will give up idolatry.

The speaker then alluded to the disasters of the missionaries at Allahabad. It was not at first involved in the revolt, which commenced above it, among the population which was mainly Mohammedan. The first evidence of a spirit of revolt was however, exhibited at Berhampore, twelve miles above Calcutta. A man belonging to the regiment of sepoy, stationed at this place, ran across the parade ground, shouting "Religion! religion! kill the English!" The whole regiment was disbanded. The next day another regiment, supposed to be reliable, was found to contain four hundred men who were concerned in the revolt, and they were likewise disbanded. About the same time at Delhi, the commander attempted to enforce the use of the new cartridges. If greased with tallow, their use was sacrilege to the Brahmans; if with lard, they were an abomination to the Mohammedans. These cartridges were never used at all. Another kind of cartridges, which were discoloured, were ordered to be used by a regiment of high caste men, who refused, and threw down their arms. They were tried, and eighty of the ringleaders were sentenced to ten years' hard labour on the roads.

The speaker gave a narrative of the horrors to which they were exposed, near a fort which they dared not enter for fear of exciting the suspicion of the natives. For many nights they expected every moment to be murdered. They entered the fort at last on the 16th of June, at half-past nine, P. M. The fort was filled with native troops, as well as surrounded by

them, and their principal hope was to prevent the seizure of the twenty-six thousand stand of arms. They mined the magazine, determined to destroy themselves and the arms. They were confined in this fort for ten days, with the thermometer at 120°, and many dropped down dead with apoplexy. The Sikhs got hold of champagne, and drunkenness soon possessed all the soldiery: this among the most warlike soldiery in the world, where the least spark might have excited a general massacre. In all his life he never witnessed such agony of despair as stamped itself on all faces. For two long nights they expected every instant to be murdered, and their only prayer was for the light of morning. Succour came at last in the form of fifty European troops. The General was brave, humane, and wise. He foresaw that pestilence must immediately fall upon them, and he ordered all non-combatants to Calcutta. On board a little steam tug, they started on that voyage of eight hundred miles, and carried an enormous amount of treasure. Two days after they left, cholera broke out, and of those whom we left behind nearly all were swept away. Providence carried us away in spite of our wishes, and thus saved our lives.

He spoke of the wonderful fortitude of the native Christians. They were placed in the stocks to die by inches. They were told that they would be mutilated in their ears, their noses, their chins, and their lips, if they did not deny Christ. All this, too, while they knew not that a European Christian remained in all the land; but not one of them renounced his faith, or denied the Lord that bought him; while many Europeans did, and even derided these poor natives as fools for not yielding. Here is proof of the Spirit of Christ to which we can point evermore. It is hard to die, harder still to be mutilated. It is a terrible extremity, and multitudes preserved their lives by pronouncing the words, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet."

The revolt is almost exclusively confined to the regions where Mohammedanism prevails. It is not among the common, lower caste, orderly Hindus. It is to the Hindus we must continue to carry the gospel. Mohammedanism and Brahmanism will never rise again. The East India Company connived at idolatry, and

contributed to its support, But our glorious work will now go on better than ever before.

The Rev. Mr. Edwards, by request, spoke of the Indian Missions in our own land; but our limits compel us to forbear a report. He closed with a most moving appeal for help in our Western Indian missions.

The Board of Education.

The Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, Secretary of the Board, briefly addressed the Assembly. Not having met with any record of his remarks, nor with any abstract of the Report of the Board, we present the report of the Committee on the subject.

The Committee to whom has been assigned the review of the work of the Board of Education, would respectfully report:

That while the statement of the results of this important branch of our benevolent operations is full of encouragement, it ought to be impressed upon our pastors and people, that if our church is to do its part in preaching the gospel to every creature, the work of raising up an educated ministry is but begun. Even in our own land the increase of candidates for the office of an ambassador for Christ, has by no means kept pace with the growing wants of our country; while in foreign lands, hundreds of millions are yet without the living teacher, and must die in ignorance of the way of salvation.

Your Committee would also invite attention to the fact, that while the funds of the Board indicate the unfaltering attachment of the church to the cause of Christian education, the anticipated withdrawal of one annual donation of five thousand dollars, renders it necessary for the Board to look to the church generally for aid in carrying on efficiently the schools which have been mingling religious instruction with the ordinary course of a common education.

The Committee would also report, that they notice with regret the financial embarrassments which still seem to check the progress of the Ashmun Institute, designed for the education of young men of colour, and would express the hope, that by the liberality of our churches that excellent institution, full of encouragement as it is, may be placed on a firm and substantial

pecuniary basis, and thus be, in years to come, a source of blessing to the African race.

The Committee would also respectfully ask of the Assembly, if, in view of the remarkable outpourings of the Holy Spirit upon our land, in which many of our churches have largely shared, the time has not come for increased and earnest efforts to set before such of our youth as may give indications of usefulness, the duty of consecrating their lives to the work of preaching the gospel. They would, in this connection, call special attention to that part of the Report which is entitled, "Causes of anxiety to young men and candidates," and would express the earnest wish that the considerations there presented, and which they deem of great practical value, may be laid before the youth of our church.

In conclusion, the Committee would respectfully submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That the General Assembly record, with profound gratitude to God, the abundant tokens of the divine blessing which have attended the efforts of the Board of Education to introduce young men into the ministry, and to aid in the religious instruction of our children and youth, as seen in the unfaltering attachment of our churches to the cause, manifested even during a period of commercial disaster, in the numbers who have already been assisted to enter the gospel ministry, the enlarged number of institutions for Christian education, and the special influences of the Spirit of God, which have been poured out upon many of the Colleges and Schools under the care of this Assembly, or in connection with Synods and Presbyteries of our church.

Resolved, 2. That the field which now lies before our beloved church, demanding, as it does, a vast increase of ministers of the word, calls for earnest prayer to the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest, and that the Assembly, while they trust that the cause will be daily remembered by the people of God, recommend the last Thursday of February as a day of special and united prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit upon our colleges and seminaries of learning.

Resolved, 3. That in view of the great work which Christ

has laid upon his church to preach the gospel to every creature, it be earnestly enjoined on pastors to set before youth of piety and promise, the question of their responsibilities in this matter, and to endeavour so to direct and assist them, as that there shall be an increase of candidates for the gospel ministry, in some measure proportioned to the growing demands of the church and the world.

Resolved, 4. That this Assembly earnestly urge parents to consecrate their children to the work of extending the kingdom of the Saviour in the earth, train them for it, and, when prepared to enter upon the work, cheerfully to give them up to go wherever God in his providence may call them.

Resolved, 5. That the last Thursday in February next be observed as a day of prayer for the children and youth, especially those collected in our colleges and other seminaries of learning.

The Board of Publication.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary commercial embarrassments and depressions of the whole community, during the past year, the Board of Publication is enabled, by divine favour, to report results which compare favourably with those of any former year. This will appear from the following summary:

I. In the department of Production. The Publishing Agent reports that 55 new works have been issued, of which 45 are volumes. Of these new volumes there have been printed 85,750 copies. In addition to these, 24,000 copies of nine new tracts have been issued, and 30,000 copies of the Presbyterian Almanac, making in all 139,750 copies of new publications. Besides these, there have been published 326,750 copies of works before upon the Board's Catalogue. The total number of copies issued during the year has been 466,500. The total number of copies issued since the organization of the Board, to March 1, 1858, has been 6,819,938.

The report gives special notice of the publication, by the Board, of "The Presbyterian Social Psalmist." The Confession of Faith has been published in German, and other German publications are now passing through the press. Attention is called to "The Sailor's Companion," as a new work

admirably adapted to do good among the brave and hardy sons of the deep. Dr. Jacobus's "Notes on the Gospels," with the accompanying questions, are now issued by the Board, and afford valuable aid to Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes.

A considerable number of choice volumes have, during the year, been added to the Board's Sabbath-school Library, which is increasingly popular and useful. The Board aims to furnish as soon as possible all needful facilities for Bible-class and Sabbath-school instruction. A good beginning has already been made by furnishing a variety of catechisms, question-books, and commentaries.

Periodicals.—The circulation of the *Home and Foreign Record* has declined during the past year from 19,000 to 17,500 copies. The circulation of the *Sabbath-school Visitor* is now 54,000, an increase of 9000 copies since the last report.

II. In the department of Distribution. The publications of the Board reach the hands of the people chiefly through three channels:

1. The regular trade sales at the publishing-house have been, during the year, 191,993 volumes, a decrease of 1583 volumes on the sales of the preceding year. Comparing these results of the year with those of other publishing-houses during the recent severe commercial embarrassments of the country, they afford cause for profound gratitude. The sales of tracts at the publishing-house have amounted to 706,963 pages, an increase of 229,522 pages on those of the year preceding.

2. The Executive Committee have granted, in response to appeals made to it, to Sabbath-schools, feeble churches, humane institutions, and to individuals for gratuitous distribution, 3724 volumes, and 246,395 pages of tracts.

3. By colportage, a most important amount of divine truth has been put in circulation, and the results of the year, considering all things, have been in the highest degree favourable. The number of colporteurs in commission during the year has been 263, being an increase of nine, notwithstanding the recent curtailments found to be necessary. These have been distributed into twenty-nine States and Territories, besides all the British Provinces of the north. Increased quantities of books and tracts have been sent to California, Oregon, Washington

Territory, and all the frontier and more destitute regions of our land.

The number of volumes sold by colporteurs has been 123,924, being a decrease of 655 volumes. The pages of tracts distributed by them have been 1,555,469. The number of volumes gratuitously distributed this year has been 17,905, an increase of 876 volumes on the number last year given. The number of families visited has been 119,685, an increase of 5503 over that of last year.

The total distribution of the year has been as follows:

By sales at publishing-house,	-	-	191,993 vols.
By sales by colporteurs,	-	-	123,924 "
Given by colporteurs,	.	-	17,905 "
Granted by Executive Committee,	-	-	3,724 "

Total of volumes, 337,546

Being an increase on last year of 636.

Pages of tracts sold at publishing-house,	-	706,963
Distributed by colporteurs,	-	1,555,469
Granted by Executive Committee,	-	246,395

Total, 2,508,827

Being a decrease, for reasons explained in the Report, of 271,575 pages.

Besides the above matter, the Board has issued a large number of pamphlets and periodical papers.

III. In the department of Sustentation. The Treasurer's Report shows an aggregate of receipts for the year of \$126,960.28, which is an increase of \$7,639.25 over the receipts of the preceding year. The total of expenditures has been \$106,801.68, leaving a balance in the Treasurer's hands of \$20,158.60. This, however, will rapidly be called for by the renewed and enlarged operations of the publishing department.

The amount received from sales of books, tracts, and *Sabbath-School Visitor*, has been \$80,842.86, being a decrease of \$6,581.52 on the sales of the previous year.

The Colportage Fund.—The amount received from this fund has been \$21,369.76, a decrease of \$3,453.86. This decrease,

it is pleasant to observe, arises not from decreased church contributions, but from diminished receipts from legacies and miscellaneous sources. The sum received from the churches has been \$17,150.92, an increase from this source of \$1,761.67. The receipts, however, from legacies and miscellaneous sources have fallen from \$9,434.37 to \$4,218.84.

Church Extension.

The following is an abstract of the Report of the Committee on this important subject:

The Committee preface their Third Annual Report to the General Assembly with the statement that it shows a decided advance in the work entrusted to them.

Receipts.—The receipts from all sources during the year ending April 1, 1858, were \$24,741.15, exceeding those of the previous year \$1,475.54. Less than half, however, of this excess is from donations. The number of contributing churches named in this report is 518. The number named in the preceding report was 502. These results have been reached in the midst of the hard times, without any salaried collecting agent, and are as gratifying as they were unexpected.

Expenditures.—The total expenditures of the year were \$24,384.03. The amount paid out to churches this year is in advance of the amount paid out to them last year over seven thousand dollars.

Appropriations.—During the year, appropriations were made to seventy-six churches, amounting to \$27,571.03. This is nearly ten thousand dollars more than the amount appropriated to churches last year.

Applications.—From April 1, 1857, to April 1, 1858, one hundred churches applied for aid to enable them to complete their houses of worship free from debt. The amount of aid they ask is not less than \$45,000, being fully twelve thousand dollars more than the amount of aid applied for last year. At the close of the year there remained on file *sixty* applications for aid, calling for \$25,000.

Cost of Church Edifices.—In the two and a half years the Committee have been fairly at work, they have made appropriations to two hundred and five different churches. One hun-

dred and fifty-three of these two hundred and five church buildings cost from \$500 to \$2,500; thirty-nine from \$2,500 to \$5,000; and the other thirteen over \$5,000: five of the thirteen were special appropriations.

Distribution of Funds.—The Committee have endeavoured to distribute the funds entrusted to them as equitably as possible over the whole church. How far they have succeeded in this endeavour may be determined from these two facts:

1st. Only three of the three hundred new applications received by them have been declined.

2d. Grants have been made to churches in thirty of the thirty-one Synods, and eighty-six of the one hundred and two Presbyteries, from whose bounds applications have come. The Synod and Presbyteries to whom no appropriations have been made, are those from whose applying churches the requisite information has not yet been received.

Results.—Scarcely three years have elapsed since the Assembly's Church Extension Committee was organized. In that time over \$57,000 has been raised for the Church Extension cause, without any salaried agent. This is within \$11,000 of the whole sum raised during the eleven years of organized effort, in connection with the Board of Missions. The amount received from churches in the last *three* years is *double* the amount received from churches during the previous *eleven* years.

Union with the New-School, South.

The Synod of that portion of the New-school Presbyterians, which last year separated from their brethren, having appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee, to be appointed by this Assembly, in relation to a union of the two bodies, Drs. Van Rensselaer and Palmer, and the Rev. W. M. Cunningham, were appointed. This committee submitted the following paper as containing the views of the "United Synod."

This may certify that at the meeting of the United Synod of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, which was organized in Knoxville, Tennessee, the 2d day of April, 1853, the following action, being instructions to the committee of two appointed to confer with a committee of the Old-school General Assembly, in the event of that body appointing one for

the purpose, with reference to a union of the two bodies, was taken.

• “*Resolved*, 3. That said committee be directed to propose to the committee appointed by the General Assembly, the following terms of union, as indispensable to an honourable union on our part.

First. We agree to unite as ecclesiastical bodies by declaring, as this Synod now does, our approval of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, and also our adherence to the Plan of Worship, Government, and Discipline, contained in the Westminster Directory.

Second. Both bodies agree in declaring it to be a fundamental principle in the Presbyterian church, that no judicatory of the church can, *for any cause whatever*, by an act of legislation, constitutionally condemn, or exclude from the church, other judicatories, or ministers, or private members, without a process of trial, such as is prescribed in the Constitution of the Presbyterian church.

Third. Both bodies agree that it is consistent with the requirements of the Westminster Confession of Faith, to receive said Confession according to the adopting act of 1729, to wit: as containing all the essential truths of Christianity, and also the doctrines that distinguish the Calvinistic from the Pelagian, Socinian, and Arminian systems of theology. We agree likewise in believing that this system of doctrine includes the following truths; namely, the Trinity—the Incarnation and Deity of Christ—the Fall and Original Sin—Atonement—Justification by Faith—Personal Election—Effectual Calling—Perseverance of the Saints—the Eternal Happiness of the Righteous—and Eternal Punishment of the Wicked.

Fourth. Both bodies agree in declaring that slaveholding, or the relation of master and slave, cannot, *in any case*, be a bar to membership in the church of Christ. And whilst they admit the right of the judicatories of the church to take cognizance, in the way prescribed in the Constitution, of cruelties practised in the relation, they hereby declare the opinion, that as the continuance or abolition of the system of slavery, in this country, belongs exclusively to the State, the discussion or

agitation of slavery, further than pertains to the moral and religious duties arising from the relation, is inappropriate to the functions of church judicatories.

Fifth. It is further agreed that in effecting the union, the Presbyteries connected with this Synod shall be united as Presbyteries, and without an examination of their ministers, with the Synods belonging to the General Assembly, to which, because of their geographical limits, they should be attached, excepting that the Synod of Tennessee and the North Alabama Presbytery shall retain their name, and occupy their present territory.

Sixth. In the event of the General Assembly agreeing to the above terms, the Committee of Synod are directed to communicate the fact to the Presbyteries in connection with this Synod, and the Presbyteries are hereby requested by the United Synod to take action upon the terms of union agreed upon by the Committees of Synod and the General Assembly, and to send a copy of their minute to the United Synod that will meet in Lynchburg on the third Thursday in May, 1859.

Seventh. The Committee appointed by this Synod to confer with a Committee of the General Assembly, are hereby directed to attend the meeting of the Assembly in New Orleans, in May next, and present the preamble and first two resolutions adopted by this Synod as their authority for requesting a conference with a Committee appointed by the General Assembly, to the General Assembly which will then be in session in that city. And if no member of the Committee should be able to attend the meeting of the Assembly in New Orleans, they are directed to send a copy of the preamble and first two resolutions to the Moderator of the Assembly, and request that body, if they should think proper, to appoint a Committee for the purpose above specified, to designate a time immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly for a conference of the Committees. The Committee of this Synod are requested, in the event of a conference being had with a Committee of the Old School Assembly, to publish, as soon as practicable, the result of their consultations."

JOSEPH H. MARTIN,

Permanent Clerk of the United Synod.

The following additional article was submitted and adopted :

“*Eighth.* That in the event no union is agreed to, the Committee be directed to propose to the General Assembly the establishment of a mutual correspondence in the future between us as ecclesiastical bodies.”

A true extract from the minutes.

JOSEPH H. MARTIN,

Permanent Clerk of the United Synod.

The following paper, presented by the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge, was, after discussion, adopted unanimously, in reference to this subject.

1. The Committee appointed by the United Synod of the Presbyterian church, has communicated to this Assembly the official action of said Synod, settling, on their part, the “*terms of union*” by them declared to be “*indispensable*,” and the Assembly is informed, through the public press, of the contents of papers adopted by that Synod, and called by it “*A declaration of principles*.” In the judgment of this Assembly, those official papers do not afford a basis of conference, upon which this Assembly is able to see that there is any prospect of advancing the interests of Christ’s kingdom in general, or those of the Presbyterian church in the United States, or those of the United Synod of the Presbyterian church in particular.

2. The Presbyterian church in the United States of America has always received, frankly and in Christian love, all churches, office-bearers, and private persons, of all denominations, making application for admission into her communion, upon the single condition that they are like-minded with herself. At this time ample provision is made in her existing Acts and Ordinances for the reception of all such into her communion, on terms and by methods precisely equivalent, and where it is possible, identical with those provided in regard to her own children reared in her own bosom. Seeing that it was in a voluntary secession from the Presbyterian church that the present difficulties of the United Synod of the Presbyterians had their origin, and that the door has always been open for the orderly return of such of those who left us, as were like-minded with us, it can hardly be unexpected that we decline any official conference based on terms which appear to us to involve a con-

demnation of ourselves, and a renunciation of the rich and peculiar favour of God upon us, in the very matters which led to their secession from our church twenty years ago.

3. With reference to the recent secession in the New-school body, this General Assembly does not see in that event, or in anything which has hitherto resulted from it, any call of providence for the Presbyterian church to take any new steps whatever, either with the view of union or that of a closer intercourse than now exists, with either of the parts into which that body is now divided. The subjects upon which the whole New-School body differed from us, at the period of their secession from us, and the subjects upon which the two very unequal portions of that body have recently separated from each other, are questions upon which we as a denomination are at peace, and with regard to the whole of which, we see no occasion to revise the understood and unalterable faith of our church, or to enter into fruitless conferences.

Church Commentary on the Bible.

Dr. Breckinridge offered a minute to provide a Commentary on the Scriptures which shall be in accordance with the Westminster doctrines of this church, as follows:

Inasmuch as the want of a sound, godly, and thorough commentary on the whole word of God, composed in the sense of the constant faith of the church of God, as that is briefly set forth in the standard of the Westminster Assembly, held by the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, has long been felt to be a grievous want, whereby a great lack of due service to God and to his truth occurs, and whereby constant danger arises to men of needless ignorance on one side, and of dangerous misguidance on the other; therefore be it

Resolved, By the General Assembly, that the Board of Publication shall, and it is hereby directed to proceed with all convenient despatch to have such a commentary composed, prepared for the press, and published. And in the execution of this great work, the following rules and orders, together with such further as may be adopted from time to time by the General Assembly, shall be carefully observed by the Board of

Publication, and by all others in any ways engaged in the execution of any part thereof.

1. The commentary shall be prepared exclusively by the members of this church, and in the preparing of it they shall have all such indulgence as to time, as they shall respectively demand. And for their own compensation and their heirs, shall receive, for the legal term of twenty-eight years, a fair *per centum* on the price of the work sold, which shall be settled in advance by the Board of Publication, and which shall be uniform, and in lieu of all claims and cost of every sort in any way connected with their said work.

2. The said commentary shall be fitted for common use by all men, and in the preparation of it free use may be made of all material that may exist; the design being to procure not so much what may be original, as what may be best in the way of enlightening and saving men. It shall not be prolix, but so arranged that the whole may be embraced in five or six royal octavo volumes, of good print, containing, besides commentary, the English text in full, together with the usual accessories thereof, and such other suitable helps to its understanding as plain people need. And the text used in it shall be strictly that of the version prepared by the translators appointed by James the First, King of England.

3. In order to secure the fittest men for this great work, the Board of Publication shall make special application to the general Synods of our church at the next stated meetings respectively, and the said Synods shall, upon careful consideration, nominate to the said Board of Publication any number of their own members, not to exceed five from any one Synod, of such as they shall consider qualified to undertake the work, and the Board of Publication may add not more than four, in addition to the whole number thus nominated to it, and it shall communicate the list of names thus obtained by sifting the church, to the General Assembly, at its next stated meeting in May of next year, making, at the same time, and from year to year thereafter, report of its doings under and by virtue of this minute.

4. The General Assembly of 1859 will take such further order in the premises, especially with regard to selection of persons out of the list communicated to it, to the distribution of

the work amongst them, and to all things needful for its effectual prosecution, as shall seem most expedient.

It is evident, from the very nature of this proposal, as well as from the arguments of its advocates, that it contemplates an exposition of the whole Scripture, to which shall be given the sanction of church authority. If the mere suggestion of such an idea does not strike a man dumb with awe, he must be impervious to all argument. It is a fearful thing to give church authority even to articles of faith gathered from the general sense of Scripture. How large a part of the church universal, or even of the church of England, can conscientiously adopt the Thirty Nine Articles in their true sense? How do we get along with our more extended Confession? We could not hold together a week, if we made the adoption of all its propositions a condition of ministerial communion. How is it with the marriage question? If it is not only difficult but impossible to frame a creed as extended as the Westminster Confession, which can be adopted in all its details by the ministry of any large body of Christians, what shall we say to giving the sanction of the church to a given interpretation of every passage of Scripture? This is more than all the popes, who ever lived, merged in one, would dare to propose. It is a thousand fold more than Rome, when most drunk with pride, ever ventured to attempt. Where is there such a thing? who has ever heard of such a thing as a Church Commentary? There must be some mistake about this matter. The proposition cannot mean what it appears to mean, and what some at least, both of its advocates and opponents, understood it to mean. We cannot persuade ourselves that any one, having the least idea of the nature of the work, any apprehension of what it is, to come to a clear conviction, even for oneself, what is the true interpretation of thousands of texts of Scripture, how many questions of philology, of grammar, of logic, of geography, history, antiquities, of the analogy of faith and of Scripture, which such decision involves, could, for a moment, dream of the possibility of a church exposition of the whole Bible. The proposal, on the part of any man, or any body of men, to give an authoritative interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, of the visions of Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel, and John, would be proof that God had given him or

them up to strong delusion. No amount of inspiration ever granted to man would justify such an assumption. The prophets themselves did not understand their own predictions. The apostles, though rendered infallible in what they taught, were as ignorant, it may be, as other men of what they did not teach. The Scriptures were as much an unfathomable sea of divine knowledge to them as they are to us.

It will no doubt be said, that the view above given of the design of the proposed commentary is exaggerated and distorted. It is very probable that the proposition lies in the minds of its advocates in a very different form from that which it presents to others. We are speaking of it as it lies in the record, and as it was exhibited in the speeches of those who urged its adoption. Some may say that there is no great harm in the Board of Publication publishing a commentary on the Bible. Certainly not, and simply because the Board of Publication is not the church, and therefore no special authority belongs to any of their publications. They may print the commentaries of Henry or Scott, or Dr. Jacobus's Notes on the Gospel, with impunity, because no one is responsible for the correctness of the expositions given but their authors. Who ever dreams that the church is responsible for Dr. Scott's interpretation of Ezekiel's wheels? Who thinks of attributing church authority to Dr. Jacobus's exposition of our Lord's discourses? These works pass for what they are intrinsically worth, and for no more. But here it is proposed to pursue the same course in making a commentary, as was adopted in making our Catechisms and compiling our Hymn Book. The church, as such, is responsible for the doctrinal correctness of every hymn in the collection. The people do not know who were the writers or who the compilers. They take the book on the authority of the church, and the church is fully committed to its correctness. This must be the case in regard to any commentary written by men selected and appointed by the church, reporting their work from time to time, as they proceed, and receiving as essential the imprimatur of the church to what they write. This of necessity commits the church; and this purpose was clearly avowed. It was said that the Westminster Confession has a sense, and the church has a clear conviction of

what that sense is; and according to these principles the commentary is to be constructed. That is, the church is to see to it, that the commentary is orthodox and correct; therefore the church must be responsible. When this commentary is quoted in controversy, it will come not with the authority of Luther, or Calvin, or of Scott, or Jacobus, but of the Presbyterian church. All Presbyterians will go to it, not as to the other publications of the Board, written by private individuals, but as to a book having authority, as being written or compiled by the church. The plan proposed is much the same as that pursued by our Baptist friends in the preparation of their new version. If that work should be completed, it will be the Baptist version, not Dr. Conant's or Professor Hackett's version, but the Baptist version—one to which the Baptists as a denomination stand committed. So the proposed commentary will be the Presbyterian commentary, not the commentary of Mr. A. or of Dr. B., and it must of necessity be clothed with church authority. This was evidently contemplated by those who urged that the exposition of Scripture should be kept under the vigilant eye of the church, and who pled the promise of the Holy Spirit to the church as a reason why the work should not be referred to the Board of Publication, but decided upon and carried out by the church itself, the Board being only her agent, as in the preparation of the Hymn Book. This is a fatal objection to the whole scheme, for the church will never submit, unless God has withdrawn from her the spirit of wisdom and of a sound mind, to have imposed upon her the interpretations of any man, as of authority in the reading of the Scriptures.

Besides this, the object aimed at is not only inconsistent with the liberty of believing, but it is utterly impracticable. It is said the Bible is to be interpreted according to the church's sense of the Westminster Confession. But who is to tell us the church's sense of the Confession? It is notorious, that as to that point we are not agreed. In the second place, even as to points in which the sense of the Confession is plain, there is want of entire concurrence in its reception; and what is the main point, there is no such thing as the sense of the Westminster Confession as to the true interpretation of thousands of passages of Scripture. The standard is an imaginary one.

What does that Confession teach of the dark sayings of Hosea, of the baptism for the dead, or the sense of Gal. iii. 20, concerning which an octavo volume has been written, giving no less than one hundred and fifty distinct interpretations? It is plain that there is not, and that there cannot be a standard for the interpretation of the Scriptures in detail; and therefore the church must either submit to have the opinions of some one man enacted into laws to bind the reason and conscience of all other men, or she must give up the idea of having a church exposition of the Bible.

Admitting, however, that such a work is desirable, and that it is practicable, where are the men to be found to execute the task? It is proposed that each Synod should nominate five of its own members for the work, some one hundred and sixty in all. We venture to say, that instead of our church being able to furnish a hundred men fit for such a work as this, it does not contain, and never has contained, any one such man. It is bad enough for any poor sinner, after all his study, to undertake to present his own private judgment as to the meaning of Scripture, and to state the reasons for his opinion, leaving all other men to judge for themselves, to receive or reject his interpretation as they may see fit. But to assume to act as the mouthpiece of the church in this matter, to say what the church believes as to the meaning of each text of Scripture, and what all its members, therefore, are bound to receive as its meaning, is a task which none but an idiot or an angel would dare to undertake.

Centenary Celebration.

The year 1858 being the hundredth anniversary of the union of the two Synods of Philadelphia, and of New York and New Jersey, after the great schism, the Assembly of 1857 determined to commemorate the event with suitable services. The Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer was appointed to deliver a historical discourse before the Assembly at its late sessions. This service was performed not only to the satisfaction, but to the admiration of the audience. As his discourse was requested for publication, we hope to have another opportunity of bringing it to the attention of our readers. The following minute was adopted

in reference to this service: "The Assembly recognize the good hand of God in early bringing to these shores emigrants of Scotch, Irish, English, and Huguenot extraction, to assist in establishing the church of the Lord Jesus Christ among the waste places of this continent. The memory of the ministers who commenced the work of evangelization, and who laid the foundation of the church, is treasured by this Assembly with gratitude to Him who sent them forth to accomplish his purposes, with many self-denials, abundant labours, and great success.

The Assembly record the goodness of God in leading the fathers to adopt authoritatively the Westminster standards for the future guidance of the church, and under such circumstances in the ratification of the 'Adopting Act,' as to afford the clearest evidence of the entire unanimity of the Synod in doctrinal sentiment, and in all matters pertaining to Presbyterian order.

The Assembly further record their views of the unspeakable importance and blessedness of pure revivals of religion in the church; praising God for the general results of the great revival of religion within our bounds, in the days of Whitefield and the Tennents, and rejoicing that the present year has been signalized by the same precious and glorious outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

The Assembly further put upon record their sense of the obligations of the church to its great Head in preserving incorrupt its outward forms of order in the olden time; in gradually and surely increasing its educational and evangelistic resources, and in endowing it, after the lapse of the first century of re-union, with such enlargement of its missionary work at home and in heathen lands.

On an occasion which forcibly brings to mind the blessings of God upon re-union, and which commemorates the dwelling together of brethren in unity, the Assembly express a deep conviction of the desirableness of the union of all sound Presbyterians, and do hereby cordially and earnestly extend an invitation to all, who are of like mind with ourselves, to unite with this General Assembly in the way and manner conformable to the acts and deliverances on this subject, already made by this Assembly."

On motion of R. J. Breckinridge and J. M. Worrall, the thanks of the Assembly were voted to C. Van Rensselaer, for the address delivered in accordance with the order of the last Assembly; a copy was requested for publication, and it was committed to the Board of Publication, to publish the address in a book, containing, with the address, the whole record of proceedings respecting this occasion.

Theological Seminaries.

On motion of J. M. Worrall and G. W. Musgrave, the report of the Committee on Theological Seminaries was taken up, and the order of the day for 10 o'clock was postponed for this business. The report was adopted, and is as follows:

The Committee on Theological Seminaries respectfully report, that they have received and considered the Annual Reports of the Seminaries under the care of the General Assembly, viz. Princeton Seminary, New Jersey; Union Seminary, Virginia; Western Seminary, Pennsylvania; Danville Seminary, Kentucky.

The Assembly will learn, with joy and devout gratitude to the Head of the church, that all these institutions have, during the past year, been highly favoured; that the teachers have been faithful in their work of instruction; that the pupils have been diligent in study, and exemplary in their deportment. It is also gratifying to know that the numbers in attendance have been increased, and an enlarged desire for the foreign missionary field has been manifested.

Only one death has occurred, and generally it has been a year of health. The several reports in detail, as presented by the directors and trustees of these institutions, will fully develop their present condition.

In respect to their financial aspect, the Assembly, while rejoicing in what has already been done, will appreciate the need of continued effort to enlarge their means and complete their endowments. Your Committee would recommend the reiteration of the resolution adopted by the last Assembly, viz.

“That the churches be urged to complete the endowment of those Seminaries that are not yet fully endowed, to increase

the number of scholarships, to furnish funds for repairs and erection of suitable buildings, and the enlargement of libraries."

The Committee find in the Report of the Directors of Princeton Seminary the following resolution, viz.

Resolved, That the General Assembly be requested to amend the Plan of the Seminary, Article II., Section 1, so as to erase the following words, "and the President, or in case of his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall be one." The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and that the Plan of the Seminary be so amended.

They also recommend that the arrangement made for this year, to terminate the session of the Seminary at Princeton two weeks earlier, or on the last Wednesday of April, be made permanent in this institution.

In the Report of the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, they request that "the Board of Directors be authorized, with the concurrence of other judicatories to whose care the Assembly has committed the institution, to transfer to 'the Trustees of Union Theological Seminary, in the County of Prince Edward,' recently incorporated by the General Assembly of Virginia, all the lands, funds, and other property now committed to the trust of the Directors."

The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and the following resolution be adopted, viz.

Resolved, That "the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia," be authorized, with the concurrence of the Synod of Virginia, the Synod of North Carolina, and the Presbytery of Winchester, to transfer to the Trustees of Union Theological Seminary, in the County of Prince Edward, Virginia, all the lands, funds, and other property belonging to said Seminary, now in the hands of said Directors, or which may hereafter come into their hands.

By the report of the Directors of the Danville Seminary, it will devolve on the Assembly, at its present session, to elect a Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology, to fill the chair made vacant by the resignation of Stuart Robinson, D.D. The Committee recommend that it be the order of the day on Friday, at — o'clock, to elect a Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in the Danville Theological

Seminary. This report was adopted; and several nominations were made for the vacant chair in the Seminary at Danville. When the time of election arrived, the names of the Rev. Drs. Anderson and A. Hamilton were withdrawn. Leave was asked by the nominator to withdraw Rev. Dr. Halsey's name.

Rev. Dr. Breckinridge said he is not authorized to speak here for the Directors or the Faculty. The directors are prohibited from making any nomination, but they had expressed their preferences, and these were for the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer. But that gentleman peremptorily said he was "not fit;" whereas they thought that Dr. Van Rensselaer thought they were "not fit." His next choice was the present Moderator, (Dr. Scott,) but that gentleman gave no encouragement. He was then at the end of his string. He would frankly say that the exigencies of their case require either a man who has no particular sectional character, or, if any, that it should be with the South. Two out of three of the present Faculty were from the North, and he himself is from no further South than Kentucky. The attempt has been made to create the impression that the Seminary is a Kentucky affair. But for this he would favour the election of Dr. Halsey. Upon the whole, his mind has inclined to the Rev. Dr. Stratton, of Natchez. Nevertheless, you are to understand that we can make no nomination, and have no preference.

Rev. Dr. Junkin said he felt it due to Mr. Peck to say that he has never conferred with him. He now nominates him, not to place him in competition with any other gentleman, but because of his eminent qualifications for the place. He is a Southern man, and resident of a Southern State. Besides, he is on terms of personal friendship with all the members of the Faculty. Mr. Peck answers the conditions mentioned by Dr. Breckinridge.

Rev. Mr. Squier said he cordially agrees in all that Dr. Junkin has said in reference to Mr. Peck, but he has lately been called, under peculiar circumstances, to the Central church, Baltimore, and moreover, Mr. Peck has distinctly directed him to withdraw his name in case he were nominated.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Junkin, Mr. Peck's name was withdrawn. Dr. Halsey's name was also allowed to be withdrawn.

No other nomination being now before the House, except that of Dr. Stratton, Rev. Dr. Breckinridge moved that it be the sense of this House that the Rev. Joseph B. Stratton be the Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in Danville Theological Seminary. Unanimously agreed to.

On motion, a Committee, consisting of Rev. Drs. Green and Baird, and Rev. Mr. Worrell, was appointed to inform Dr. Stratton of his election, and to urge his acceptance of the position.

Appeal and Complaint of Rev. Robert S. Finley and Smith Bloomfield, against the Synod of New Jersey.

The Presbytery of Elizabethtown had dissolved the pastoral relation between the Rev. R. S. Finley and the church of Metuchin without the formal request of either pastor or people. Against this action a complaint and appeal were carried to the Synod of New Jersey. The Synod, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, sustained the action of the Presbytery. The case was then brought before the Assembly, and after a regular hearing the roll was called, and on the final vote eighty-four voted to sustain the complaint and appeal, twenty-four to sustain in part, and thirty not to sustain. A Committee of seven was appointed to bring in a minute expressing the judgment of the House. The report made by that Committee was laid upon the table, and a substitute proposed by the Rev. Dr. Palmer was adopted, and is as follows:

This General Assembly sustains the appeal and complaint of Robert S. Finley and Smith Bloomfield, against the Synod of New Jersey.

In this decision, it is not intended to censure the courts below for want of zeal and faithfulness in doing according to their best judgment what the case required. Much less is it intended to reverse, in form, what has been done in the case of Mr. Finley, so as to restore him to his pastoral relation, in the Second church of Woodbridge; for this would be not only impracticable, in the circumstances, as they now exist, but inexpedient, even if it were practicable.

But the Presbytery of Elizabethtown erred in attempting too

much to direct and control the action of that Session, interfering without being called to do so, according to the forms of our constitution; in arresting the process of discipline, before it had been issued—while the Session were pursuing it in an orderly manner; and in dissolving the pastoral relation upon a mere presumption of a majority of the people desiring it, without the regular application of either party; Thus making what they judged a necessity in the case, of more importance than the forms of the constitution.

The Synod of New Jersey erred, not only in sustaining the action of the Presbytery in this case, but also in refusing to entertain as an appeal the remedy sought by a party, who was both injured and aggrieved by said action of the Presbytery.

John H. Rice asked leave to have his dissent entered on the Minutes, and others joined him in the request.

On motion of E. T. Baird, this leave was granted.

The dissent is as follows:

The undersigned dissent from the vote of the General Assembly, assigning reasons for the decision in the case of the appeal of the Rev. R. S. Finley, because in their opinion it does not express the sense of the court deciding the case, and because the minority were permitted by this vote to change or modify the deliberate decision of a majority of the court.

JOHN H. RICE,
E. W. BEDINGER,
J. A. SMYLLIE,
P. E. BISHOP,
R. V. SHANKLIN,
JAMES CLELAND,

L. H. LONG,
R. C. GALBRAITH,
LILBURN R. RAILEY,
D. M. QUEEN,
W. E. JAMES,
C. M. GREGG.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Great Reformer; or, Sketches of Luther. By the Author of "The Claremont Tales." Chiefly collated from D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The salient points in Luther's character and life are here briefly sketched, and brought within a compass that will be likely to secure a large number of youthful readers.

Grains of Gold; suited to enrich youthful minds. Compiled for the Board of Publication.

This is a copious collection of anecdotes and stories, adapted to interest and enchain children, while they all serve to illustrate and enforce some important truth or maxim of religion or morals.

Scripture Baptism; Its Mode and Subjects. By Ashbel G. Fairchild, D. D., Author of the "Great Supper." Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The various questions which are raised by the Baptists against the baptism of infants, and baptism by sprinkling, are treated in a clear and judicious manner in this unpretending little volume. It is exceedingly well adapted for circulation in congregations which are subjected to the annoying assaults of Baptist proselytism. Most who are or have been pastors have suffered enough from this source, to welcome this addition to their means of defence.

The Divine Life; A Book of Facts and Histories. By Rev. John Kennedy. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

We have already had occasion to notice this work favourably, when it came to us from the hands of a private publisher. We are glad that our Board have adopted it among their issues. It sheds much light upon experimental religion, as to its nature, reality, and forms of manifestation. In doing this it affords much valuable and interesting information respecting a large number of eminent Christians. It is all the more useful for being highly readable.

The Sailor's Companion; or Book of Devotions for Seamen in public and private. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Such a manual as this has long been a desideratum. It enables pious shipmasters to conduct religious services of all kinds

needed on shipboard, in a devout and edifying manner. The prayers, Scripture readings, funeral services, hymns, the selection of abridged discourses from Burder, the counsels to mariners in various circumstances, all serve to make it a most valuable "Sailor's Companion."

Fashionable Amusements; with a Review of Dr. Bellows' Lecture on the Theatre. By Rev. D. R. Thomason. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1857.

This volume discusses the theatre, card-playing, dancing, and novel reading. The first it condemns utterly, except that it favours what we believe an impracticable thing, a provision for pure and wholesome dramatic representations, which shall be regulated by the representatives of the moral and religious part of the community. Card-playing it condemns entirely. Dancing in public balls, and by mature persons, it reprobates. It approves, however, of dancing in private by the young. As to novels, it justifies only the cautious and sparing perusal of some of the most select among them. Dr. Bellows' famous plea for theatres is reviewed with great candour and kindness, and with a strong protest against its principles and refutation of its reasonings. The work is evangelical in spirit, and its calm and moderate tone will gain for it a respectful consideration from some who would hardly listen to a sterner denunciation of their favourite amusement.

The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida. Founded A. D. 1565. Comprising some of the most interesting portions of the Early History of Florida. By George R. Fairbanks, Vice-President of the Florida Historical Society. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1858.

Mr. Fairbanks has made in this volume a contribution to a part of the history of our country heretofore much overlooked. The facts are well arranged, neatly stated, and form a narrative of very considerable interest. Many will be glad to learn from this book, the origin, growth, and decline of our most ancient city. Its typography adds to its attractions.

The True Glory of Woman; as portrayed in the Beautiful Life of the Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., author of "Heavenly Recognition," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858.

It is unnecessary to say that the author condemns Mariolatry. Shunning this extreme, he awards to the mother of Jesus her due preëminence among women, and finds in her the highest type of true womanhood. The characteristics of the true woman are developed from this stand-point with much force and beauty, and generally with great justness of sentiment. He especially resists "tendencies which go to press or allure woman out of

her true sphere, instead of working to elevate her in it. The evil takes several forms—they are these: the tendency to idealize her, to idolize her, and to masculinize her. In all these she is drawn from her true sphere, and so injured in the development of her true glory," pp. 19, 20.

Men of the Olden Time. By Rev. Charles A. Smith, D. D., author of "Illustrations of Faith," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 1858.

The characters delineated, and the related topics discussed in this volume, are Abel, the martyr spirit; Cain, modern scepticism; Nimrod, unsanctified ambition; Esau, the mess of pottage; Aaron, the censer and the rod; Balaam, the angel and the sword; Gideon, the lesson of the fleece; Elisha, the voice of the mantle; Daniel, the model statesman. Many of these are not only of permanent interest, but are now of pressing moment. The author treats them in an interesting and effective manner.

Evangelical Meditations. By the late Rev. Alexander Vinet, D. D., Professor of Theology in Lausanne, Switzerland. Translated from the French, by Professor Edward Masson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 1858.

The title and author of this volume will secure for it the attention of those who prize evangelical unction, profound and discriminating thought, a fresh and compact style, tact, and delicacy in the application of Christian truth. The sermons at the close of the volume, on Aquila and Priscilla, delivered at a marriage; and on the waters of Bethesda, delivered at a watering-place, are striking illustrations of these qualities.

A Plea for the Ways of God to Man; Being an attempt to Vindicate the Moral Government of the World. By William Fleming, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh.

As the problem of Moral Evil surpasses human solution, so there will be no end to Theodicies which seek to shed some new light on the subject. Nor are they, if written in a modest, humble spirit, without important use. They show that much which at first sight looks otherwise, is really a proof and out-going of the divine goodness. This is largely and happily done in the volume of Professor Fleming. We cannot speak more definitely of the particular positions taken in the book, till we have time to give it a closer examination.

Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor, D.D. Three Sermons. By Leonard Bacon, D. D., Pastor of the Centre church; Samuel S. S. Dutton, D. D., Pastor of the North church; George P. Fisher, A. M., Professor in Yale College. Published by Request. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1858.

Dr. Taylor had a position and influence in our American theological discussions and conflicts, which makes his death an

event of public significance. All his eulogists agree in ranking him as the last of the New England schoolmen, and the peer of the foremost among them. His peculiar system aroused an opposition as much more violent and persistent than the previous types of New England theology, as its innovations were more radical and startling. Our estimate of these innovations has been given too often to need repetition here. No reader of these eulogies can fail to see that their authors speak of Dr. Taylor's theological peculiarities in a tone of moderation, quite in contrast with that exhibited by his disciples and admirers twenty-five years ago. We do not doubt that the lapse of another quarter of a century will work a still greater change in the same direction.

The personal traits of Dr. Taylor were remarkable, and contributed largely to his commanding influence, and the wide diffusion of his doctrinal system. His very person was majestic; his noble countenance; his lustrous eye, at once piercing and benignant; his lofty and massive forehead; all blended to form a presence of uncommon dignity and beauty. The intellectual force and vivacity which sparkled on his face, found expression also in a voice of rare depth, compass, and melody. In his social relations and intercourse, he was hearty, frank, genial, in short, fascinating. No man was ever freer from that reserve, whether natural or otherwise, or that affectation of distance and superiority, which sadly abridge the power of so many strong minds over others. He was quite sure, in his contact with others, especially young minds, to win their friendly sympathy, and prepossess them in favour of himself and his system at the outset. As a natural result of these qualities, too, he was unusually dignified, forcible, and impressive in the pulpit, and, in the zenith of his power, was widely admired and sought after as a preacher. Indeed, Dr. Bacon attributes higher moment to his achievements in the pulpit, than in the chair of theology. However this may be, there can be no doubt, that not only in the pulpit, but in the divinity lecture, and in conversation, his oratorical power aided the promulgation of his system.

Dr. Taylor's predominant intellectual power was in the logical faculty. Few men have surpassed him in the power of evolving from given principles their utmost logical consequences, and of spinning out from two or three such principles entire systems of philosophy and theology. All the peculiarities of his system are logical deductions from the assumed power of contrary choice, and the further assumption that self-love is the spring of all voluntary action, and that moral quality pertains

only to exercises. Coupled with this extraordinary logical power, was, in our judgment, a deficiency of the intuitional, of which we have a striking example in his self-love theory. In these two respects he had a strong resemblance to Paley: but he had what we have never observed in Paley, the power, not only of argumentation, but of impassioned argumentation.

The above peculiarities in some measure explain the great strength of Dr. Taylor, and the narrowness and weakness of his theology. A man who seizes two or three principles, and has no eye for or ignores other moral and spiritual intuitions which should surround, modify, and control them, doubtless sees them, and all their consequences clearly and confidently. If he have good powers of expression, he will set them forth with a sort of gigantic energy and assurance. He will for the time constrain the acquiescence of many whose views are feeble, indefinite, and confused, and whose inner souls may silently and unconsciously protest against what they for the time admit. But one who recognizes the paramount authority of moral intuitions and first principles, even when his logic goes athwart them, of necessity views his own theorizings with less confidence, and urges them with less vigour. He who sees only one side of a subject, sees it more clearly and confidently than he who looks on all sides.

Connected with and resulting from this peculiarity was another. When Dr. Taylor had fairly presented his reasonings, he could not well understand how any one could help seeing the subject as he did, unless he were chargeable with some moral or intellectual fault. Says Dr. Bacon, "in the earnestness of debate he might charge an opponent with absurdity and nonsense; but it was not his wont to charge a brother with heresy." Of course he did not put this latter sword into the hands of his adversaries. It was more his nature to thrust the former.

Another consequence was a confidence in the power of what he apprehended to be truth, and of his way of apprehending and exhibiting it, which was almost heroic, and in a feeblener man would have been that other thing which is only a step from the sublime. As it was, however, it intensified his force and efficiency in conflict. To these personal traits, which contributed to his great success at one time in propagating his principles, must be added the peculiar state of the American churches, and of American theology, at that period, which formed a copious receptivity for them. But whatever new forms of divinity may now be coming into vogue, this is certainly on the wane. It is delightful to see that Christ was the true light of

his soul, before which all the light of philosophy paled in the near prospect of death. His language was, "I can only wait, committing myself, like Stephen, to the Lord Jesus Christ." Here all theology must terminate that gives any real support to the soul in the last extremity. Other foundation can no man lay.

Dr. Dutton says, "the greatest mistake, in my judgment, which Dr. Taylor has made in his theological life, was in spending so much of his precious time as he did, when so often attacked, in proving himself orthodox according to human standards." There was only one greater mistake. This was spending so much of this precious time in attempting improvements upon the great features of theology of the church as expressed in her recognized symbols. This theology may be more clearly explained, defined, and vindicated—altered essentially it cannot be. The faith of the church of God is one and unalterable as his truth. If the truth unto salvation has not been found, possessed, and guarded by the church, in the vital, substantive elements thereof, we may look in vain for any true system of anthropology or soterology. Certainly philosophy can never invent nor discover it. While we regret this deflection of his powerful mind from its true course, we rejoice in the earnestness and power with which he inculcated many truths precious alike to us and to him.

Eulogy on the late Professor E. A. Andrews, LL.D. Delivered at New Britain, Connecticut, May 19, 1858. By Hubbard Winslow. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1858.

There are few Latin teachers or students in our country to whom Professor Andrews has not become known by his Latin Grammar, Lexicon, Reader, and editions of various classics, now extensively used in our schools and colleges. He was not, however, a mere scholar. He was a man of uncommon moral and Christian excellence. Few men have said and done less which, "dying, they would wish to blot." This well merited eulogy upon his character, by Rev. Mr. Winslow, is worthy of its subject and its author.

Sermons for the New Life. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858. Pp. 456.

These discourses, although they apparently differ a good deal in character, bear the clear impress of Dr. Bushnell's genius. There are the same originality of thought and elevation of sentiment, the same beauty of language and imagery, the same mingling of rationalism and mysticism, the same merging the supernatural into the natural, which characterize other produc-

tions of his pen. It is sad that the spiciest breezes should so often be laden with mephitic vapours. We cannot help thinking that if Dr. Bushnell had been formed under more auspicious influences, he would have been a different man. Had he been trained under authority, church authority, and taught to believe that some doctrines could be so settled as not to allow of being again mooted, he would have escaped many aberrations. By taking for granted the truth of such doctrines, he would have been enabled to see their truth. Having adopted the principle of thinking for himself, he has to go over all the ground over which the church of old groped her way, and pass through all her conflicts. Hence it is that there is scarcely an Apollinarian, Eutychean, or Sabellian error, of which traces, more or less distinct, are not to be found in his writings. Principles and modes of explanation, which in other ages were proposed, and for a time warmly advocated, but which subsequent examination proved to be untenable, Dr. Bushnell reproduces from the stores of his own mind, apparently ignorant that they have all been tried and found wanting. There is, however, so much that is true and elevating in these discourses, that a discriminating reader will find himself amply repaid for their perusal.

Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents, &c.; Including an account of the rise and progress of the Great Awakening of 1857-8. By William C. Conant. With an Introduction, by Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau street. 1858. Pp. 444.

The plan of this work seems to be judiciously carried out. It contains a great amount of religious history, in a form adapted to interest and to convey salutary instruction.

The Church of God as an essential Element of the Gospel, and the Idea, Structure, and Functions thereof. A Discourse in four Parts. By Rev. Stuart Robinson, Professor of Church Government and Pastoral Theology in the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky. With an Appendix, containing the more important Symbols of Presbyterian Church Government. Historically arranged and illustrated. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South Tenth street. A. Davidson, Louisville, Kentucky. 1858. Pp. 130 and xvi.

This work of Dr. Robinson is too elaborate and contains too many important principles to be cursorily noticed. Its mode of exhibition is not sufficiently simple to enable the reader to discover at a glance its doctrine and bearing. It requires to be carefully considered in order to be understood or correctly judged of. It is obviously the production of a strong and thoroughgoing man, and will, we trust, secure increased attention to the important subject of which it treats. The appendix contains valuable documents, not easy of access elsewhere.

A Practical Grammar of the Latin Language. With perpetual Exercises in Speaking and Writing. For the use of Schools, Colleges, and Private Learners. By G. J. Adler, A. M., late Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of the City of New York. Boston: Sanborn, Carter, Bazin, & Co. 1858. Pp. 706.

Our readers are aware that Ollendorf adopted the principle that the most effectual method of acquiring a language, was such practice as that to which a child is subjected in learning his native tongue. This plan is extensively known as the Ollendorf method; according to which books have been constructed for teaching almost all the modern languages of Europe. Professor Adler has applied this method in a modified form to the Latin. Ollendorf's plan was to give the student the language before he taught him its grammar. Professor Adler has not gone to this length. His plan is to give the language and grammar *pari passu*, to combine the theory with practice, yet in such a way as to entitle his work to bear the distinctive designation, a *practical* grammar. We are disposed to think that one plan of learning a language best suits one man, and a different plan another; at the same time the thorough combination of grammatical construction with practice in speaking and writing, which distinguishes Professor Adler's method, must commend itself to every mind. We are satisfied that the faithful study of this book, even by a private student, would lead to a far more complete mastery of the language than is often attained in the ordinary methods of instruction. Professor Adler's previous studies, his familiarity with the educational methods of Germany, his access to all the latest and best works on Latin grammar and literature, and his unwearied diligence, eminently qualify him for the task which he has so successfully accomplished in this work.

Darkness in the Flowery Land; or, Religious Notions and Popular Superstitions in North China. By the Rev. M. Simpson Culbertson, of the Shanghai Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York: Charles Scribner. 1857.

The object of this work is to present the prominent features of the religion of the Chinese, not as it is found in the writings of philosophers and sages, but as it appears in its practical working among the common people. Mr. Culbertson, having resided eleven years in China, chiefly in Ningpo and Shanghai, many of the facts mentioned are new, and have been derived chiefly from his own observation. The volume is a powerful and affecting plea for the work of Christian missions, in that densely populated country. The chapter on the superstitious fears of the people affords a very striking illustration of the

terrible gloom which rests upon the heathen world. Guilty, and without excuse before God, conscience makes the bright face of nature hideous with frowns, and clothes her with ten thousand terrors. But there is hope for China. Mr. Culbertson regards the remarkable revolution, which has been in progress there, as the offspring, to a certain extent, of Protestant missions, and as affording many grounds of encouragement, as to the success of the missionary work.

In chapter twenty-second, the author makes and establishes the important statement, that the Chinese are quite at home in the art of necromancy, and are far in advance of the most expert among the table-turning, spirit-rapping, necromancers of our own Bible-enlightened Republic.

The Literary Attractions of the Bible; or, A Plea for the Word of God. considered as a Classic. By Le Roy J. Halsey, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858.

This volume seems to have been prepared with special reference to the young, and those who neglect the Bible from the impression that there is nothing in it but religion. The writer attempts to unfold its attractions in a literary point of view, especially its poetry and eloquence, as presented in its inimitable descriptions of nature, and portraitures of character. It is written in a sprightly and ornate style. But the subject is a difficult one. In contemplating the Bible as a mere literary production, that is to say, as a work of human genius or learning, we experience much the same difficulty we feel in forming notions of the Deity, from merely studying his creature, man. It is its great subject which gives beauty, dignity, and sublimity to the Bible. The author evidently felt this difficulty, and therefore confesses that the impression was ever present to his mind and growing to the end, "that it is impossible to look long, even upon the human, without seeing the bright beams of the Divine, streaming through from the other side. Like the manhood in Immanuel's person, humanity here appears in a mood so original, and so far above the usual style of men, that it seems itself a demonstration of Divinity."

The titles of the several chapters are as follows; 1. General characteristics of the Bible as a Classical book. 2. Poetry and the bards of the Bible. 3. Eloquence and oratory of the Old Testament. 4. The eloquent orators of the New Testament. 5. Types of female character in the Bible. 6. Representative young men of the Bible. 7. Science and the sages of the Bible. 8. Original conceptions; or, objects of sublimity and beauty in the Bible.

Sermons by Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen: First Minister of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Somerset County, New Jersey. Translated from the Dutch, and prefaced by a Sketch of the Author's Life. By Rev. William Demarest. With an Introduction by the Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. 1856.

These are evangelical and pungent discourses. His ministry extended, in this country, from 1719 to about 1747. We are not surprised to learn that a revival took place under it, the fruits of which were extended and abiding. In his sermons we detect not a little which reminds us of the spirit and unction of Baxter. The biographical sketch with which the volume is prefaced, is interesting.

Gnomon of the New Testament. By John Albert Bengel. Now first translated into English. With Original Notes, Explanatory and Illustrative. Revised and edited by Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M. A., of Trinity College, Dublin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Vols. II. and IV.

In a recent number of this Journal we announced the publication of the first and third volumes of this renowned work. Mr. Fausset has associated with himself in the translation three other distinguished scholars, Rev. J. Bandinel, of Oxford, Rev. James Bryse, of Aberdeen, and the Rev. D. Fletcher, head master of the Grammar School, Wimborne. The work is elegantly printed, and in this convenient English dress is made accessible to thousands to whom the original was a sealed, or an unattainable book. This and the other publications of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, we understand, are for sale at the store of the Messrs. Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Zwingli; or, The Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland. A Life of the Reformer, with some Notices of his Time and Contemporaries. By R. Christoffel, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Wintersingen, Switzerland. Translated from the German, by John Cochran, Esq. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1858. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Pp. 458.

This work is so constructed as to render it as far as possible a biography. The Reformer is made to speak for himself in reference to his opinions and purposes, and in relation to all the important events of his life. This is much more satisfactory than any delineation of character by another. The very best life of Luther is to be found in his letters. The three great representatives of the Reformation were Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. Of these, the last mentioned is the least known, and, perhaps, the least generally appreciated at his true value. This life, therefore, meets a real want in our biographical literature.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolph Stier, Doctor of Theology, &c. Vols. VII. and VIII. Translated from the revised and enlarged German edition. By Rev. William B. Pope. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1858.

We have repeatedly noticed this widely circulated work of Dr. Stier, as the successive volumes of the translation have appeared. These volumes constitute the 17th and 18th volumes of "Clark's Foreign Library," with which our readers are already acquainted, as furnishing in an English form the most important and soundest productions of the German theological press.

Hermeneutical Manual; or Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of *Typology of Scripture*, &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1858. Pp. 480.

Dr. Fairbairn has given this alternative designation to his work, in order to apprise the reader that it is not simply an exhibition of the principles of interpretation. It consists of three parts. The first part treats of the language of the New Testament, and of the rules and helps to guide and aid the interpreter. The second includes dissertations on important words and subjects connected with the exegesis of the New Testament. The third treats of the use made of the Old Testament in the New. All the readers of Dr. Fairbairn's work on *Typology*, will be desirous to obtain this new and interesting volume. We think it is one which will soon call for republication in America.

An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians. By Rev. Jean Dailé, Minister to the French Reformed Church of Charenton, A. D. 1639. Translated from the French by F. S. Revised and Corrected by the Rev. James Sherman, Minister of Surrey Chapel, London. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1858. Pp. 685.

The republication of a work two hundred years old is proof enough of its sterling value. It is eminently an available and edifying book. It is a series of sermons on the successive passages of the Epistle.

Among the minor publications of our Board which we have received are the following:

Pictures of Truth portrayed in Pleasing Colours.

The Stephenson Family, or Lessons on the Beatitudes.

The Efficacy of Prayer. By Rev. John C. Young, D. D.

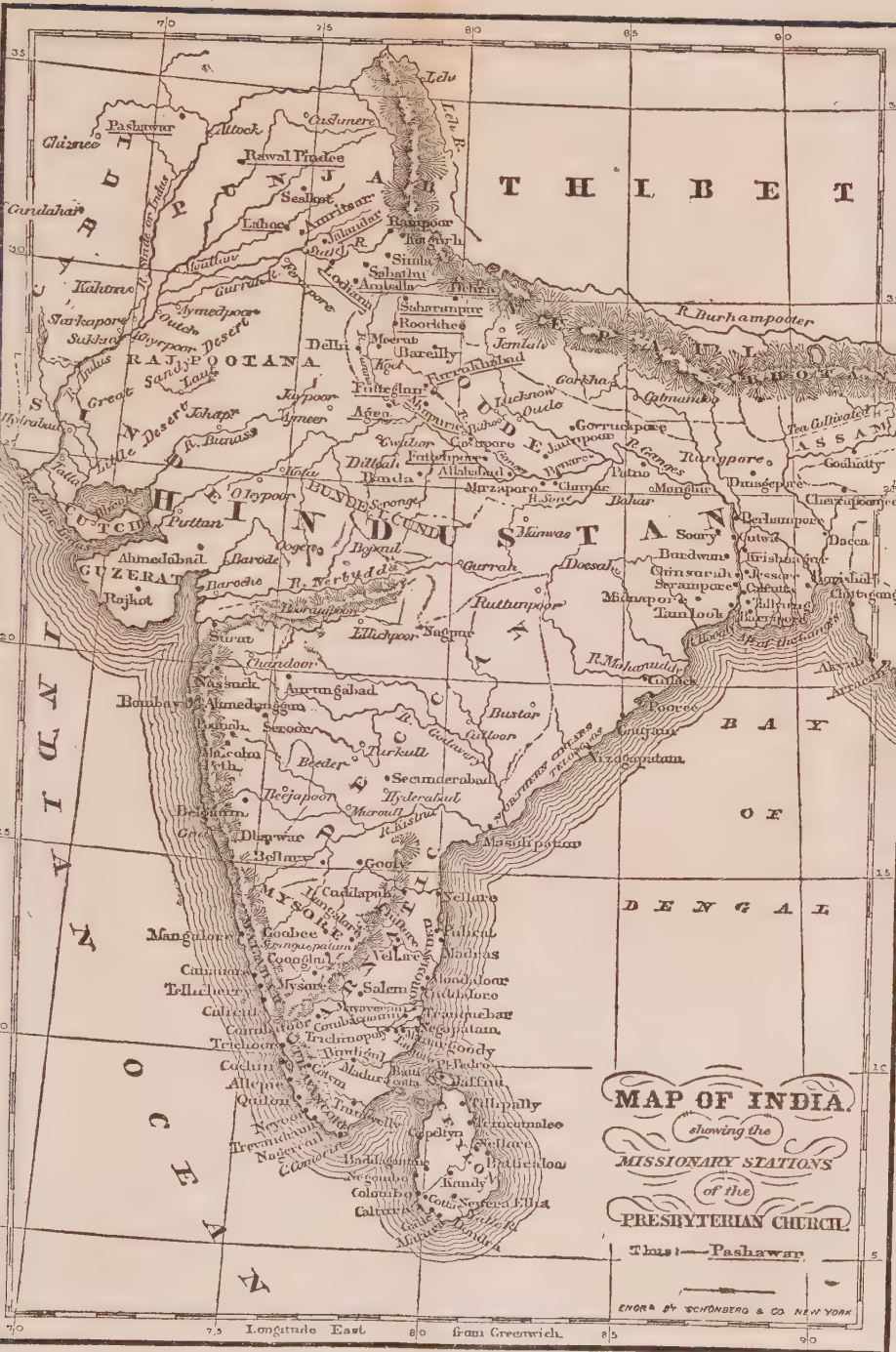
The Valley of Achor, or Hope in Trouble. By Rev. S. S. Sheddan.

Only Believe, or the Sure Way of Peace. By Rev. Alfred Hamilton, D. D.

The Highland Glen, or Plenty and Famine. By Matilda Wrench.

Not a Minute to Spare. By S. C.

Talks about Jesus.



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No. IV.

ARTICLE I.—*A Discourse commemorative of the History of the Church of Christ in Yale College, during the first Century of its Existence.* Preached in the College Chapel, November 22, 1857. With Notes and an Appendix. By GEORGE P. FISHER, Livingston Professor of Divinity. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1858.

ANY historical review of the course of any department in Yale College for the past century, cannot fail to bring to light facts of great interest and importance. This is peculiarly true of the history of the Christian church and religion in such an institution during a period so extended, so critical, and so formative for all public institutions in our country. Foremost among these is the church, in close relation to which are Christian colleges, which, deriving their sap from the church, seem beyond any other public institutions to partake of its life, vigour, and perpetuity. The history of the church in these seats of learning and culture, serves to illustrate the mutual relation and reciprocal influence of high education and vital Christianity. On these general grounds, therefore, the friends of religion and education will acknowledge their obligations to Professor Fisher for his careful and dispassionate survey of the formation, growth, and vicissitudes of the church of Christ in Yale College, and for the many curious and instructive facts which he has rescued from oblivion in executing the task.

The topics which naturally come into bold relief in such a discourse, are religion in colleges, the best means for its promotion, together with their present, as compared with their former, moral and religious state. These subjects are of commanding interest and importance. They receive ample illustration in Professor Fisher's discourse. Inviting as these topics are, we must pass them by at this time.

There is another topic which is more or less discussed in this pamphlet, owing to the peculiar relation which Yale College sustains to it. Says Professor Fisher: "In recounting its religious history, it is proper to notice what the College has done for theological science. The fathers of the New England theology—Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, West, Smalley, Emmons, and Dwight—went forth from Yale. The younger Jonathan Edwards is the only one of the leading expounders of the New Divinity who was educated elsewhere. He was a graduate of Nassau Hall. The first and most eminent of these, after taking his degree, remained here for several years as resident graduate, and afterwards as tutor. Here, in his own judgment, his religious life began; here his principles were formed, and he received the discipline which prepared him to take the highest rank in the field of intellectual science. Bellamy, who was converted soon after leaving college, and Hopkins, were pupils of Edwards. From Hopkins, West derived his theology; Smalley studied with Bellamy, and Emmons with Smalley. These men, and especially the foremost one among them, who gave impulse to all the rest, have strongly influenced the thinking of the age. Whatever is distinctive of American theology as contrasted with the general theology of the church, may be traced to them. . . . The leaders of the various parties in theology among us, who have contended in recent times, were most of them instructed by Dr. Dwight, and profess to deduce their views from his teaching.* Yale College has borne a theological stamp from the outset." Pp. 36, 37.

* Foremost among these, as most of our readers are aware, were Drs. Tyler and Taylor, both deceased since the publication of Professor Fisher's discourse, and both graduates of Yale College. To these may be added, Dr. Griffin, and Professor Stuart, among the dead; Drs. Hewit, and Harvey, and

"Now add to these parties a third, which arose later under the lead of President Edwards, who was graduated here about twenty years before President Clap was placed at the head of the College. Its members were the most able and thorough adversaries of Arminianism; but in the process of defending the established faith, they were led to recast it in new forms and to change its aspect. Their system thus originated, was termed the New Divinity, and in later times has received the name of New England Theology. The younger President Edwards has enumerated ten 'improvements' on the theology of his day, made by his father and his father's followers. *In truth, however, their distinction, especially at the outset, was not so much in the circumstance that they broached new opinions, as in the fact that their views were the result of independent reflection, and were maintained on philosophical grounds.*" Page 7.

The election of Dr. Dwight to the Presidency of Yale College, marked the triumph in New England of the Edwardean theology. According to Dr. Hopkins, there were in 1756 "not more than four or five who espoused the sentiments which have since been called the *Edwardean* or *New Divinity*; and since, after some improvement had been made upon them, *Hopkintonian* or *Hopkinsian* sentiments. In 1773 they had increased to forty or fifty. In 1777, under date of November 7th, we find the following passage in Dr. Stiles's diary:*

"Rev. Mr. Edwards, of New Haven,† tells me there are three parties in Connecticut all pleased with my election, viz. Arminians, who, he said, were a small party; the New Divinity gentlemen, (of whom, he said, he was called one,) who were larger, he said, *but still small*; and the main body of the ministers which, he said, were Calvinistic." In a letter written in 1796, Hopkins informs us, that "among the advocates of the New Divinity were included more than one

Drs. Lyman and Edward Beecher, Dr. Bacon, and Dr. Bushnell, among the living, as graduates of Yale College who have been conspicuous in the theological discussions of New England.

* Dr. Stiles was the immediate predecessor of Dr. Dwight in the Presidency of Yale College.

† The younger Jonathan Edwards.

hundred in the ministry." Whether the ministry of Connecticut, or New England, or North America, he does not say.

Professor Fisher further quotes President Stiles, as saying in 1787: "It has been the *ton* to direct students in Divinity, these thirty years past, to read the Bible, President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and Mr. Hopkins's writings; and this was a pretty good sufficiency of reading. But now the younger class, but yet in full vigour, suppose they see further than these oracles, and are disposed to become oracles themselves, and wish to write theology, and have their own books come into vogue. The very New Divinity gentlemen say, they perceive a disposition among several of their brethren to struggle for preëminence; particularly Dr. Edwards, (the younger,) Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Smalley, Mr. Judson, Mr. Spring, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Strong of Hartford, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Emmons, and others. They all want to be Luthers."

Our author winds up this theological retrospect in the following terms. "By a variety of agencies, the party professing the ancient Calvinism and eschewing 'the improvements' of the New Divinity, has been quite obliterated in New England. Eighty years ago, the followers of President Edwards* among the Calvinistic clergy, were said by his son, the younger President, to be few in number. At present there are some who are scarcely aware that there ever was a time, since his death, when the Calvinists of New England did not regard President Edwards as the most authoritative expounder of their principles. *His theology, however, it cannot be denied, had from the beginning the respect of many who refused to adopt the additions proposed by his disciples. It is still a mooted point among the interpreters of his writings, whether he deviated from Calvin in any thing except modes of statement.*" Pp. 80-82.

We have quoted at this length from this pamphlet in order that our readers may see for themselves, first, that intelligent and candid men, such as Professor Fisher shows himself in this discourse, and as we personally know him to be, do not hesi-

* Not Edwards's followers exactly, but New Divinity men.

tate to class the various speculative systems that have, or have had, currency in New England, under the title of New Divinity, or the still more conveniently respectable but indefinite designation of New England theology, as Edwardean, or as products of the school of which President Edwards was leader; and secondly, for the purpose of exhibiting the channels of mental association through which dispassionate and honest minds, with a one-sided view of the subject, can be led to connect the name of Edwards with a set of opinions which he gained his chief celebrity in demolishing. The animus of the foregoing extracts, certainly the impression they convey to the reader, whether designed or undesigned, is that Edwards was the father and leader of that theological party which includes Hopkins, Emmons, and Taylor, and that the various peculiarities of these and other men, which have had currency in the country under the assumed title of New England theology, are developments of Edwards's system, and may lawfully protect themselves with the shield of his mighty name. It is quite time that this claim should be investigated and settled. The propounders and abettors of all the ephemeral schemes of divinity that have successively risen to notoriety in the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies of our country, have successively and confidently made it, as if it were as certain as that Edwards wrote theology at all.

I. We propose to prove that Edwards held and devoted his labours to prove the doctrines commonly known as Old Calvinism, with the single exception theologically, that he taught Stapfer's scheme of the mediate imputation of Adam's sin; and with the further qualification, that he held an eccentric philosophical theory of the nature of virtue, as consisting wholly in love to being in general. This was invented as a corrective of the theory which founds moral excellence in self-love. Neither of these peculiarities, however, was allowed to act upon or modify other parts of his theology. Their connection with the subsequent forms of New Divinity, we shall indicate before we close. We think it easy to show, however, that the distinctive features of this New Divinity, in all its successive forms, are utterly abhorrent to his entire system. They have no more place in Edwards than in Turretin, or the Westminster stand-

ards. On all these and other points, with the single exception of mediate imputation above noted, it was his great labour, not to subvert but to vindicate the doctrines of those standards, not merely in some vague substance thereof, but in their most exact and literal import. And even in regard to original sin, his theory enabled him to say in the most literal sense, "we sinned in him and fell with him in the first transgression." He held, as a few now hold, that the posterity of Adam as branches did what he their root did, literally, not representatively according to catholic Calvinism, and in our belief, the Bible. In this, however, as elsewhere, he did not think of himself as discovering any new Edwardean theology. He avowedly takes the idea from Stapfer. In his concluding summation of the points which are vindicated and corroborated by his great treatise on the Will, he specifies among others the following.*

"The things which have been said, obviate some of the chief objections of *Arminians* against the *Calvinistic* doctrine of the *total depravity and corruption of human nature*, whereby his heart is wholly under the power of sin, and he is *utterly unable*, without the interposition of sovereign grace, savingly to love God, believe in Christ, or do any thing that is truly good and acceptable in God's sight."

He, indeed, says, that the objections to such inability have been obviated by proving it a moral inability, and so inexcusable. But the same thing is said by Owen, Turretin, Pictet, and the older theologians. By moral inability he meant not such an inability as is consistent with the declaration that the unregenerate, as New Divinity men have uniformly taught, are, in any real sense, truly able to obey the gospel without sovereign grace. He meant, as we have already seen, that they are "utterly unable" to do this. This is the unvarying, unqualified language and spirit of his theology and his sermons—just as clearly so as of those of John Owen. His great treatises on the Will and Original Sin were written to establish, not to dilute this doctrine.

* Edwards's Works, New York edition. Vol. II. p. 282, et. seq. Our references will all be to the New York edition of his Works.

He proceeds to say, that his treatise obviates the objections of the Arminians to efficacious grace; which mainly amounted to this, "that it is repugnant to the nature of virtue, that it should be wrought in the heart by the determining power and efficacy of another, instead of its being owing to a self-moving power; because not the person in whom it is wrought is the determining author of it, but God that wrought it in him." Now this notion that the sinner's change in regeneration must be caused by his own will, not another's, else his repentance and faith would not be his own, but God's, who wrought it in him, was one of the most familiar, constant, and distinctive, in the New-school preaching a quarter of a century ago.

In like manner he claims to have demolished the various vulgar objections to the doctrines of God's universal and absolute decree, and of absolute, eternal, personal election; such as that they are inconsistent with the use of the means of grace, or the reasonableness of rewards and punishments; that they make God the author of sin, and imply a contradiction between his secret and revealed will.

But what shows conclusively that Edwards understood himself to have been confirming, not modifying or improving old Calvinism, in his Treatise on the Will, is the following consequence which he deduces from it. "From these things it will inevitably follow, that however Christ in some sense may be said to die for all, and to redeem all visible Christians, yea, the whole world, by his death; yet there must be something *particular* in the design of his death, with respect to such as he intended should be actually saved thereby. . . . God pursues a proper design of the salvation of the elect in giving Christ to die, and prosecutes such a design with respect to no other most strictly speaking; for it is impossible that God should prosecute any other design than only such as he has; he does not, in the highest propriety and strictness of speech, pursue a design that he has not. And indeed such a particularity and limitation of redemption will as infallibly follow from the doctrine of God's foreknowledge as from that of the decree."

There is no subject in regard to which the improvements of New England theology have been more vaunted, than the penal nature of Christ's sufferings, the imputation of his righteousness

to believers, of their sin or guilt to him—in short, all that belongs to the old idea of Christ's standing in our law-place. It boasts of having cleared theology of these perplexities and incumbrances. But it is quite certain that Edwards strenuously maintained and defended them.

“The first thing necessary to be done, is, that the Son of God should become our representative and surety; and so be substituted in the sinner's room. . . . Who would have thought of a person of infinite glory representing sinful worms, that had made themselves by sin infinitely provoking and abominable! For if the Son of God be substituted in the sinner's room, then *his sin must be charged upon him; he will thereby take the guilt of the sinner upon himself*; he must be subject to the same law that man was, both as to the commands and threatenings. . . . Again, if the Son of God be substituted in the sinner's stead, then he comes under the sinner's obligation to suffer the punishment which man's sin had deserved.” Vol. vii. p. 71.

After asserting that the imputation of Christ's righteousness is a gospel doctrine, he says, “by that righteousness being *imputed* to us, is meant no other than this, that the righteousness of Christ is accepted for us, and admitted instead of that perfect inherent righteousness which ought to be in ourselves. Christ's perfect righteousness shall be reckoned to our account, so that we shall have the benefit of it, as though we had performed it ourselves. And so we suppose that a title to eternal life is given us as the reward of this righteousness. The Scripture uses the word *impute* in this sense, viz. for reckoning any thing belonging to any person to another person's account.” In proof he compares Philemon, 18, with Rom. v. 13, in which the original *ἐλλογέω* is translated, in the one case, impute, in the other, put to the account of.

“The opposers of this doctrine suppose that there is an absurdity in supposing that God imputes Christ's obedience to us; it is to suppose that God is mistaken, and thinks we performed that obedience which Christ performed. But why cannot that righteousness be reckoned to our account, and be accepted for us without any such absurdity? . . . Why may not his obeying the law of God be as rationally reckoned to our

account, as his suffering the penalty of the law." Vol. v. pp. 394-5.

"Justification is manifestly a *forensic* term, as the word is used in Scripture, and a judicial thing, or the act of a judge, so that if a person should be justified without a righteousness, the judgment would not be according to truth. . . . So that our judge cannot justify us, unless he sees a perfect righteousness some way belonging to us, either performed by ourselves, or by another, and justly and duly reckoned to our account." Pp. 397-9.

"Believers are represented in Scripture as being so in Christ that they are legally one." P. 399.

One of the distinctive features of New England theology, (especially the later forms of it,) "as contrasted with the general theology of the church," lies in its persistent refusal to recognize in the word *guilt* any meaning but personal moral ill-desert, and in reasoning against the old theology, as if it employed the term in the same sense, which is now its more common popular acceptance. Of course, it is easy to reason down the old theology, by attaching to its language a meaning which it never bore. The old meaning of the word *guilt*, as found in creeds and books of theology, was obnoxiousness to punishment, which indeed is the result of moral ill-desert, either in a principal, or substitute and representative. Such is its scriptural use, when it is said, "all the world may become guilty ὑποδίκος before God." Rom. iii. 19. "He is guilty ἐνοχος of death." Matt. xxvi. 66. In this sense Edwards used it in reference to these subjects. His words are, "Christ, by suffering the penalty, and so making atonement for us, only removes the guilt of our sins." "When he had undertaken to stand in our stead, he was looked upon and treated as though he were guilty with our guilt; and by bearing the penalty, he did, as it were, free himself from this guilt." P. 396.

A very important question of practical divinity which separates New England theology from the "general theology of the church," is whether faith in Christ is before and conditional to repentance, or repentance is before and conditional to faith; not indeed in the order of time, but the order of nature. As to the order of time, and as concerns actual existence, each sup-

poses the other. Faith must exert itself in repentance—repentance must have faith for its root. The sun and its radiance suppose each other; but the sun is before and in order to its rays. Now the New England theology, “as contrasted with the general theology of the church,” has largely maintained that love and repentance are the antecedents of faith in the soul.* The church theology held that there was no genuine repentance, which does not proceed from a believing “apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ.” So Edwards condemns the ignorance of those who suppose “that the repentance by which remission of sins is obtained, can be completed without any respect to Christ, or application of the mind to the Mediator, who alone has made atonement for sin. Evangelical repentance is an humiliation for sin before God. But the sinner never comes and humbles himself before God in any other repentance, but that which includes hoping in his mercy for remission. If sorrow be not accompanied with that, there will be no coming to God in it, but a flying further from him.” Pp. 432–3.

Another distinctive feature of the New Theology, closely related to the foregoing, as “contrasted with the general theology of the church,” is found in the doctrine, that evangelical feelings, affections, and purposes precede and give rise to that spiritual illumination, or perception of the beauty and glory of divine things, which the Bible everywhere ascribes to the saint. Whereas the standard doctrine has been, that while spiritual illumination and spiritual feeling are contemporaneous in fact, yet, in the order of nature, spiritual light is before and conditional to spiritual feeling. In effectual calling, the “enlightening of the mind” is requisite to “the renewing of the will.” The former is the condition of the latter, not the latter of the former. This arises from the very structure of the soul, whereby the understanding is the faculty of guidance, and it can only love and choose what it apprehends as in some sense lovely and desirable. Whoever desires to understand Edwards’s view on this subject may consult the fourth book of

* Smalley, one of the most moderate and judicious of these divines, says: “An apprehension of pardoning mercy is not necessary, however, to the first feelings of true repentance.”—*Sermon from Acts*, iii. 19.

the Treatise on Religious Affections. The very title of it is, "gracious affections arise from the mind being enlightened rightly and spiritually to apprehend divine things." The first sentence reads thus, "holy affections are not heat without light; but evermore arise from some information of the understanding, some spiritual instruction that the mind receives, some light or actual knowledge." It is not inconsistent with this that he sometimes speaks of this spiritual discernment, as a "sense of the heart." For the heart, the whole emotional, affective and voluntary power, in Edwards's view, and in truth, acts in view of the light furnished by the understanding. It is an æsthetic apprehension, the nature of which is that the perception of beauty is followed by pleasurable emotions. So he says, spiritual understanding *primarily* consists in this *sense or taste of the moral beauty of divine things*. It is because taste is, whether literary, moral, or spiritual, like conscience, both intellectual and emotional in its workings, that it and its operations are sometimes spoken of in one aspect, sometimes in the other. But this does not alter the fact, that the perception of the understanding is the antecedent ground of the emotion.

That men are not born sinless, that dispositions to sin or holiness, are themselves sinful or holy, is constantly maintained in the treatise on Original Sin, the former throughout, the latter especially in Part II., Chapter 1.

By that class of divines who maintain the native sinlessness of man, it is often mentioned as a peculiarity of Edwards's theology which lends countenance to their own, that he held depravity to be not any positive creation of God, but to originate in a privative cause, viz. the withholding of divine influences. But Edwards did not deem this view at all a discovery of his own. He regarded it as pertaining to the common theology of the church. He says: "It is agreeable to the sentiments of our *best divines*, that all sin comes originally from a DEFECTIVE or PRIVATIVE cause." But the absence of that principle of love to God, arising from the withdrawal of God's presence, leaves the lower principles in that *ἀταξία* and *ἀνομία*, that want of conformity to the law of God, which the Bible and the creeds, with Edwards, pronounce sin. While this deprives the later New Theology of all sanction from

Edwards, it for ever separates him from another sort represented by Emmons, who ascribe all sin to the immediate efficiency of God.

In view of all this, we submit to all candid minds, whether it is not proved beyond fair dispute, that Edwards differed in no respect from the "general theology of the church," except with Stapfer, and a small body of Reformed divines, in asserting the mediate, as distinguished from the immediate, imputation of Adam's sin: and whether the various speculative systems that have successively risen and decayed under the title of New England Theology, can, with even a show of justice, be ranked as of the school of this great divine, or claim the shield of his authority.

II. The younger Edwards enumerates ten improvements which he contends his father, and those whom he calls his followers, made in theology.* Some of these have reference to his philosophical views of the nature of virtue; and besides being somewhat overstated, are philosophical rather than directly theological. We shall return to this in due time. Some other points represented as improvements, had long been among the common places of theology. Thus the second and fourth on Liberty, Necessity, and the Origin of Evil, entirely depend upon that view of will which reduces all necessity in the moral acts of men, to the simple *certainty* that they will be what they are and not otherwise. Turretin, for example, in dealing with the question, whether the decree of God brings with it a necessity of the events decreed, in regard to acts of will, expressly puts out of the discussion, 1. Absolute and physical necessity, which pertains to causes in their own nature determined to one event and that only, as, for example, the necessity by which fire burns, or the sun shines. 2. The necessity of compulsion by a cause external to the will which forcibly counteracts it: and says, that the question only respects a hypothetical necessity, consisting in the connection of antecedent and consequent, with respect to the *certainty of the event*, and its futuration by virtue of the decree, which he

* See Dwight's Biography of Edwards, the elder. Edwards's Works, Vol. i. p. 613, *et seq.*

asserts.* It is not easy to state the doctrine of Edwards on this point more exactly. The novelty of his treatise lies not in the position it takes and defends, but in the multitude of proofs, the fecundity and cogency of the arguments by which he maintained it; making it, in the main, impregnable to all subsequent assaults.

Edwards the younger, in treating of this alleged improvement, represents that even the Westminster Assembly were groping in darkness on this subject, because they say our first parents fell in consequence of "being left to the liberty of their own will;" and that by God's foreordination, "the contingency of second causes is not taken away but rather established"! These divines, says he, "unquestionably meant that our first parents, at least, in the instance of their fall, acted from self-determination, and by mere *contingence or chance*." He might as well have said, that he or his father meant that men sin by chance, because they sin freely; and their acts though certain in themselves, are no less certainly contingent on the way in which they choose; while again it is quite certain that this is contingent on their pleasure.

The fifth improvement claimed regards the atonement. But this, like several which succeed it, is claimed not directly for Edwards himself, but for his "followers." The only error here is that which we are endeavouring to expose, in reference to this whole subject. Herein they were not his followers, but the antagonists of that general theology of the church, which he so ably vindicated.

The next point respects the Imputation of Adam's sin, and of Christ's righteousness. The improvements in regard to these he also claims for the followers of Edwards. The most noteworthy thing here is his statement of the difficulty which these followers found in the old doctrine. It was this. They assumed that to reckon anything to the account of another, is just the same as to reckon or think it his inherent or personal property; and hence, to use their own term, that to impute Christ's righteousness to the believer, is literally and personally to

* Sed quæritur de necessitate hypothetica et consequentiae, respectu certitudinis eventus et futurationis ex decreto; quam asserimus. *Turretlin; Loc. Quart. Quæst. IV.*

“transfer” it to him. “How,” (asks he,) “can the righteousness or good conduct of one person be the righteousness or good conduct of another? How can God, who is omniscient, and cannot mistake, reckon, judge, or think, it to be the conduct of that other?” It is a short way of demolishing a doctrine, first to misconceive and then misrepresent it. But how so clear a head as this writer possessed, could have studied his father’s writings, as already quoted, and entertained this misconception, we do not understand; much less why, in connection with this class of subjects, those who cherish such misconceptions should rank themselves as “followers” of the great divine.

The next improvement claimed is not attributed to Edwards but to Hopkins, and refers to his peculiar views in regard to the unregenerate, and the instructions to be given them. All that is peculiar in these is far enough from Edwardean, and has for the most part died out of the New Theology itself.

The eighth improvement claimed is ascribed to Edwards himself. It regards the nature of experimental religion, as elucidated in his great work on the Affections. No one questions the consummate ability of this treatise, or that it unfolded the distinctive and constituent elements of evangelical religion with extraordinary perspicuity and force; or that it set some sides of the subject in a clearer light than had been done before. The same thing is true, to some extent, of every work of permanent value on this or any other subject. It was true of Shepard’s Parable of the Ten Virgins, and Flavel’s Touchstone, from which Edwards so largely quotes. It was true of Edwards’s discourses on Justification by Faith. To set known principles in a stronger light, with new defences against new forms of antagonistic error, or with a more adequate and effective application, is one thing. To bring to light radically new truths, previously unknown or unregarded, is quite another. The younger Edwards says: “The accounts of Christian affection and experience which had before been given, both by American and European writers, were general, indiscriminate, and confused. They seldom, if ever, distinguished the exercises of *self-love*, *natural conscience*, and other

natural principles of the human mind, under conviction of divine truth, from those of the new nature, given in regeneration." (The italics are his.) Marvellous as this statement is, it is only more marvellous that it could have been made by one who had read the Treatise on the Affections, and the quotations from Shepard, Flavel, Preston, Owen, Calvin, &c., in the foot-notes. He might as well say that Dickinson had improved upon the theology of the Assembly's Catechism, because he had ably explained and defended the Five Points.

The ninth point respects disinterested affection. Especial reference is had doubtless to Edwards's theory of the nature of virtue, and the development and application of that theory by Hopkins. Here the simplest summation of the truth is, that the "new things are not true, and the true things are not new." So far as the scheme makes virtue a mere means of happiness, whether to ourselves or others, or to "being in general;" so far as it resolves all virtue into benevolence; so far as it makes a due regard to our own happiness inconsistent with or not requisite to holiness, it is contradicted by Scripture and the universal conscience of our race. So far, it has long been abjured by the New Theology itself, and in its place the opposite extreme of reducing all moral goodness to some form of self-love, or means of happiness to the agent, has been widely adopted. This latter scheme was earnestly and ably defended by the most distinguished modern improver of theology in New England, the late Dr. Taylor. It is, however, already on the wane even among his disciples.* So far, however, as Edwards

* Dr. Dutton, of New Haven, after avowing his opinion that Dr. Taylor is the greatest of the New England divines, not excepting the elder Edwards, adds: "Having said this, I must also say, in the spirit of fair criticism, that there is one part of his theological system which, in my view, will not bear the test of time and of light. That is the self-love theory, or desire of happiness theory, as it has been called; viz. that all motives that come to the mind find their ultimate ground of appeal in the desire of personal happiness, and that the idea of right, in its last analysis, is resolved into a tendency to the highest happiness. This theory, though advocated by him, was not peculiar to him, and never should be attributed to him as a peculiarity. It was plainly taught before him by Dwight and the elder Edwards; though, with his accustomed frankness and boldness, he gave it greater prominence than they." *Sermon on the death of Dr. Taylor, by S. W. S. Dutton, D. D.*

These last clauses are hardly consistent with the claim of Edwards the

and Hopkins meant to teach that pure religious affections, without excluding, have an origin higher than self-love; that their direct and immediate object is the excellency of moral goodness as such, of God and of divine things, and not merely our own selfish advantage or enjoyment, they taught what is true and important indeed, but not what was new; simply an old and precious truth which we have often been obliged to defend against the later champions of New Divinity.

The last improvement which he attributes to his father, "and those who adopt his views," pertains to regeneration. "It is their opinion, (says he,) that *the intellect* and *the sensitive faculties* are not the immediate subject of any change in regeneration. They believe, however, that in consequence of the change which the renewed heart experiences, and of its reconciliation to God, light breaks in upon the understanding. The subject of regeneration sees, therefore, the glory of God's character, and the glory of all divine truth." We think it has been abundantly shown, that whoever may hold this opinion, Edwards, "and those who adopt his views," are not among the number. It has characterized New England theology through all its improvements, since it took a distinctive name and bias from the decisive innovations of the younger Edwards. The Scriptures teach with the "general theology of the church," that we are "transformed by the renewing of the mind" as such, not exclusively in any one part, but in all its parts, intellectual, sensitive, and voluntary. Certainly, if any portion of the mind is signalized as preëminently the immediate subject of renovation in regeneration, it is the intellect. The eyes of

younger, that his father established the scheme of disinterested benevolence, among other alleged improvements in theology. The fact seems to be, that Edwards and Dwight made the highest happiness of the universe the only proper ultimate end of action, and placed the essence of virtue in its pursuit. Dr. Taylor, as Dr. Dutton avows, placed it in seeking our personal happiness. It is a question, however, whether if happiness be the ultimate and highest good of all being, it must not also be the ultimate and highest good of each individual; and therefore whether it is not his highest mission to get as much of it for himself as he can. Any theory which analyzes moral goodness into a means of something better than itself, or into elements simpler than itself, prepares the way for almost any conclusions, which an ingenious mind may take the trouble to deduce from it.

the understanding are enlightened. The soul is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created it. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned. But if the intellect is the immediate subject of regenerating influence, it is not so exclusively of the affections and will. The love of God is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost, and he works in us to will and to do, of his own good pleasure. But then as there is an order in which these respective faculties operate; as the affections and will act in view of the perceptions of the intellect; so, as we have already observed, and have seen that Edwards proved, spiritual illumination is the antecedent logical condition of spiritual feelings and choices. Christ must be seen to be chief among ten thousand and altogether lovely, in order to his being loved and chosen as such. It is when our eyes see God that we abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes. The idea of the will being immediately wrought upon, without any attendant or antecedent operation on the "intellect and sensitive faculties," is absurd. It supposes that the will is an irrational power, acting irrespective of the views of the understanding, and that regeneration is a work not only above nature, but in contravention of its laws: not only supernatural, but a miracle. It supposes such a divorce and mutual isolation of the powers and operations of the one indivisible, intelligent, sensitive, voluntary soul, as has no existence.* Couple with

* "Nor can there be a clear distinction made between the two faculties of understanding and will, as acting distinctly and separately in this matter. When the mind is sensible of the sweet beauty and amiableness of a thing, that implies a sensibleness of sweetness and delight in the presence of the idea of it; and this sensibleness of the amiableness or delightfulness of beauty, carries in the very nature of it the sense of the heart." This passage from Edwards on the Affections is quoted with approbation by Hopkins in his chapter on *Divine Illumination*.

It is to be observed, that of those who have had name as expounders and promoters of the New England theology, there have been two sorts, sometimes in vehement conflict with each other: the abettors respectively of the Exercise-scheme, and of the Taste-scheme. The former scheme, which confined all moral quality to mere acts of volition, was developed in an extreme form by Emmons, and afterwards, with less extravagance, by Dr. Taylor. The abettors of the Taste-scheme, including Hopkins, Dwight, and probably Smal-

this the power of contrary choice, in opposition to the prevailing inclinations of the soul, which both the Edwardses, and all the New England schools claiming to be the successors of both or either of them, strenuously denied, previous to the time of Taylor and Beecher, and we have that scheme of plenary ability which has been the salient point of New Divinity for a quarter of a century, and has, more than all else, given rise to the embittered theological contests and disruptions of that period, yea, to a New and Old-school of New England theology itself.

Thus it appears beyond dispute that the novelties which gave form and being to the New Theology, when it came to be recognized as such, as contrasted with the general theology of the church, were, with scarcely an exception, unknown to Edwards. Nor did Hopkins go the length of the younger Edwards in innovation. Indeed, Professor Fisher himself says as much. "In truth, however, their distinction, especially at the outset, was not so much in the circumstance that they broached new opinions, as in the fact that their views were the result of independent reflection, and were maintained on philosophical grounds." To this we would add, especially with regard to Edwards, that their faith in divine truth was founded on the Scriptures, and their metaphysics were designed to show the

ley, were far nearer the truth. Many of their representations were in full accordance with it. Their chief error and source of error on this subject, arose from overlooking the circumstance, that taste is a cognitive as well as an emotional faculty. What they appear to have opposed, was the idea that regeneration imparts a perception of truths not set forth in Scripture, or increases our speculative faculties or knowledge. They were contending against false views of spiritual illumination, which virtually confounded it with revelation or inspiration. But here again they did not differ from the general theology of the church. They were not discoverers. The truth in their doctrine was not new. The only novelty was the error which some of them worked into their statement and defence of this truth, viz. that in regeneration the immediate change wrought is exclusively on the will or affections, and not at all upon the intellect, and in the separation which they at length, and emphatically of late, have recognized between the actings of intellective and active powers, forgetting that mutual implication of each with each in all moral exercises which experience proves, and such scriptural phrases as the "carnal mind," "ignorance of heart," &c., constantly intimate. In nothing is the word of God more explicit than in the condemnation of spiritual blindness and perverse moral judgments.

accordance of Scripture doctrine with genuine philosophy. We agree with Professor Fisher, when he adds, "The boldness with which they declared in the pulpit the terror of the gospel, and the force of their appeals to the conscience, in contrast with what had been usual, made their sermons exciting and effective." This was more especially true of the elder Edwards and Bellamy, who gave emphasis to the terrors of the Lord, at a time when a prevalent reticence in regard to them, into which preaching in quiet times is always apt to subside, rendered such emphasis startling and potent. But this is no peculiarity of any new system of theology, in contrast with the old; it simply pertains to ministerial prudence and fidelity. It was no more characteristic of Edwards and Bellamy, than of Whitefield and the Tennents, who certainly had no vein of Neo-Calvinism. The whole class were called New Lights, rather with reference to the unusually startling and awakening character of their preaching, and the extravagances which marred the revival of which they were leading promoters, than to any theological tenets at variance with old Calvinism. It was not till Hopkins and the younger Edwards brought in their radical innovations, that a *New Theology* began to be much recognized, either by friends or foes. It was by them preëminently, and their successors culminating in Emmons, that a system was elaborated which infused into preaching not only the terrors of the Lord, but other terrors not of the Lord. Most of the preachers who adopted this system were indeed earnest supporters of some of the high doctrines of grace, and set them forth in preaching with remarkable distinctness and force. So far they were efficient and successful preachers. But this was due to the old truths, not to the new discoveries they proclaimed; which, as far as they went, according to our best knowledge, were an incumbrance and a clog to their usefulness. It is certain that Hopkins and the younger Edwards enjoyed but very meagre success as pastors and preachers. The view which President Stiles, who, before his accession to the Presidency of Yale College, was pastor of one church in Newport, Rhode Island, while Dr. Hopkins was pastor of the other, gives of this matter, is not very wide of the truth. Commenting on a letter from Dr. Hopkins to himself, after his removal

to New Haven, in which the former complains that the people in Newport "were going from bad to worse, and he saw no way for his continuing there longer than till spring," Dr. Stiles says, as quoted by Professor Fisher: "Remark 1. Very lamentable is the state of religion in Newport, and particularly that they will not attend public worship. But, 2. One occasion of this negligence is brother Hopkins's New Divinity. He has preached his own congregation almost away, or into an indifference. 3. Where the New Divinity ministers are liked, their preaching is acceptable, *not for the new tenets*, but for its containing the good old doctrines of grace, on which the new gentlemen are very *sound, clear and full*. In other parts, where the neighbouring ministers generally preach the Calvinistic doctrines, the people begin to be tired of the incessant inculcation of the unintelligible and shocking new points; especially that an unconverted man had better be killing his father and mother than praying for converting grace; that true repentance implies a willingness and desire to be damned for the glory of God; that we are to give God thanks that he caused Adam to sin, and involve all his posterity in total depravity," &c. When this system finally crystallized into the dismal dogmas of Emmons, hard, cold, and clear as polar ice—which, under the title of sermons, he would argue to Sabbath congregations by the hour—that God is the efficient cause of sin, in the same sense as of holiness; that the wicked are as much indebted to him for their iniquities as the saints for their purity;* that the soul is a chain of exercises; that it has no virtuous or sinful principles, but only acts, created by God;†

* "Since the Scripture ascribes all the actions of men to God as well as to themselves, we may justly conclude, that the divine agency is as much concerned in their bad as their good actions. Many are disposed to make a distinction here, and to ascribe only the good actions of men to the divine agency, while they ascribe their bad ones to the divine permission. But there appears no ground for this distinction, either in Scripture or reason. . . . If he produced their bad as well as their good volitions, then his agency was concerned in *precisely the same manner*, (the italics are the author's) in their wrong as their right actions."—*Emmons's Sermons*, Boston edition of 1812, pp. 39, 40.

† "Since, in regeneration, God does not create any new nature, disposition, or principle of action, but only works in men holy and benevolent exercises, in which they are completely free and active, there is a plain absurdity in calling

that there is no virtue but disinterested benevolence;* that men must exercise holy love and genuine repentance before they can be warranted to believe on Christ;† the capacity of the public mind for the monstrous and dreadful was overstrained. Recalcitration was inevitable. We would, in the language of a distinguished statesman, recently deceased, as soon “toss icebergs into a Christian congregation, or before inquiring souls, as such theories.”

III. The reaction came, and in a two-fold way. First,

the renovation of the heart a miraculous and supernatural change.”—*Id.* pp. 180.

“But if a new heart consists in new holy exercises, then sinners may be as active in regeneration as conversion. Though it be true, that the divine agency is concerned in the renovation of the heart, yet this does by no means destroy the activity of sinners. Their activity in all cases is owing to a divine operation on their minds. . . . He always works in them to will and to do in all their free and voluntary exercises.”—*Id.* pp. 178-9.

* In a discourse from Gal. v. 22, the doctrine is that the Holy Spirit produces only love in regeneration, which he says is “the love of benevolence, not the love of complacency,” p. 157; he infers from this premise, 1. That there is no distinction between “regeneration, conversion, and sanctification.” 2. That men are equally active in them all. 3. That regeneration is “no more a supernatural work than any other divine operation upon the minds of men.”

† In a sermon on Gal. v. 6, one of his concluding inferences is thus stated, “If there can be no true experimental religion, but what originates from that supreme love to God which is before faith in Christ; then there is ground to fear, that there is a great deal of false religion among all denominations of Christians. For many of their most devout teachers inculcate the doctrine that faith in Christ is before love to God.” P. 288.

The doctrine of a sermon from Prov. viii. 17, is that God does not love sinners until they first love him; and the third inference is thus stated: “If God does not love sinners before they love him, then they must love him, while they know that he *hates* them, and is disposed to punish them for ever.” P. 110.

The love of the Scriptures implies trust and confidence. Who can stand in this relation to a being that he knows is bent on his perpetual and irremediable ruin, “disposed to punish him for ever,” however righteous he may know such a purpose to be? The very idea involves a contradiction. This necessity of perceiving the mercy of God in Christ, as a prerequisite to the cordial love of him, is not inconsistent with our loving him for his intrinsic excellency, as well as for his love to us. But it is an indispensable prerequisite to our loving him truly and confidingly, on any ground whatever. To love God because he first loved us, is not in itself sordid; it is doing what we ought, but not all we ought. But to admire and delight in his glory, as it shines in Christ, does not cease to be a duty, or an element of piety, because his glory demands the believing sinner’s salvation.

and in a direction almost entirely salutary, in the person of Dr. Dwight, whose system of theology, although unsatisfactory at some points, betraying a too imperfect acquaintance with the general theology of the church, and with theologians outside of New England, is nevertheless marked by a rebound from the extravagances we have noted, towards standard divinity. This is eminently so with the practical, which is far the most significant side of his theology. Professor Fisher, as we have seen, regards his accession to the Presidency of Yale College, as "marking the triumph of the Edwardean theology." The degree of truth in this statement, depends on what is meant by "Edwardean theology." Was it the theology of Edwards the father, or Edwards the son and his confederates and successors? Professor Fisher says, "he (Dwight,) gained strength by discarding the eccentric theory of Hopkins and Emmons concerning Resignation, which he had espoused in early life, and especially by vigorously opposing their odious propositions relative to the divine efficiency in the production of sin." P. 82. This is very true. And it is true also that he "gained strength, i. e. mitigated the opposition of old Calvinists, by rejecting some other eccentricities, and "odious propositions," that excited great repugnance in New England, among men like President Stiles, and among those Presbyterians who had rejoiced to welcome the elder Edwards to their bosoms, and whose successors now feel honoured with the custody of his precious dust. It is further true, that it was not Edwardean theology, but Hopkinsianism, Emmonsism, and Taylorism, that awakened the repugnance felt in the Presbyterian Church to that variable and uncertain thing called New England theology. The doctrine that moral character attaches not merely to acts, but to the antecedent dispositions or principles, whence those acts flow, is radical in old Calvinism, and the general theology of the Church. In regeneration, says Dr. Dwight, "God gives him (the sinner) a new and VIRTUOUS disposition; styled in the Scriptures a new heart; a right spirit; an honest and good heart; the treasure of a good heart; and by several other names of a like import. . . What I intend by this disposition is *the cause, which, in the mind of man, produces all virtuous affections and volitions; the state in which the*

mind is universally possessed of a character, or the tendency, itself, of the mind towards all that which in the character is morally excellent."* As Dr. Dwight is the author of these italics, this statement may be taken as deliberate and emphatic. Indeed, he seizes every opportunity to make his readers feel his abhorrence and contempt for the dogmas of Emmons. Even in regard to that idea which is so common among New England theologians, that love and repentance precede faith, he says it is impossible and unimportant for us to know in what particular order they occur;† while, at the same time, in describing them, he specifies faith first.‡ Unfolding the subject in more practical relations, he says, that of true "obedience, the Scripture informs us, evangelical faith is the genuine spring, and the only spring in the present world;"|| and finally, that "the obedience which precedes the existence of faith, is destitute of any virtuous character."

In regard to the use of the means of grace in seeking salvation, and the prayers of the unregenerate for grace, he most earnestly repudiated the views of the New Divinity men, who shocked the pious, and perplexed inquiring souls, by raising the question in their minds whether it was not wicked to pray before they were conscious of being new creatures. His round common sense, profound practical sagacity, and earnest piety, led him to recoil from ultraisms in the midst of which he was reared. They enabled him to curb the extravagance and narrow the influence of the Emmons party. They conciliated the confidence, and quieted the opposition of the Old-school divines. But this was a triumph of "Edwardean theology," so far as this term is used to designate opinions contrasted with the general theology of the church," by renouncing rather than procuring acceptance for the most obnoxious of those opinions. It is true that in regard to imputation, atonement, and some affiliated points, Dr. Dwight kept on in the track in which he had been educated. Yet he was not wont to be obtrusive upon points in which he differed from standard church theology. He rather softened and rounded the hard, angular

* Dwight's Theology, New Haven edition; Vol. 2. p. 450.

† *Id.* p. 451.

‡ *Id.* p. 355.

|| *Id.* p. 363.

points. Although he took up the doctrine substantially handed down from Edwards, that virtue consists wholly in benevolence and is founded in utility, he rejected its Hopkinsian application. One of his sermons is devoted to proving that seeking our own salvation is not inconsistent with benevolence. His argument against the imputation of Adam's sin, goes strongly to indicate that he had been trained in that school, which, in the language of President Stiles, regarded a few New England divines a "pretty good sufficiency" of theological reading. It is this. "The verb λογίζομαι which is the original word *impute*, denotes originally and always, *to reckon, to count, to reckon to the account of a man, to charge to his account*; but never to transfer moral action, guilt, or desert from one being to another." Vol. i. p. 498. Now, is it necessary to say for the thousandth time, that those who hold to imputation, hold to no transfer of personal qualities, but simply a reckoning them to the account of another as a ground of dealing with him? Is not this a remarkable case of misapprehending a doctrine, and then urging against this misconception the very doctrine itself? Even so, it is above the average arguments against imputation, for it betrays a knowledge of the meaning of the word—a rare circumstance with its impugnors.

While Dr. Dwight, by redeeming the New England theology from some of its objectionable features, as well as by the influence of his eminent piety, sound judgment, and commanding eloquence, quieted opposition to it, still his system differed in several points from the theology of the church, and was destitute of that systematic coherence which, along with its scriptural supports, gives this system its enduring vitality. It was destined to disintegration, and either to be lost in Old Calvinism; or in a development of those portions of it which were antagonistic to the ancient theology, into a more determined and positive antagonism to this theology. Many of the disciples of Dr. Dwight were, in the conflicts of the last quarter of a century, found in the former position. Many more were nearly so, of whom Dr. Griffin may be taken as an example. But another class, of whom the late Dr. Taylor was the most conspicuous leader and representative, developed out of the novel elements previously introduced into New England theology,

with the help of some inventions of their own, what has been known as the New Divinity of the last thirty years.

IV. This scheme advanced beyond any form of the New Divinity that preceded it in four radical points: 1. In asserting the native sinlessness of our race; 2. In asserting the plenary ability of the sinner to renovate his own soul; 3. In asserting self-love, or the desire of happiness, to be the primary cause, and the happiness of the agent the end, of all voluntary action; 4. The inability of God to prevent sin, without destroying moral agency. The proofs of this have so often been laid before our readers, that we need not here consume space in reproducing them. It is to be observed, however, that not all the adherents of the New Divinity who accepted the first two principles, could tolerate the third and fourth. The third, especially, was chiefly confined to Dr. Taylor and his immediate pupils, some of whom, as we have seen, are renouncing it, and even in their eulogies upon him, predicting its universal discredit. And it is still further to be observed, that, as to the other points, many embraced them with various degrees of qualification and allowance. Still, these are the radical principles of the late New Divinity, which has stimulated the conflicts of the last quarter of a century.

It is obvious that the self-love scheme was the product of an extreme reaction from the previous theory, which resolves all virtue into disinterested benevolence, and its affiliated "eccentric theories of resignation," &c. But here, as in many other cases, the opposite of error is not necessarily the truth. The radical error in each case was the taking a part for the whole of virtue, and viewing virtue and vice, not as intrinsically good or evil in their own nature, but only as they are resolved into a means of some higher good beyond themselves, viz. the happiness either of the agent himself, or the universe. These theories, however, are dying out, if not *in articulo mortis*. We wish as much could be said for some of the speculative ethical and theological dogmas to which they have been ancillary.

In regard to native sinfulness, it is susceptible of the clearest proof, that it was asserted by all divines of standing in New England, of whatever school, prior to the era of Taylorism—

particularly by both the Edwardses, Bellamy, Hopkins, Smalley, Emmons and Dwight.* While this was earnestly maintained, the mere denial of imputation caused less alarm and opposition among old Calvinists, although many of them feared, what afterwards came to pass, that the denial of Original Sin altogether would result from this loosening of its foundations. For if the arguments adduced against imputation are admitted as valid, they are still more conclusive against any other ground of the derivation of sin and guilt from Adam. But it was not till the actual appearance of a large party in the church who assailed the doctrine of native sinfulness with perseverance and adroitness, that energetic, extensive, and inexorable opposition was aroused.

The same things substantially may be said of the doctrine of ability, and its attitude before and after the recent New Theology. The New England divines of all classes have asserted, with the general theology of the church, that the sinner's inability is moral, i. e. pertains to the moral nature. They, however, have also asserted, since the time of Edwards, that this *moral inability* was coupled with a *natural ability* to obey the will of God. But, the exercise school excepted, they had uniformly explained themselves to mean by natural ability, that the sinner possesses all the essential *faculties* of humanity, of moral agency, and accountability; that his only inability lies in a corrupt disposition of heart or soul, which is culpable, and being dominant, is invincible by the man himself, or by any power short of sovereign grace. The chief difference between this view and the theology of the church, lay in using the word *ability* to denote the natural relation of man to the requirements of the gospel. It was justly objected to as adapted to perplex plain people, to introduce confusion into questions carefully defined by a scriptural terminology, and to furnish a shelter to the advocates of the Pelagian theory of

* *Instar omnium*, Dwight, who, it will not be claimed, was of a higher tone than the others, on this subject, says: "With these facts in view, we are compelled to one of these conclusions; either that infants are contaminated in their moral nature, and born in the likeness of apostate Adam; a fact irresistibly proved, . . . or that God inflicts these sufferings on moral beings who are perfectly innocent. I leave the alternative to those who object against the doctrine." Vol. i. p. 486.

plenary ability. Still it was borne with until this last result was actually developed, and the most unqualified ability of sinners to change their own hearts was asserted by the school which impugned native sin and guilt, while they sheltered themselves in this convenient distinction of natural and moral ability. Smalley was the most authoritative expounder of this distinction among the distinctive New England divines, before the appearance of the recent New Divinity. He expresses himself thus:

“*Besides all the powers and senses required to constitute man a rational, voluntary, and conscious agent, something further is necessary to his actually performing good works; namely, a good disposition. This we suppose to be radically wanting in mankind, as born of the flesh; and to be the thing created radically anew when any are born of the Spirit. A man will not and cannot act right, as long as he is not so disposed, however capable he may be of willing and acting agreeably to his own mind. . . ‘A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.’*” *Smalley’s Sermons*, Hartford edition, p. 282.

Dr. Dwight’s view is sufficiently evident from what we have already seen to be his doctrine, that a new disposition or relish is communicated in regeneration. “In this (says he) lies the real difficulty of regenerating ourselves, and not in the want of sufficient natural powers; and, so long as this continues, an extraneous agency must be absolutely necessary for our regeneration.” Vol. ii. p. 403. It is very clear from this, and from the whole current of his writings, that however he may have used the term *natural ability*, he meant by it simply the faculties or powers of moral agency, not any actual sufficiency to make ourselves new hearts. And even Emmons, holding that all our volitions are the immediate product of divine efficiency, was compelled to explicate natural ability into harmony with this theory: so that without the agency of God, men are not sufficient for their own regeneration.

Dr. Taylor’s system has been tersely, but as justly as can be done in a brief phrase, styled, “Emmonsism with the divine efficiency part cut off.” That moral quality pertains to exercises only, not to dispositions lying back of and causing them; that

these exercises are from the self-originating power of the will, excluding every other efficient cause within or without the man; that the will is a power of choosing either way, not only as the man is pleased to choose, but the contrary; that hence the sinner is in the most absolute sense able, truly competent to obey God *propriis viribus*; that there is no sinful taint in the human soul prior to the first exercises of intelligent moral agency, (which exercises Emmons regarded as occurring in some rudimental way from birth;) that the will has "power to act despite all opposing power," and defeat the effort of the Almighty to prevent sin in the moral system—these, with the self-love theory, which was an obvious and powerful adjuvant of the sinner's plenary ability, were the salient points of this system. They chiefly, except the last, radiate from and converge in the unqualified power of contrary choice.

With equal means of knowledge, a like desire to do justice, and a not less warm admiration of the genial personal traits, the intellectual acumen, and self-reliance of Dr. Taylor; while we differ from Dr. Dutton in our estimate of the merits of his theology, we recognize as mainly just his statement of this cardinal feature of it, as well as of another already adverted to. He says, in his eulogistic sermon, "The doctrine of human freedom, which he justly [?] defined, not merely and only to do as we will, but also as liberty to will, *power to will either way*, he illustrated, fortified and defended, and carried through all parts of his system of morals and theology." In a foot note he adds, with reference to the statement, "They can if they will," he (Dr. Taylor) used to say, in his terse and strong way, "they can if they wont." Again, Dr. Dutton speaks of the plea of inability which was in vogue when Dr. Taylor entered on the stage, as "with some a natural inability or want of natural power, with others a misnamed [?] moral inability, which differed from the other only in name—in either case a real and total *incompetency* to accept the offers of the gospel." He tells us Dr. Taylor showed that "what God commands man to do, man *can* do." It would be difficult to find language which more completely expresses the doctrine of plenary ability, or more unmistakably affirms that Dr. Taylor took a position on this subject before unknown, even in what

was called New England theology; that, in short, he rejected what this theology meant by moral inability. Is it not strange that the adherents of this class of opinions should claim to be of the Edwardean school, as against those from whom Edwards differed theologically only on the simple point of mediate imputation?

There is one circumstance which may have helped to connect the name of Edwards with speculations alien to his own system. His own son bearing his name, and Hopkins who studied with him, but preëminently the former, gave development and shape to those modifications of theology which he ascribes to Edwards and his followers, and which constituted what was first known as New Divinity in New England. It might very naturally be called Edwardean without any definite reference to the views of the elder Edwards. But the mere fact that some theologians are pupils of others, affords no evidence of unity of doctrine, or even of a catena of continuous derivation. Many who have been trained in the different Theological Seminaries of this country, have proved defenders of principles quite contradictory to those which were taught them. Professor Fisher mentions that Emmons studied with Smalley, as if there were some continuation or derivation of doctrine from one to the other. The most casual reader of the two must be struck with the frequency and point of Emmons's attacks and inuendoes upon his teacher's theology.

There is another circumstance mentioned by Professor Fisher, however, which goes to prove conclusively that the theology of the elder Edwards was distinguished in the public mind from that New Divinity of which his son and Hopkins were representatives. When Dr. Stiles became President of Yale College, the younger Edwards informed him that the great body of the ministers were old Calvinists, and that the New Divinity party to which he belonged was small. In 1756, Dr. Hopkins had said, it numbered only four or five persons. Now it is utterly impossible that at these dates the theology of Edwards should have been that of a small number, or that his writings should not have ranked as of standard excellence among a large portion of those styled by his son, old Calvinists, in distinction from himself. Indeed our author furnishes a key to the whole

relation of Edwards to the successive forms of the New Theology, when he says with great candour and justice, "His theology, however, it cannot be denied, had from the beginning the respect of many who refused to adopt the additions proposed by his disciples." This disposes of one important ground of his alleged complicity with them.

If Edwards's name cannot, without flagrant injustice, be used to sanction the various fleeting systems already considered, which have had currency under the title of New England theology, much less can it be, without inexcusable dishonesty, implicated with still later and looser speculations which sweep away every vestige of the doctrine of native corruption, vicarious atonement, impugn the Trinity, or set the truths recognized by the devout heart in conflict with the judgments and convictions of a sound understanding.

V. Having thus shown the broad and irreconcilable difference between the theology of Edwards, and of the successive parties claiming under him, it remains, in order to complete a just view of the subject, that we show the precise extent of their indebtedness to him. We have seen that he differed from old Calvinism, in holding to the mediate imputation of Adam's sin, and further, that he promulged a peculiar philosophical theory of the nature of virtue, as consisting in *love to being in general*, or benevolence, or devotion to the greatest happiness of the universe. This he designed as a barrier to theories which found religion in mere self-love, and it was applied by him for this purpose, and no further. These two peculiarities might have attracted no special attention, and led to no important results, as has often been the case with occasional eccentric views of great men; aside of the general track of their thinking. In this case, however, it was otherwise. These points were by subsequent divines worked out to their most extreme results, logical and illogical, in reference to the whole circle of doctrine, until they were themselves indeed generally repudiated, but not till they had been made instrumental in undermining many of the most precious truths, which Edwards put forth his chief strength in defending.

In regard to the imputation of Adam's sin, the great problem is to account for what all parties concede to be the corrupt

and degraded condition of our race. All parties having any title to be considered Christian, admit this to be, in some way, due to the sin of Adam. That the Scriptures teach this, does not admit of a show of question. But what is the connection of this estate with Adam's sin? Apparently the Scriptures teach that Adam so acted as the representative of the race that his sin was reckoned to their account and judicially dealt with as such; that they were condemned for it, and hence come into being with that want of rectitude and the divine favour, that consequent inward pollution and subjection to wrath and misery, which are found to be universal. "By the offence of one, judgment come upon all men to condemnation." "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." "The judgment was by one to condemnation, *κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα*." Rom. v. Now if this apparent meaning of the apostle be explained away, it must be because it seems unjust that the sin of one should be so reckoned to the account of others as to subject them to its penal consequences. The first and germinant penal consequence, whence all else flows, is that withdrawment of the divine favour and influence which are the source of all holy principles in the soul, and, in the absence of which, its mere natural principles which are of the essence of human nature, instantly relapse into *ἀταξία* and *ἀνομία*, disorder and lawlessness, the prolific source of all other penal evils. So Edwards represents inherent depravity in its germinating root, in a passage already quoted, and more at large. Vol. ii. pp. 535—7. Now the question is, how shall this privation of divine favour and support, which is in itself so great an evil, and the spring of all other evils which degrade, corrupt, and afflict our race, be accounted for? We say, because we think the Scriptures say, it was a penal visitation for the sin of Adam acting as their federal head. But Edwards, following Stapfer, says, we were in Adam as the branches of a tree in its root, so that his act was literally and physically the act of each of his posterity. In order to sustain this view, he tasks his wonderful metaphysical dexterity in unsettling and confounding our first notions of personal identity. It is of course impossible that a supposition so contradictory to the first truths of reason should stand. Its adherents have always been few. Like Dr. Edward Beech-

er's solution of the present condition of our race, it lacks believers. It has scarcely been heard of since Edwards's day, until its late reproduction by some good brethren, who are trying to restore deeper doctrines than have been current in New-school circles, in a German mould. But while this scheme disappeared, its effects in undermining the Reformed doctrine of imputation remained. The principle that lived after the root-scheme died, is, that our first evil disposition is "not properly a consequence of the imputation of Adam's first sin; nay, it is rather antecedent to it, as it was in Adam himself." *Edwards's Works*, vol. ii. p. 544. The main drift of the arguments and representations of his treatise on Original Sin presupposes, indeed, and often directly expresses the current view of reformed theology. But the principle just quoted outlived and overbore them all, until it leavened the whole lump of New England theology. And its logical and actual consequences were far reaching.

1. If the scriptural representation, that our present state is a penal visitation arising from condemnation for the sin of Adam acting as our divinely appointed representative, be rejected, then, whatever difficulties it involves, they are ten-fold greater on any other hypothesis. If this solution of our deplorable state be rejected, as implying injustice in God, what shall be said of any other hypothesis which makes it a mere sovereign infliction, without any probation on our part either personal or by a fit representative, and without respect to any sin of which it is a punishment? If it is unjust that so dire an evil should be visited in a penal way, must it not, *a fortiori*, be conceded that it is unjust that it should be visited at all? If the doctrine of human corruption will not stand on this basis, much less can it stand on any other. The effect was inevitable; gradually and surely the doctrine of human corruption was attenuated, till the residuum became what it is. First, the exercise scheme of Emmons reduced native sinfulness to so much of it as could be found in the exercises of moral agency at birth. Then it was entirely denied as to the period of life which precedes intelligent moral agency, and the voluntary violation of known law, and as to all dispositions of soul lying back of acts. Then we find Dr. Edward Beecher contending that the present condi-

tion of our race on any theory, old or new, implies monstrous injustice in God, unless we admit what next to none believe, a probation of each individual in a pre-existent state. And finally, Miss Catharine Beecher condemns the whole doctrine of natural corruption, in any form of it, as absurd and monstrous! Such is the terrible crevasse which the denial of the scriptural view of immediate imputation opens upon the whole doctrine of Original Sin and Human Corruption.

2. By denying the imputation of Adam's sin, the nexus between the visitation of evil and sin in moral beings, under the government of God, is broken. This is a great and perilous stride. It reduces the divine administration to the sway of expediency. It accords with the theory that God is governed by a sole regard to happiness or utility, or by mere will, instead of the immutable laws of holiness and justice. It saps the foundation of vicarious atonement, which lies in the necessary bond between sin and penal suffering. It weakens our confidence in the immutable truth and faithfulness of God, if expediency or mere sovereignty of will may be ascendant over them.

3. It is so plain as almost to have precluded question, that the Apostle draws a parallel in Rom. v. between the manner of our ruin by the sin of the first Adam, and of our salvation by the righteousness of the second Adam. It is condemnation by the sin of the former: justification by the obedience of the latter. If the sin of the former condemns us mediately, and only by inducing that inherent sin which is the only real and immediate ground of condemnation, then it follows that the righteousness of the latter justifies us by inducing that inherent righteousness which is the real ground of our justification. If, on the other hand, the sin of Adam procures our condemnation by being immediately reckoned to our account or imputed to us, the righteousness of Christ justifies us in the same way. Thus the whole doctrine of atonement and justification is implicated with that of imputation. The various attenuating processes put upon these doctrines by the younger Edwards and some of his successors down to Dr. Bushnell, show the gradual and ultimate effect of loosening such a stone in the arch of Christian truth as the immediate imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity.

The consequences of Edwards's theory of the Nature of Virtue, have been in some respects coincident with the foregoing, and probably still more extended and pervasive. When virtue was once reduced to the rank of a mere means to the general happiness as something better than itself, and the fall of our race was no longer accounted for by the imputation of Adam's sin, this catastrophe was very naturally accounted for by the theory that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good or happiness. As virtue consists in love to being in general, and God, who is infinitely good, ordained the existence of sin, why did he ordain it unless because it was a necessary means to the good of being in general? This accordingly was the dominant theory of the improvers of theology up to the time of Dr. Taylor. But already the difference between sin and holiness is obliterated, as it must be, sooner or later, on every theory which does not make that difference intrinsic and immutable as the unchangeable holiness of God, which is the first source, standard, and norm of all excellence. What more can holiness be, on this scheme, than "the necessary means of the greatest good?" Is it not far wiser and safer to say in reference to this whole subject of the permission and ordination of sin, "O, the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?" This theory could not stand. Dr. Taylor supplanted it by another still less tolerable, which resulted from the power of contrary choice as held by him; viz. that the existence of sin may be accounted for by God's inability to prevent it in a moral system. Still less will this command any permanent or lasting assent. Is anything too hard for the Lord? Is he dependent on the will of his creatures for the accomplishment of his pleasure? We know not why sin exists. But we do know that it is not lack of goodness or of power to prevent it in God. Even so Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight!

It scarcely needs to be pointed out that this conception of sin as the necessary means of the greatest good, was auxiliary to Emmons's theory, that God is just as much the efficient cause

of sinful as of holy exercises in man. It in fact subverts the radical distinction between them.

The natural rebound from the disinterested-benevolence, or love-to-being-in-general theory, to the self-love theory of the later New Divinity has already been set forth. The bearing of this latter, especially when coupled with the power of contrary choice, upon regeneration, conversion, and experimental religion is too patent to need explanation.

The connection of this theory, that all goodness consists exclusively in benevolence or a regard for the greatest happiness of the universe, with the scheme of the younger Edwards and his successors on the Atonement, is vital and indissoluble. The substance of this scheme is, that distributive justice, or the disposition of God to render to sin its proper desert of evil, is not satisfied by the Atonement. Christ's sufferings and death were not penal, they were not endured by him as the sinner's substitute, standing in his law-place. They were simply an expedient to satisfy general justice, which he defines as a regard to the highest good of the universe, i. e. to satisfy benevolence. In the later forms of stating this theory, Christ's death serves the same purpose in impressing the moral universe with a sense of God's regard for his law, which the eternal punishment of the sinner would have done. It is simply a governmental expedient, not a true proper satisfaction of divine justice. Into the merits of this scheme we cannot now enter. It has already had ample discussion in our pages.

If we have succeeded in executing what we undertook in beginning this article, we have shown that Edwards's theology was, with scarcely a variation, one with Old Calvinism, and at war with all those successive forms of New Divinity which have been so industriously and adroitly linked with his name; and that the early forms of the New England Theology "as contrasted with the general theology of the church," developed by his son, and others, differ from his system on cardinal points, while they themselves differ widely from the later forms of New Divinity.

On the other hand, we have tried to show in what sense and degree one or two eccentricities of his theology and philosophy,

afterwards lifted to extreme prominence, exerted an influence in promoting developments of doctrine at war with the system he spent his life in promulgating and defending. These are not the offspring of his system, but have been aided by one or two eccentric theories outside of his system. We hope we have succeeded in shedding some light on a subject which has come, from various causes, to be enveloped in great and increasing obscurity. We feel indebted to Professor Fisher for the aid which his facts and his candid statement of them have afforded us, although we do not always put his construction upon them. And we leave the subject with a new strength of conviction, that the system of theology known as Old Calvinism, and developed in the Reformed and especially the Westminster symbols, has a depth of truth, a logical consistency, and a scriptural support, which will enable it to outlive the future, as it has the past assaults and alleged improvements attempted upon any of its marked and characteristic features.*

* Since this article was written, we have received the sermon of Dr. Cleveland of New Haven, preached on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement there. He says, in reference to what is known as New Haven Divinity, or Dr. Taylor's scheme, "The enthusiasm felt here a quarter of a century ago for the then recent scheme of theology has greatly abated. New parties have arisen, contending for new issues. The current of theologic opinion and speculation is seeking other channels, and assuming other phases. In this process of disintegration and reconstruction, some have fallen back on positions more in sympathy with the older theology, and into a style of preaching less rationalistic and more scriptural; while others are pushing their investigations in the opposite direction," &c.

ART. II.—*The Old Regime and the Revolution.* By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Translated by John Bonner. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

On Civil Liberty and Self-Government. By FRANCIS LIEBER, LL.D. 2 vols. Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. Philadelphia. 1852.

IN this article, we propose to offer some considerations on political science. By political science, we mean that system of doctrines which, in practice, by means of institutions, secures civil liberty to a people. We shall therefore exclude what is called political economy from our view; though it is a branch of what is usually embraced in the name, *political science*. We are thus explicit about what we mean by political science, in order that there shall be no cavil about our definition.

A new civilization, fundamentally different from that of Asia, began in Europe. Its first phase opened in Greece. A beauty in art, a refinement in literature, an intuition in philosophy appeared, which betokened that humanity had stepped up higher in the career of progress. This the Greeks fully realized in their national consciousness. And in nothing did they more intensely feel their superiority to the Asiatics, than in the spirit and forms of their governments and laws. As the Greeks never speak of Asiatic thought but to contrast it as error in illustrating truth, so Asiatic political institutions are only spoken of to illustrate free governments by the contrast. True to this spirit, Aristotle, in his *Politics*, speaks of "the cruel institutions of the Persian monarchs," and concludes his enumeration of the maxims of tyranny by calling them Persian and barbarian. The history of more than two thousand years has proved that the Greeks were not mistaken in thinking that they had begun a higher civilization. Overlooking, therefore, the politics of Asia, as effete, we will confine our observations to the politics which began in Greece, for the purpose of seizing the truths of political science which European history has

developed. In order to do this, it will be necessary to notice the successive writers who have contributed to the sum of political doctrine.

The political writings of Plato have been shown, by Aristotle, to be worthless; being speculative and not confined to experience. They promulge the grand heresy of communism. On the other hand, Aristotle confines his views of politics to experience, and deals with the science of government in the spirit of a statesman. His theory of the origin of government is as satisfactory as any which has been propounded by modern writers. To his theory, political science has added no new light, much less given any better doctrine. The opinion that all legitimate government is founded only in contract; whether giving an unlimited power to government, according to Hobbes; or a conditional power, according to Locke; or only a temporary special power, granted by an immediate particular vote of each individual, according to Rousseau, was ignored by Aristotle. He made government an institution of nature, founded on the necessities of human condition, and springing up independent of choice or design. Its germ is the family, which springs out of the involuntary instincts that form the combining principle between male and female. "A commonwealth (says Aristotle) is not less congenial to human nature, than the association of a family or village. It is the goal to which all preceding associations tend; and the perfection of civil society, being the matured state of man, is like the perfection of every other progressive object, that stage of his existence which peculiarly ascertains, characterizes, and essentiate his nature. Whoever, therefore, is unfit to live in a commonwealth, is above or below humanity. Such a wretch can only delight in carnage—a solitary, ravenous vulture."

Political society is, therefore, according to Aristotle, "an institution prior, in the intention of nature, to the families and individuals from which it is constituted." Man is born into the protection and under the dominion of political society, with his individual rights and duties in the state, just as he is born into the protection and under the dominion of his parents, with his individual rights and duties in the family. He has no more choice in the one condition of his birth than the other.

According to this view of the origin of government, Aristotle approaches politics through ethics. Having determined what are the rules which should govern individuals and families in performing the private duties which spring out of the domestic relations in which nature has placed man, he proceeds to consider the rules which ought to govern men in the public duties that spring out of their relations to the commonwealth. In doing this, he determines the nature and the end of government. "The general end of the political partnership (says Aristotle) is the well-being of the partners. Men associate together and unite their efforts, that the operations of the whole community may terminate as nearly as possible in the happiness of each individual citizen."

From this view of the nature and end of government, it is at once seen, that right and duty are its two foundation stones. The principle, by which government is kept poised on these foundation stones of right and duty, is justice. Accordingly, Aristotle says: "But justice is the fundamental virtue of political society; and since the order of society cannot be maintained without law, laws are instituted to declare what is just."

As laws cannot originate or execute themselves, it becomes necessary that there shall be some kind of government or authority to enact laws and to enforce them. Here then emerges the question, What is the best form of government to secure the end of political society, which we have determined is justice, and justice is an equipoise between right and duty? It is to this question that this article shall be confined, passing by the question of political ethics, or the equipoise between political right and duty, with the single remark, that Aristotle has, here and there in his treatise on politics, discussed political ethics with ability and truth.

In practical statesmanship, the question as to the origin of government is absurd; nor does political ethics require an answer to the question. As we have seen, government originates in the necessities of man—is imposed on him by nature, while its particular form may be modified by the will of the community. In some form or other it must exist. Anarchy is against the will of God, as well as the instinct of man. And governments *de facto* are not often far from being *de jure*, i. e.

best suited to the people over whom they are established. The only question, therefore, for political science, is, *What is the best form of government for man in the highest stage of civilization?* and for practical statesmanship, *What is the best form of government for a particular people?* These questions Aristotle has discussed with as much success as the political experience of his time rendered possible. He was only on the threshold of those experiments in the more rational and comprehensive governments of Europe, which have, since his time, presented in history such terrible struggles between rulers and the ruled.

The comparatively petty republics of Greece soon perished; and by the very means which Aristotle had, with profound forecast, pointed out as the causes of the decay of states; leaving behind them, however, the priceless riches of their literature and art, to attest to all after nations, that the Greeks had once been free. The Greeks attained only to what may be called the city government. The rural population were not citizens, or, in Aristoteleic language, were not political partners. They were under the irresponsible dominion of the city population. This form of polity is doomed to short life. It dies of over action, resulting in paralysis.

Next rose up in history, out of the congregated plundering tribes of Italy, the august polity of Rome, combined in all its strength to carry those ravages of warfare against other nations, which its barbarian ancestors had waged against each other as separate hostile tribes. In the political conflicts which emerged out of the different rights claimed by the contending tribes which came to constitute the Roman people, a peculiar polity was gradually built up, strongly republican in its best estate, but finally terminating in an imperial despotism. It might be anticipated, that a polity which its own people fabled to have drawn its first nurture from the milk of wolves, and which, even in its highest civilization, still breathed the spirit of violence, and war, and plunder, would at last turn its hostilities upon itself, and be driven to seek repose for its exhausted energies in the despotic rule of a master. But in the destroying peace of despotism the Roman state consummated the great work of its destiny. Out of the ruder jurisprudence of

the Republic, the lawyers of the imperial times, under the influence of the equitable doctrines of Christianity, constructed a system of law, which, if thrown into the scale of civilization, will equal in value to humanity the precious literature of Greece. But Rome, though she developed many elements of an enduring polity, still did not get beyond the type of the city government. The principle of representative government had not yet been evolved as the basis of a broader polity. Rome, therefore, perished of that mortality which was inherent in its polity.

The next practical scene, which opens in the dissolving views of European history, is the whole people encamped, as it were, in the feudal system, a political organization framed chiefly with reference to war, by barbarous races that had overrun Europe, and thrown down the decayed government of Rome. This uniform polity, based upon individual relations cemented by dependent interests in land, out of the profits of which both the owner and the tiller lived, became the bases of those covenants which now exist over Europe. In the formation of modern European governments, the feudal system may be considered in conjunction with the Roman towns established here and there during Roman rule, as furnishing the element of local self-government, rural and urban. And out of these sprung the principle of representation in the national governments, which gradually emerged from the broad bosom of modern society. Individuality had been so strongly developed in these local governments, that they could not be fused into one population without resistance. Representation in the national government was the legitimate political result.

In the civilization out of which modern governments have emerged, a wider and a deeper politics is presented to the philosopher. It is out of the experience, and beyond the scope of the political science of Aristotle. New elements, and consequently new political arrangements and organizations have appeared in the widening progress of civilization.

In this political cycle, the first great writer on politics is Machiavel. Born in Italy at the transition period between the ancient and the present politics, and at a time of extraordinary general corruption, and in a country especially corrupt in that corrupt time, and in a petty Repub-

lie amidst other petty Republics, the struggling victims of alternately Papal and Imperial despotism, Machiavel propounded, in a system, the political ethics of his age. It is the extreme ethics of political self-preservation for states struggling for existence. And after all the allowances which an indulgent criticism can make, the doctrines of Machiavel must be condemned as a code of deceit, of which the chief corner-stone is the base doctrine, that the end justifies the means. Religion, morals, and liberty are recognized as really better than their opposites; and as they are sacred in the eyes of mankind, rulers should, as a matter of policy, always seem to respect them, though state necessity justifies a disregard of them, is the fundamental doctrine of Machiavel. In his discourses on the first ten books of Livy, he shows, that he prefers a government with a preponderant democratic element, and a system of laws; but in his Prince he propounds a political ethics by which the interest of the Prince is the great good in politics, and his will the supreme law. On the subject of the organization of governments and subordinate institutions, the writings of Machiavel treat only incidentally and superficially.

We will now come down, several centuries further, to a writer near our own times. No one can be familiar with the progress of the science of politics in modern Europe, who has not studied the "Spirit of Laws" by Montesquieu. Montesquieu was amongst the first to signalize the importance of a separation between the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government; and he selects the British as a model of a free government, and points out its excellences in a more enlightened spirit than any previous continental writer. But highly as we esteem Montesquieu, we must consider him as having betrayed a want of political sagacity in failing to see that, in the mixed politics of Europe, the aristocracy is more nearly allied with the people in the development of free institutions, than with the crown in upholding monarchy. Lord Bacon, in those marvellously profound essays of his, a century and a half before Montesquieu, had said: "A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty." Montesquieu taught a doctrine the opposite of this,

which we shall see, in the sequel, proved by the histories of France and England, is a fatal heresy.

We now come to the nineteenth century, which forms a new cycle in politics. A new polity has been formed in America, based on the principles of government and the institutions which had been developed in the progress of European civilization. The two works at the head of this article have been produced in this political cycle, and are the most important contributions which have been made to political science during the century. Indeed, the work of Lieber is the most important, if we consider the number and the value of the political truths which it teaches and the ability with which they are discussed, that has been contributed to any century. Both works belong to the same school—the school which opposes centralism, and contends for local self-government through institutions organized as living members of one general polity over the territory occupied by a nation. In the mere literary art of luminous and animated expression, and of symmetrical form in composing a treatise, we give a decided preference to De Tocqueville before Lieber. But as a political philosopher, comprehensive in his knowledge of the literatures of history and of politics, and of the practices of governments; and profound in understanding the guaranties of liberty, and the institutions and arrangements of governments for their protection; and sagacious in knowing the instincts and schemes and artifices of despotism, Lieber stands far in advance of De Tocqueville. The work of the latter, at most, can only be considered a supplement to that of the former. It merely exhibits, with great force it is true, the evidences of the means by which institutional local government was overthrown in France, and an imperial central despotism was at first gradually, and at last by a terrible popular insurrection, established in its stead. There is not a political idea, much less a principle of political science propounded by De Tocqueville which Lieber had not before announced in his “Civil Liberty.” Still, as exhibiting the march of absolutism, and its devices and strategy, over the provincial institutions of France, De Tocqueville has supplied what Lieber’s work, from its scope, is deficient in, and perhaps

so deficient, as to need a more detailed exposure of the steps in the march of centralism.

De Tocqueville, twenty years ago, gave us the initial of the work now before us, in his "Democracy in America." In that work he signalized his preference for institutional local self-government over absolutism; and indicated in many passages the pregnant fact, that the kings of France had levelled all orders to their rule. "In France, the kings," says De Tocqueville, "have always been the most active and constant levellers. When they were strong and ambitious, they spared no pains to raise the people to the level of the nobles; when they were temperate or weak, they allowed the people to rise above themselves. Some assisted the democracy by their talents, others by their vices. Louis XI. and Louis XIV. reduced every rank beneath the throne to the same position; Louis XV. descended himself and all his court into the dust." The friends of absolutism, who maintain that government is established not for freedom but for administration, with a view to make the centralized power in France popular, maintain that it was one of the innovations of the Revolution. It is to disabuse the French people of this delusion, that De Tocqueville has written this book. He goes back to an early period, and shows that the political institutions of France, and Germany, and England, were once alike. Their political assemblies were formed out of the same elements, and organized on the same plan. Their communities were divided into the same classes. Their nobles possessed the same privileges. Their municipal institutions were the same. Their rural districts were governed in the same manner. And their governments were administered on the same maxims. "In the fourteenth century," says De Tocqueville, "*no tax without the consent of the taxed*, appears to be as firmly established in France as in England. It was frequently quoted; to contravene it always seemed an act of tyranny; to conform to it was to revert to the law. At that period, as I have already remarked, a multitude of analogies may be traced between the political institutions of France and England: but then the destinies of the two nations separated, and constantly became more unlike as time advanced. They resemble two

lines starting from contiguous points at a slight angle, which diverge indefinitely as they are prolonged." The whole aim of De Tocqueville's book is to account for this divergence of the politics of England and France, and especially to show how the monarchs of France, simply by obeying the instinct of all governments to take the management of affairs, by encroachment after encroachment through successive ages, obtained the surrender of all local government, by superseding the local officers, both judicial and administrative, by its own agents. De Tocqueville has shown all this with amazing copiousness of proof. But, though he does all that is required for the special end he had in view, he does not look back far enough into the history, nor deep enough into the foundations of European institutions, to satisfy the demands of political science in ascertaining the directing and modeling causes of the French polity, and of the wide divergence between it and that of England, which were once so nearly alike. We will endeavour to indicate these causes; and in so doing, truths will be elicited that will throw light upon the work of Lieber, and give point to the criticism on it, which we purpose to make in the sequel.

At the downfall of the Roman Empire, there were two great antagonist influences operative in moulding the future politics and governments of the European nations that were to be formed out of the peoples who had spread over the countries once subdued by Rome. These influences were the Roman civil code, and the rude customs of the Teutons, with their peculiar half-formed institutions, administrative, legislative, and judicial. The Teutonic spirit was more fully exemplified by the Saxons in England than by any other family of the race. Therefore, we will take as our proofs the evidences of that spirit furnished in the codes and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons.

It is only in their *political* bearings that we shall examine the Roman and the Teutonic laws. In this view, the fundamental text of the Imperial Roman code is, "The will of the Prince has the force of law." On the other hand, the elective chieftains of the Germanic tribes, we are told by Tacitus, governed "by dint of persuasion rather than by the power of

command." And in the preamble to one of the Saxon codes, the king is said to make the enactments by the advice of the wise men; "for that he durst not attempt to do otherwise." The great contest in modern European politics has been between the law as an independent organism, and the will of the Prince. The Teutonic spirit has, as its chief political aim, striven to organize justice in such a way as to make the law supreme. This aim is the grand *epos* of English history.

With Alfred began the establishment of a native common law, for the monarchy of England, formed out of the various local customs which prevailed before the West Saxons swallowed up the lesser polities. In subsequent times this law was considered the birthright of the people. The Norman conquest shook somewhat the supremacy of this law. But this supremacy was fully established by the will of the nation politically exerted in Magna Charta. And this charter, so rich in the guaranties of civil liberty, was afterwards ratified thirty times by the successive English kings, at successive demands of the nation. But the nobles having been weakened by the wars of the Roses, and Henry VII. having united the houses of York and Lancaster, his successor, Henry VIII., thought his crown so secure, that he strove to make his prerogative supreme, and his will law. But Lord Chancellor Gardner, when consulted by Henry as to whether his will was law, told the king—"I have read of kings that had their will always received for law, but the form of your majesty's reign, to make the law your will, is more sure and quiet, and by this form of government you are established; and it is agreeable with the nature of your people. If you begin a new manner of policy, how it may frame no man can tell." But the Stuarts brought to the throne of England a spirit more after the Roman Imperial law than even the Tudors. They undertook to delegate judicial functions to extraordinary courts, and to make law by proclamations. And when James I. inquired of his judges, as is the practice of the English government in matters of law, whether he could not, as sovereign, administer laws in his own person, Lord Coke, with the assent of all the other judges, told him that it was contrary to law for the king to administer law in his own person, and that the king was under the law. At last

the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights established on still firmer foundations the supremacy of the law.

But it was the law itself, as an independent organism developed by its own vigorous spirit, that maintained its supremacy, sometimes even against Parliament itself. From first to last, through the courts at Westminster, the common law resisted the encroachments of the civil law and the canon law, and even a long time contested the establishment of equity. At the very time when the Tudors and the Stuarts were reaching after high prerogative, the common law was maturing its vigour in the courts. Coke, one of their judges, did more to develop and organize it for the protection of individual freedom than any other man in English history. In him the professional instinct of the common law judge reached its sublimest sense of human right. And when he declared, that Parliament itself had no authority to enact laws against natural justice, he but foreshadowed the principle which the spirit of the common law has incorporated into the American constitutions, clothing the judiciary with authority to declare a statute unconstitutional. The English constitution is built upon the common law, is, in fact, only its fuller growth, and draws its whole life from the living roots that spring out of the sturdy hearts of the Saxon tribe, the freest family of the Teutons.

The national progress of France has been in a wholly different path. Though Teutonic feelings, and principles, and institutions prevailed so far as to have produced in the fourteenth century, a polity similar to that of England in the same century, yet the Imperial Roman element gradually prevailed and gained strength with the progress of empire. As soon as the Frankish nobles began to give up their political duties in participating in the government, as De Tocqueville shows they did, and jurists began to take a share in administration, the king of France very soon became, in the professional theory of lawyers, and gradually in the eyes of the people, the Princeps of the Roman code whose will is law. So completely had this sentiment pervaded France at an early period, that Houard, a Norman lawyer, in translating the work of Bracton on the laws of England, written in the reign of Henry III., which asserts the supremacy of the law over the king's will, avowedly

suppressed the passage as too inconsistent with French constitutional law to be circulated in France. And Fortesque, the Chancellor of Henry VI., in his treatise, "In Praise of the Laws of England," written while he was exiled in France, contrasts the free institutions of England with the then despotism of France. And this contrast, so favourable to English institutions, has from early times been made by such French writers as Philippe de Commenes and Montesquieu, and since the revolutions of the past and the present century, by the Remusats, and Montalemberts, and above all, by De Tocqueville.

But here the question arises, Why did the Roman element root out the Teutonic from French polity? The answer is, in a great degree, to be found in ethnological considerations. The Gauls, who constituted the great mass of the population of France were a Celtic race. Their character is given by Cæsar. In the third book of his Commentaries, he speaks of their characteristic fickleness in these words: *Gallorum subita et repentina consilia, the sudden and unexpected counsels of the Gauls*. In domestic morals, especially in the chastity of their women, the Gauls were greatly inferior to the Teutons. They were warlike and fond of show. This population had been long conquered by the Romans and moulded to Romanesque sentiments, before the Franks under Clovis invaded and subdued them. This is shown by the fact that, upon the conversion of Clovis to Christianity, he was at once invested by the provincials with the attributes and powers of a Roman prince; and the laws and customs of the lower empire were brought to support his authority. But the Franks themselves did not recognize this Imperial authority of their chiefs. They became proprietors of large tracts of country, and were soon a landed aristocracy. They despised the Gauls as beneath them in blood: and consequently did not intermarry with them. The Franks became, too, the military portion of the population; and not even the great military and administrative genius of Charlemagne could build up a consolidated empire over these still sturdy Teutons. The family of Charlemagne passed away. The country was formed into some sixty feudal states. The laws of these states were, to a very great extent, derived

from the Roman code, as the sixty collections of the *Pays Coutumiers of France* show. But, from causes not necessary to narrate, the monarchy again sprung up. And now the Frankish nobility became idle and dissipated; and as they held themselves entirely aloof from the people, they lost all sense of their feudal obligations to them, and abandoned to the king and his emissaries the entire administration of government even in the rural districts, while as feudal lords they levied on the people all the feudal exactions. Indeed, this nobility had the baseness to allow the people to be taxed on condition that themselves should be exempt. Hence grew up an animosity of the people for the nobles only equalled by the contempt of the nobles for the people. The king and his agents also inflamed the hatred of the people more and more, by telling in public documents of this oppression. This separation, from the beginning, between the Frankish and Gallic populations, and the Frankish being the superior, and abandoning their political trust at the turning point in the formation of French polity, has ended in the exclusion of the Frankish nobility from the government of France. And by the Revolution, that Gallic population which had lost all their local institutions by the faithlessness of the nobility, and the despotic aggressions of the crown, came forth to manage their affairs for themselves. And the *Gallorum subita et repentina consilia* of Cæsar, crop out above the surface of French politics in the eight alternate governments which have arisen in France within a lifetime, showing that it is the fickle old Gallic race returned to the theatre of political action, after an unprofitable tutelage of many centuries. The stage in civilization when a nobility can take root has passed for France; and the epauletted and ribboned nobility of the Napoleons is but a parody, a political humbug, which can neither prop a throne nor lead a people. The true nobility of France, born when it was a legitimate birth in the order of progress, lies buried, for its misdeeds, under the lava of the Revolution, never to be restored to political life. If the French are ever to be free, it must be without the aid of this institution no longer possible in its society. "The prejudice of a nobility is a thing that cannot be made. It may be improved, it may be corrected, it may be

replenished; men may be taken from it or aggregated to it, but the thing itself is matter of inveterate opinion, and therefore cannot be matter of positive institution."

In contrast with this, the Saxon population of England was the most Teutonic of the Teutons, and came from that part of Germany where Roman influence never reached. And their Norman conquerors were also Teutons, and after a few generations intermarried with the Saxons, and both soon formed one people, and established for themselves one common liberty in Magna Charta. Henceforward, the free spirit of the Saxons became the chief formative influence in English institutions. The nobles were no longer, if they ever were, a mere caste founded on blood, but were a political division of the people; the eldest son only being noble and all others commoners; and the nobility being constantly recruited, by the ordinary practice of the government, from the commons, as a reward of merit. From these ties of blood and of interest between the nobles and the people, neither class was liable to oppression, and respect for law became a part of English character. The nobles, therefore, from the first led the people in building up free institutions for their common benefit.

Having now considered the chief points suggested by the work of De Tocqueville that bear on the science of politics, we have prepared the way to consider intelligently the work of Lieber. Lieber is a man who stands on the altitudes of history and not on a mere political platform. His work is therefore based upon the grand memories of the past, and not upon the shifting politics of a day. Most political writers have looked at political life from one point of view, that of their own times. But Lieber has looked at it from every point presented in each successive cycle of human progress; and has not only appreciated the results of the working of the various institutions, but has noted the growth and the mutations, from age to age, of the institutions. From these two considerations he has ascertained from the successes and the failures of nations, what are the guaranties of civil liberty. If, therefore, Lieber, like the great French writers just now mentioned, finds the great guaranties of liberty in the institutions of the Anglican tribe, it is because history so teaches. When Lieber there-

fore, in expounding the guaranties of civil liberty, for the most part only comments upon English and American institutions, his work is not thereby reduced from the comprehensiveness of science to a specialty. Political science is based on experience; and that experience is the political life of nations. So when Lieber expounds the institutions of despotism, he comments upon such as all despotic nations have possessed as their distinguishing feature. But in the true scientific spirit, Lieber brings, to his expositions of principles, all the resources of abstract reasoning; well knowing and, indeed, so declaring, that all progress is founded both on historical development and abstract reasoning. While, therefore, Lieber lights the torch of science at no lights but those of experience, he adds to it that prescience of reason which is to direct the statesman's forecast into the future. All true science has in it a contribution from the resources of the mind itself in its own forethought of what the past foreshadows. Without this purely intellectual basis science is impossible; and what would stand in the stead of science, would be only the rehearsal of consecutive facts once transpired but indicating nothing to come.

As, in tracing the course of political life through its successive cycles, we have noted the causes which have moulded the institutions of both freedom and despotism, and have pronounced as the one prime condition of civil liberty, *the supremacy of the law*, it may be anticipated that Lieber has recognized this principle as the basis of political science. He has done so. He has, too, shown, as we have already intimated, that the principle has received its highest development in America. In our federal as well as in our State constitutions, the judiciary is clothed with authority to declare an Act of Congress and of the State legislatures unconstitutional. This is emphatically an American contribution to political science. But the courts cannot by a general dictum or proclamation declare the law void, but by deciding upon its validity in some case between parties in which the law is involved. In republican governments like those of our States, but especially in a federal one like our general government, involving a great diversity of widely separated local interests, and where the relative populousness of the different States

is different, and yet the votes of the States are equal in one branch of the legislature, it would be impossible to preserve civil liberty without this guaranty. In times of great emergency in political strife, the legislature would enact laws which, by repeated enactments in the same direction, would undermine the constitution. But in order to secure the supremacy of the law, every department of government must be organized in submission to it. The executive must be so confined within its own administrative sphere, and so subordinated to the constitution, as to be unable to interfere with the enactment of laws, except by a qualified veto; and with the judicial application of the law, only in favour of mercy, by a cautiously guarded pardoning power. The legislature must be confined within the limits of only making law: and it must so far represent the nation as to speak its deliberate will, instructed and formed by means of the free institutions organized over the whole country. But above all, the judiciary must be independent of all external influence, holding its office free from executive, legislative, and popular control, as well as clothed with the authority to decide upon the constitutionality of the enactments of the legislature.

But the mere supremacy of the law, unless the law embodies the guaranties of civil liberty, cannot ensure free government. The law may be a bloody code; and may be unequal in its impositions and exactions. Lieber has therefore inquired into the guaranties of civil liberty, proved to be such by history. A free press, free speech, publicity in legislation, and especially in judicial proceedings, are amongst the most vital guaranties of liberty. Truth is powerful in deterring tyrants, as well as in rousing the governed to a sense of right and of wrong. And in the conflict with either written or spoken falsehood or error, truth is an antagonist fitted by nature to gain the victory. All of intelligent life must rest on this principle. With this free communication of thought, any injustice done can be wafted over the land, rousing the sympathy of the national heart into determined wrath against the oppressor.

The *habeas corpus*, by which a citizen, confined for any cause, can demand to be brought before a judge and have the cause of his detention inquired into, and if not warranted by

law, can be set at liberty, is another indispensable guaranty of liberty. This is the great writ by which the kings of England were baffled in their attempts to have persons punished for political offences. These attempts were a covert mode of making their will law. But by this great writ, in one form or other, in the hands of the courts, the subject effectually resisted the encroachments of the crown. The writ is, in all forms of government, indispensable to freedom.

But, in our judgment, the greatest guaranty of liberty, and the most important institution ever framed by man, if indeed man can be said to have framed that which grew out of the seeds of self-government, that were sowed in the first embryo arrangements of Saxon government, is the trial by jury. Without this institution England never could have developed her liberties. It is the great business and political school of the people, qualifying them for self-government. It connected the administration of the law, which in early times was in the hands of the nobles, with the people. In the courts, the people were represented as well as in the legislature. The nobles and the people were thus knit together in the whole polity. The reason why the imperial law was so effectual in making the will of the Prince supreme, was that the imperial courts and their practice without the jury went along with the law itself. It was "*the frame and ordinary course of the common law*," its modes of procedure, that insured in English courts a law so favourable to civil liberty. The mode of procedure was worth as much as the principles of the law; the last being useless without the first. At no time did jury trial or any thing like it exist in France. The nobility and people were too far asunder. If there had been sympathy enough between the people and the nobles to have permitted jury trial to grow up, such an institution by its working might have knit together the two classes into a polity like that of England, and have preserved the local self-government and the provincial liberties. For in England the legal constitution preceded the political; in fact, the constitution grew out of the law.

The trial by jury is the best possible means for ascertaining facts in disputes at law. The transactions of every day constitute the best discipline to qualify men for judging of

the force and meaning of ordinary facts, and particularly of the fact of malice in criminal trials. Before such a tribunal as a jury, it is impossible that facts can get into anything like technicality—fall under rules of artificial construction—which they would do in time before the same judges sitting in cases where the same combination of facts is constantly recurring. The very diversity in thought, in knowledge, and in sentiment of the members of the jury, with the superintending vigilance of the court, insures a more thorough sifting of the facts than any other possible form of tribunal. And we believe that the unanimity principle is more efficacious in getting their collective wisdom, than that of any less number. We therefore enter our strong dissent from the opinion of Lieber, that the unanimity principle is a traditionary absurdity, being in fact only an accident in the formation of the jury, which has been retained as one of its essential virtues. We confess to the creed, that what have been mere accidents so far as man's agency is concerned, are often wise orders of Providence. And this is emphatically so in regard to the unanimity principle, and perhaps the number twelve of the jury, just as it is in regard to the two houses of a legislature, rather than any larger number. The expediency of both has been determined by experience, though hard to be justified by abstract reasoning.

Of course freedom of worship, as Lieber justly prefers to call it, is an indispensable liberty. Here the great law of freedom seeks to connect earth with heaven. And for man to interfere, except by teaching the truth, is to substitute might for right, which is the essence of tyranny.

Many other guaranties of liberty pointed out by Lieber we must pass by, and consider only one more.

The legislature is the chief guaranty of liberty, and is the department which especially distinguishes a free government. The absolutists, by way of ridicule, call the English a Parliamentary government. They view Parliaments as mere hindrances to administration. Their debates they consider intolerable loquacity. And well they may, when they read such a passage as that uttered by Chatham, in regard to general warrants, "Every man's house is called his castle. Why?

Because it is surrounded by a moat, or defended by a wall? No! It may be a straw-built hut; the wind may whistle around it, the rain may enter it, but the king can not."

It must be admitted as no longer a matter of speculation, but as well established by political experience, that a legislature of two houses is its proper form. As this bicameral form of legislature is so important a principle in political science, we will look into the genesis of it in England. Immediately after the Norman conquest, the nobles, then called barons, were purely a governing order. They were barons by tenure, and their dignity was territorial. To have so much land was to be a baron. These barons held courts, and governed within their domains. The king, at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, consulted with the barons on home affairs and foreign wars. None but these barons by tenure and the prelates had the right to attend these great councils. Such was the first form of aristocracy, and of legislative council after the conquest.

In the mutations of empire, this baronage by tenure was substituted by baronage by writ. About the beginning of the thirteenth century the king obtained the right to call to his great council only such persons as he chose to summon; so that the writ of summons, without proof of baronage by tenure, came to constitute evidence of a lord of Parliament. The lords of Parliament were now called peers. At this stage of its growth, the English nobility began to assume that mixed character which, as heretofore shown, distinguished it from that of France. Families which, for a generation or so, became baronial by being summoned to Parliament, relapsed into mere gentry by the discontinuance of the summons. And the moneyed interest began to insinuate itself into the landed organization; for in 1366, Michael de la Pole, the son of a great merchant, was summoned to Parliament, and in 1385 was made Earl of Suffolk.

And now another mode of creating peers began to be practised. In October, 1387, Richard II. created one of the Beauchamps a peer by letters patent. And this became the established mode of creating peers. In all this time the nobility was the highest type of the manhood of the country, and the

leaders of the lower orders. The wars of the Roses weakened the nobility; and new men and families rose to political power. The law and trade became more and more regular sources of nobility; and the foundation of the Whig aristocracy was laid, which has acted so important a part in English history.

The rise and progress of the House of Commons as it is now consolidated in English polity, has been as gradual as that of the House of Lords. It was the practice of the Crown from early times, in any matter of public importance, to summon those who were more particularly interested or acquainted with the subject, and get their advice. A custom, so in accordance with the institutional spirit of the nation, led to the clause in Magna Charta, requiring knights of the shire to be summoned by the king to the great council. In 1265 De Monfort summoned, in the king's name, a representation from the boroughs. Thus the House of Commons came to consist of knights of the shire and burgesses. From the reign of Charles II., Parliament has been the chief power of the government, and the Commons the preponderant House. The power of the purse, based on the principle that the Crown cannot lay a tax, has drawn after it all other power. The government of England is theoretically founded on the broadest basis that is consistent with the proper influence of intelligence, property and rank. Under its protection, humanity has certainly reached a high eminence in history. Nowhere else in the old world, has stability and progress been so fully established.

History is the great precedent. The Parliament of England having grown into two houses as we have described, and in all the struggles of political life, having kept the polity on the corner-stones of right and duty, had assumed the fixedness of an ideal type in the political instinct of the Anglican race. The American colonies, therefore, instinctively formed legislatures after the same model. The provincial polity of counties had been adopted in the colonies, and furnished a territorial basis for one House, while population furnished the basis for the other. The great political ideas, formed under the influence of monarchy and aristocracy, were now laid at the foundation of a future Republic. The Anglican race, in their

career of progress, seek to establish a still nobler polity in a new world.

In the order of history, thirteen separate States had been formed in North America. The irresistible forces of history had severed these States from England. It was manifest, that without union among themselves they must soon perish. In the war with the mother country, a common interest had caused them to form a league. But very short trial proved that this loose bond did not answer the end of a permanent government. History furnished no precedent, deemed by our ancestors to be exactly suited to the new polity, which seemed to them to be needed for this new political crisis in history. They had, therefore, to resort to that prescience of reason which reaches beyond the present. Abstract reasoning had to yield its contribution to the development of history. The grand scheme was conceived, of organizing the separate States into one representative republic, embracing all the guaranties of civil liberty then known to man, and having a principle of expansion which should extend these guaranties to every new polity which might arise in all the future of America, by bringing new States into the Union. This grand political fabric our forefathers succeeded in rearing. It breathes the spirit of Gothic architecture, grand, complex, and unlimited. For the first time in politics, the principle of representation in a legislature of two branches was applied to a confederation of States. This is the great American contribution to the science of free government. It was the boldest political contrivance ever conceived by man. Through it civil liberty can be guarantied to a larger nationality than has appeared in all past history. Already, these guaranties are afforded to a people bounded by two oceans and by distant parallels of latitude stretching across a continent. Under its vast shield, the States are by a coöperative action developing a higher civilization than has yet illustrated the goodness of Providence and the dignity of man. The form of government which had been developed by monarchy and aristocracy, and perhaps could only have been developed by them, has been animated with the democratic spirit, and so successfully applied to a pure republic, that Americans, while feeling that they are a new people,

realize in their national consciousness, that they are the great Anglican tribe struggling to act out, on a still nobler theatre, the *epos* of freedom.

Every legislature must be based upon the two great principles of stability and progress. Legislation must be both permanent and changing. The change must, however, be the change of development and not of abrogation. There must be continuity. In the past are the seeds of the future. To this end, one branch of the legislature must rest upon a longer, and the other upon a shorter term of office. The former will represent the opinion of the country at an earlier day, the latter that of the present. The conservatism of the former will moderate the impulse of the latter; and the impulse of the latter will revivify the conservatism of the former. This polity based in nature itself, and therefore universal in time, though developed by the agency of different political orders in the mixed governments of Europe, is a permanent contribution to political science, which our forefathers were wise enough to appreciate, and to establish as American polity against strong opposition, contending for a legislature of one house.

With a national legislature thus organized, and with all the institutions of local self-government in the States, with their separate governments organized on similar principles, and guaranteed to be republican by the national constitution, it seems to us, that we are destined as a nation to withstand the vicissitudes of time, until a great purpose is accomplished worthy a record in history, as one of the noblest achievements of humanity.

In contrast with this complex articulated government of the United States, is a centralized government, based on universal suffrage, and reposing on the absurd dogma, *vox populi vox Dei*. Lieber has shown the hollowness of the pretended liberty which is founded on the will of an unorganized multitude erroneously called a people, expressed through the medium of universal suffrage. A public opinion, not elaborated through institutions organized over a country, is but the whim of the moment. It is but that democratic voice which always, as history testifies, declares for an Imperial despotism; proving that no government is less democratic than such an unorganized

multitude. It is, in fact, the mad acclaim of their own apotheosis, by the multitude, at the very moment they find that they must, from their incompetency for self-government, choose a master. This government is exemplified in France. The centralized administration, first thoroughly organized by Richlieu, so completely superseded and destroyed all local self-government, that it became necessary to send up to Paris from the remotest part of the kingdom, for an order in council to allow a church steeple or the falling gables of a parsonage to be repaired. "There was (says De Tocqueville) no city, town, borough, village, or hamlet, in the kingdom—there was neither hospital, church fabric, religious house, nor college, which could have an independent will in the management of its private affairs, or which could administer its property according to choice." By this centralized administration, the French people were disorganized and dissolved into a mere multitude of individuals, as tempestuous as the sea.

We have, in the foregoing sketch, attempted to trace the rise and progress of political science since the dawn of European civilization, and to present the genesis and nature of the two opposite polities of institutional self-government and centralized absolutism. These are the two great polities which have grown up in modern times. And Lieber, in the work at the head of this article, has discussed the natures of these two opposite polities in all the light both of history and of political science. In fact, he is the first political philosopher who has thoroughly disentangled them from a confused treatment, and presented them in all their broad contrast. And the definiteness with which he has exhibited the nature of institutional self-government, and particularized the guaranties of civil liberty, and elucidated their respective functions in free governments, is an advance in political science. Those who wish to see the progress which has been made in political science since the Greek phase of European history, need but read Aristotle's *Politics*, and Lieber's *Civil Liberty*. For with all the ability of Aristotle, and none can rate it higher than we do, the simple political arrangements of mere city governments depicted in his work, seem trifling enough in comparison with the complex schemes of security and administration sketched by Lieber as

the great politics of modern times. But it is no matter for wonder that modern governments should be so much more complex, when the multiform and manifold employments which diversify modern civilization are compared with the more simple business of ancient nations.. It must be noted too, that modern politics has to deal with nations connected together into a family, while in ancient times only one nation appeared at a time in the general barbarism which characterized mankind. Modern governments must therefore be organized with reference to diplomacy as well as to internal affairs.

Lieber, it is true, has the advantage over all European writers on politics, in thoroughly understanding American institutions. In this country, institutional self-government has reached the highest development it has attained. And that an advance has been made in political life by the Anglican tribe, may be seen in the progress of constitutional law. It was in criminal trials that English constitutional law has been developed by the courts; while American constitutional law has received its judicial exposition in civil trials involving the obligation of contracts and other civil questions. And since the revolution of 1688, the progress of English constitutional law has been more peaceful than in earlier periods, betokening an advance in the stability of the government and the political morals of the nation. So that we have reason to hope, that both nations will make further advances in civil liberty; and that with the advance of government, a wiser political economy will so regulate business in nations and between nations, that capital and labour will be better satisfied with the division of profits, and that the rich and the poor will more and more realize the great truth that the world was made equally for both, and that they have one common interest, swayed to and fro in the vicissitudes of commerce by the same gain and loss.

It is all important, that, at times when unstable opinions prevail in regard to any great interest, a resort to first principles should be had, so that the path of safety running through the past, in which humanity has walked, may be descried, and the journey continued in it. It certainly becomes us, at this time, to call attention to one of the greatest of the moral sciences, when physical science has almost entirely engrossed popular

attention. Ever since Bacon made the auspicious marriage between science and labour, civilization has striven too much after the riches of the earth. In some countries a knowledge of physical science and a cultivated literature are rated above civil liberty; and hence such works as "Guizot's History of Civilization," concealing, in a name, the great fact that liberty and progress have not walked together in France. The scientific treatment of politics is absolutely necessary to teach man the grave and binding duties which he takes upon himself when he assumes self-government; as well as to furnish him with the landmarks of political truth and the essential character of civil liberty.

ART. III.—*The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti; with an Introductory Memoir of eminent Linguists, ancient and modern.* By C. W. RUSSELL, D. D., President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. London: Longman, Brown & Co. 1858. Pp. 502.

JOSEPH CASPAR MEZZOFANTI, the son of a carpenter of Bologna, was born in that city, September 17, 1774. He was sent to school before he was three years old—on the barbarous plea of providing a place of safe-keeping for the day. The dame wisely allowed the infant to go free of lessons, but it was soon found that he was catching by ear the recitations of the other children, and was able to repeat them. Upon this discovery he was put into a class, and passed rapidly through the infant school, and afterwards the more advanced academy of the Abate Cicotti, where the peerless linguist made his first acquaintance with a foreign language—the Latin.

The priest, Respighi, observing the uncommon promise of the child's memory, persuaded his father to give him a better education than the mechanic had thought proper for his son, and procured his admission to one of the "Scuole Pie" of Bologna, where the higher studies were cultivated under the tuition of several ex-Jesuits. These teachers, representing various countries, furnished thus early in Mezzofanti's career,

the opportunity and inducement for indulging his natural taste for languages. Father Aponte was a Spaniard. Father Escobar was from South America. Father Thiulen was a native of Sweden, but had lived in Portugal and Spain, as well as Italy. Greek and Spanish were among the earliest languages which the young scholar added to his infantile Latin and vernacular. His memory was from first to last the main prodigy. At school he could repeat a folio page of Chrysostom after a single perusal.

Mezzofanti early preferred the ecclesiastical profession. His religious as well as studious disposition was in this direction, and about the year 1786 he was advanced to the archiepiscopal seminary of Bologna, where he took his degree in philosophy before he was fifteen. His application to books had now so affected his health, that he was obliged to drop study for a time; but in 1793 he began the direct reading of theology under the Canons Ambrosi and Bacciali. The Hebrew, Arabic, and it is supposed the Coptic also, were added to his stock of languages before he was nineteen. French and German were acquired about this time as light tasks compared with the oriental tongues. From its affinities to the German he had no difficulty, after a few days' examination of some Swedish books, in holding fluent conversation with the people of that country.

In 1795 the future Cardinal received the first sign of the sacred office—the tonsure, and in 1797 reached the priesthood. Although but twenty-three years of age, he was almost simultaneously appointed professor of Arabic in the University of Bologna. He had scarcely commenced his lectures when political events drove him from the chair: for when Bonaparte compelled the Pope to cede Bologna to the Cisalpine Republic, Mezzofanti was too firm a Papist to acknowledge in any manner the unholy usurpation, and was consequently deprived of his professorship.

His parents were dependent on him for their maintenance, and so, in a good degree, was his sister, with her large family. He resorted to private teaching, and soon had for his pupils the sons of some of the most distinguished Bolognese families. His new occupation abridged the time he would have devoted

to his own favourite studies, but was the means of opening access to the library of one of his patrons, which was rich in the languages. The indefatigable linguist turned the martial agitations of the day to another good account for himself. The Austrian army, occupying Bologna for nearly a year after the battle of Trebbia in 1799, a variety of European tongues was to be heard among the officers and soldiers. Mezzofanti was all ear in the midst of Teutonic, Slavonic, Czechish, Magyar, and other foreign sounds. This pursuit of languages, as spoken by, or as found in the books which the strangers carried with them, had doubtless its influence, as well as the obligations of his ecclesiastical office, and the promptings of his natural benevolence, in making him a constant visitor of the camps and hospitals. His services were useful as interpreter, and were in demand as a confessor. "In such cases," he said, "I used to apply myself with all my energy to the study of the languages of the patients, until I knew enough of them to make myself understood; I required no more. With these first rudiments, I presented myself among the sick wards. Such of the invalids as desired it, I managed to confess; with others I held occasional conversations; and thus in a short time I acquired a considerable vocabulary. At length, through the grace of God, assisted by my private studies and by a retentive memory, I came to know not merely the generic languages of the nations to which the several invalids belonged, but even the peculiar dialects of their various provinces." (P. 154.) This was his school for the Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, and Russian languages, and the Gipsy tongue; and from a young student in the university, he was, about the same time, acquiring the Flemish.

Another source of the polyglot attainments of the insatiable scholar lay in the hotels of his city. Bologna was then on the route to Rome. The innkeepers kept Mezzofanti informed of the arrival of travellers with strange names, and there was usually a mutual desire for an interview, for the fame of the man of many tongues was already spreading, and modest as he himself was, he could not forego an opportunity of learning, pronunciation at least, from the lips of a native. He was sought for as the foreigners' confessor, and doubtless listened

as critically to the sounds, as the sins that were whispered in his ear. If he had first to learn the language of the penitent, it was rather an incentive than otherwise to undertake the spiritual part of the case. If the stranger could read for him the commandments, or creed, or other parts of the common liturgy, he would manage by some instinct of comparative philology to get at the construction of the new language, and make his way to an intelligent hearing and speaking of it. In two weeks he qualified himself to shrive a servant who could speak nothing but the Sardinian dialect, by spending an hour daily in the family to which she was attached.

In January, 1803, the subject of our article attained a position finely suited to his taste. At that date he was appointed assistant librarian of the Institute of Bologna—a name suggestive of very humble literary ideas in our familiar associations of it with circulars, and advertisements, and lectures, but designating, in the present instance, an establishment founded in the seventeenth century, and richly endowed by successive ages with collections and museums of nature and art, and a library of a hundred and fifty thousand volumes. The close of the same year found the librarian restored to the faculty of the University, in the capacity of Professor of Oriental languages: but his most engrossing occupation for two years was the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts of the library of the Institute. There is no record of the order or rapidity in which he filled up the list of the languages acquired in his lifetime, but in 1805 we find him sending to Professor J. B. De Rossi of Parma, a translation of a Latin sentence in twelve languages; and a book of travels, published at Milan in 1806, refers to Mezzofanti as “commonly reputed to be master of more than twenty-four languages, the greater number of which he speaks with fluency and purity.” Allowances, however, are always due for matters of common repute, caught up by travellers.

Mezzofanti, in 1808, had another experience of the unsparing jealousy of political power. A year before, the Emperor Napoleon had sought to persuade the preëminent linguist to transfer his residence to Paris. But disaffection to the intruder, not less than attachment to his native city and the

University, made the priest unfavourable to the proposal. When the Emperor made the Pope his prisoner, and occupied Rome with his troops, Mezzofanti, quiet as he had kept himself with his bookshelves and lectures, was not overlooked in the proscription which swept even literary men if they did not bow the knee. He was not expelled, but the Oriental Professorship was extinguished, and the incumbent put upon a pension. He again received private pupils, and found another library to catalogue. In 1812 he was appointed deputy librarian of the University, with whose collections the French had incorporated the library of the Institute. In 1815 he became the chief librarian.

When the Pope was on his return from exile, (1814,) he passed through Bologna, and invited Mezzofanti to accompany him to Rome, and take the office of Secretary of the Propaganda. This position was likely to attract a scholar, on account of the great variety of languages spoken in that vast missionary institution, and to attract an ecclesiastic, from the fact of the office being regarded as in the line of promotion to the cardinalship. But even Rome, and the importunity of a Pontiff, could not draw the student from Bologna; and he more gladly accepted the restoration which the Pope now had it in his power to effect, of his chair of Oriental Languages.

Dr. Russell has collected into his pages a number of testimonies from the printed travels of tourists of various countries, for the purpose of showing in some detail, from different witnesses, the wonderful extent of the attainments reached by the perseverance of this insatiable student, in his favourite specialty. A professor in the University of Breslau testifies to the fluency of his German. He read before the Bologna Academy, a paper on the Wallachian language, another on that of the seven parishes of Vicenza, and a third on a Mexican manuscript. An English author found him not only fluent and correct in the standard language of England, but familiar with the provincial dialects, so as to be able to give ludicrous specimens of the brogue of Yorkshire and Somersetshire. The same visitor found him at home in Welsh. Another literary Englishman heard him tried in Turkish and modern Greek. Lord Byron declared, that he exhausted upon this "monster of

languages, this Briareus of parts of speech," every tongue he had ever learned himself, but that the Italian, who had scarcely been out of Bologna, astounded him, even to his English. The Emperor of Austria had an interview with him, attended by a suite selected to represent the chief languages of his empire, and the Professor replied accurately and promptly in their respective tongues, as they addressed him in German, Magyar, Bohemian, Wallachian, Illyrian, and Polish.

A philologist from Denmark, who spent a couple of hours with him, began the conversation in German, but Mezzofanti immediately replied in Danish, and so continued through the interview. Compelled to spend a few months of 1820 in an excursion for recreation, he made his journey serve the end of learning the Hebrew psalmody, and the accentuation of that language, by visiting synagogues, and conversing with Jews; and the pronunciation of modern Romaic, by mingling with Greek sailors at Leghorn. Von Zach, who made an astronomical visit to Bologna in 1820, was accosted by the learned priest in Hungarian, then in good Saxon, and afterwards in the Austrian and Swabian dialects. With other members of the scientific corps he conversed in English, Russian, Polish, French, and Hungarian. Von Zach mentions that his German was so natural, that a cultivated Hanoverian lady in the company expressed her surprise that a German should be a professor and librarian in an Italian university. Professor Jacobs, of Gotha, was struck (1825) not only with the number of languages acquired by the "interpreter for Babel," but at the facility with which he passed from one to another, however opposite or cognate their structure.

Dr. Tholuck heard him converse in German, Arabic, Flemish, Swedish, English, and Spanish, received from him an original distich in Persian, and found him studying Cornish. He heard him say that he had learned, to some extent, the Quichua, or old Peruvian; and he was then employed upon the Bimbarra. Dr. O'Connor, now of Pittsburgh, witnessed Mezzofanti's first visit to the Propaganda, and saw him address the Turkish, Greek, Romaic, English, and other students, as he met them, in their respective languages; and adds to his testimony, that during the many visits he subsequently made to

the institution, Mezzofanti never failed to remember the vernacular of each student whom he had previously addressed, though the whole community had been presented to him. "Having spoken," says an English traveller in 1834, "in French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Dutch, I said at last, 'My friend, I have almost run out my stock of modern languages, except some which you probably do not know.' 'Well,' said he, 'the dead languages, Latin and Greek, are matters which every one learns. We shall not mind them. But pray tell me what others you speak.' 'I speak a little Welsh,' I replied. 'Good,' said he, 'I also know Welsh.' And he began to talk with me at once, like a Welsh peasant. He knew also the other varieties of Celtic, Gaelic, Irish, and Bas-Breton." Maltese visitors, like so many others, needed an interpreter. Anecdotes abound of his accurate grammatical knowledge of many of the languages he read, wrote and spoke, not unfrequently detecting errors in the pronunciation or orthography of natives themselves. His readiness, too, is shown by a number of examples of appropriate contributions to albums, and replies to compliments. "He can distinguish," says a German, "the Hamburg and Hanoverian German very well. Even of Wendish he is not ignorant." A native Armenian scholar testifies that he "spoke the vulgar Armenian with perfect freedom, and in all its dialects." Dr. Wiseman met him on his way to give a lesson in California Indian to some natives of that country, having first learned the tongue for himself from their own conversation, and now teaching them the unwritten grammar. In like manner, he heard for the first time the patois called "Nigger Dutch," from a Curaçoa mulatto, and in less than two weeks wrote a short piece of poetry for the mulatto to recite in his own rude tongue. From an ex-missionary he learned the language of the Algonquin Indians. He "knew something," according to his own modest terms, "of the Chipewewa and Delaware," and had read the works of Mr. Duponceau of Philadelphia on Indian philology. A Ceylon student gave him his first introduction to Cingalese, and in a few days he was able to repay him by assisting the youth in getting up a speech for a public exhibition. This witness remembers many of the strangers with whom Mezzofanti was in the habit of con-

versing in the Propaganda, those whose vernaculars were Peguan, Abyssinian, Amarina, Syriac, Arabico-Maltese, Tamulic, Bulgarian, Albanian, besides others already named. The facility with which he accommodated himself to the tongue of each new colloquist, justifies the epithet of one of his encomiasts—"The chameleon of languages." From this variety, the Congo, Angolese, and other African dialects were not missing, nor the languages of Oceanica. "The Romanic of the Alps and the Lettish," writes a correspondent of a German journal in 1842, "are not unfamiliar to him; nay, he has made himself acquainted with Lappish, the language of the wretched nomadic tribes of Lapland. He is master of all the languages which are classed under the Indo-German family, the Sanscrit and Persian, the Koorish, the Armenian, and the Georgian. He is familiar with all the members of the Semitic family, the Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, Sabaic, and even the Chinese, which he not only reads, but speaks. As regards Africa, he knows the Coptic, Ethiopic, Abyssinian, Amharic, and Angolese." The quickness of his ear to pronunciation, the flexibility of his organs of speech, and his amazing memory of words, enabled him to enjoy the diversity of sounds which are given to the same letters by speakers of different nations—as, for example, the English and Irish. He had this knowledge of the diversity of pronouncing the dead languages. "One day," says Dr. Russell, "I was speaking to him in company with Guido Gorres, [of Munich,] when he had occasion to quote to me Horace's line,

"Si paulum a summo decessit, vergit ad imum.

He turned at once to Gorres, and added—

"Or as you would say:

"Si poulum a soommo detsessit, verghit ad imum.

introducing into it every single characteristic of the German manner of pronouncing the Latin language. 'O!' said Mezzofanti to a Burgundian, "you have two Burgundian dialects; which of them do you speak?" 'I know,' replied our friend, 'the patois of Lower Burgundy.' Thereupon the Cardinal began to talk to him in Lower Burgundian, with a fluency which the vine-dressers of Nantes or Beaune might envy."

These citations will give some idea of the authority on which the statements of Mezzofanti's gifts are made, and of the extent to which they were manifested. We shall consider the sum total after resuming the thread of his biography, at the date of his reinstatement as Professor.

The life of Mezzofanti was thus far busily occupied in the duties of the Professor and Librarian, in teaching various languages to private pupils, in pushing his own linguistic researches and multiplying his tongues, in priestly visits to the sick, confessing foreigners, and receiving curious travellers, as the chief curiosity of Bologna. Pius VII. had more than once renewed his efforts to draw him to Rome, and his successor, Leo XII., respecting his partiality for his home, gave him an honorary ecclesiastical office in Bologna. It was the friendship of Cardinal Capellari, however, that at length drew Mezzofanti to the capital. Soon after he had become a Cardinal, Cappellari was placed at the head of the Propaganda, and in that character had a correspondence with the great scholar of Bologna, in reference to an oriental manuscript. Mezzofanti was so useful in this matter, that the Cardinal's previous admiration of him was increased, and their friendship confirmed. When Cappellari became Pope Gregory XVI., Mezzofanti was one of the three delegates sent by Bologna to present the congratulations of the city. The Pope at once appointed him "domestic prelate and proto-notary apostolic;" and after long persuasion, he consented to take up his residence in Rome, which he effected in October 1831, and had his abode in the Quirinal palace. He was soon made a canon.

The College of the Propaganda probably presented stronger attractions to the great linguist than St. Peter's or the Vatican. More of the tribes and tongues of the earth are represented in the missionary candidates of that school, than in any other spot in the world. In one year there were specimens of forty-one distinct nations in the hundred and fourteen students then in attendance. The Chinese, however, was missing—the pupils of that country being then educated in the college at Naples, founded for them specially. Unwilling to lose a chance for this mine, Mezzofanti paid an early visit to the Neapolitan institution, and was initiated, or more properly,

initiated himself, in the celestial language, which a subsequent transfer of some of the native Chinese to the Propaganda, enabled him to complete; so that he actually preached in Chinese, and spoke not only the Mandarin, but other dialects.

Besides the classes of the Propaganda, the various convents, colleges, seminaries, communities and foreign embassies of the Papal city, supplied the self-teaching scholar with living appliances for his special pursuit. At the great College, he mingled freely and daily with the students, listening, talking, inquiring, teaching, and correcting. One day the Pope (who called him "a living Pentecost") amused himself with contriving to have a select number of the young men of many countries come suddenly upon Mezzofanti during a private walk with the pontiff in the gardens of the Vatican, and each to address the librarian in his own dialect, and all at once. The subject of this ordeal was not intimidated, but poured forth his multilingual replies without delay or mistake.

In 1833, the priest who seemed most at home and best content as a plodding investigator of grammars, and as an oral learner of new forms of speech, was promoted to be Chief Keeper or Prefect of the Vatican Library, (in succession to Angelo Mai,) and also to a canonry in St. Peter's. There was no doubt now that the Pope was preparing him for the highest rank below his own. The actual librarian of the Vatican is always a Cardinal, and usually the Cardinal Secretary of State. This office is honorary, and the work is done by two keepers and seven secretaries. Mezzofanti stood on the next step to the office that was considered fit for a Cardinal. He was also made Rector of the College for the Education of Ecclesiastics attached to the Basilica of St. Peter's; Consulter of the Sacred Congregation for the Correction of Oriental books, and a Censor of the Academy. In 1838 he attained the purple and the hat.

The business of the Roman Church, as administered by the Pope, the College of Cardinals and Prelates, is distributed among twenty congregations, or committees. The prefect of each congregation (or chairman of the committee) is usually a Cardinal. They all hold stated meetings, and submit their minutes to the approval of the pontiff. Mezzofanti was put

into several important congregations, viz. the correction of the Liturgical Books of the Oriental Church; of Studies; of the Propaganda; the Chinese Mission; the Index; Rites; and examination of Bishops. He was also President of an hospital, and Visitor of the House of Catechumens.

The salary of a Cardinal-resident is less than forty-five hundred of our dollars. His household must contain a chaplain, secretary, and servants. Mezzofanti cared nothing for equipage, and saved all he could for charity. A nephew and niece resided with him; and he had other relatives whom he assisted. Forty-three (on another page the number is given as fifty-three, pp. 379, 394) students of the Propaganda came to greet him on his accession, and though no two spoke the same language, the new Cardinal found no difficulty in replying to each. His new occupations and increasing age (he was about sixty-four) did not prevent his making additions to the stock of his vocabularies. One of the most formidable of the new acquisitions was the Basque; which has eleven moods and a great variety of tenses. In this instance, as in many others, his study of the principal language was extended to its various dialects. A couplet which he wrote in the Basque was criticized by two eminent authorities, both of whom agreed that "Zu" would have been better "Zure," but native Guipuscoans to whom it was referred, declared in favour of the Cardinal's "Zu."

The death of Pope Gregory, in 1846, was a great blow to the heart of our amiable and affectionate Cardinal, as a strong personal attachment existed between him and the illustrious defunct, but it made no change in the routine of his employments. The political events of the new reign involved all the institutions of Rome in their turmoil. The Cardinal refused to leave his post, and follow the flying pontiff to Gaeta; but the confusion of the times wore upon his strength and spirits, and in the beginning of 1849 an attack of pleurisy, followed by gastric fever, gave him intimation that his time was coming to an end. He gave his mind to the prescribed devotions of his faith; was earnest in prayer for his soul, his country, church, and Pope, and on the night of the 15th of March, (the text says 1849, the epitaph 1848,) died, after speaking his last dis-

tinguishable words in his native Italian, "I am going—I am going—soon to Paradise." His family declined the public funeral offered by the anti-Papal (Republican) authorities, and the Cardinal was buried in the most private and simple manner, in the same church where lie the remains of Tasso.

That which made Mezzofanti in the eyes of the world, a prodigy, was the number of languages he acquired. It is not as a grammarian, a lexicographer, a philologist, a philosopher, or ethnologist that he is famous. He contributed nothing to any of the departments of the "study of words." His publications of all sorts did not extend beyond half a dozen papers. One discriminative critic says he never had an original thought. The only permanent value of his literary existence will be found in the specimen which his peculiarities add to the psychological museum. But even in this character too little is known to be of practical use. He has not told the world the secret of his art. He probably had none to tell. The capacity he possessed was a natural endowment, and could not be taught. The wonderful talent of his specialty was of little more use to mankind than to enable him to serve as an interpreter while he lived. Had his mind been less of a Babel, and given itself to the comparison of the structure of languages, he might, by confining himself to the generic few, have established some great principles for the study. But he was just a *helluo linguarum*. If he searched into the grammatical niceties of a language, or studied its analogies, it seemed to be less for the scientific discovery of the principles, than for the utilitarian purpose of helping himself to add it to his accumulations in the shortest time.

Dr. Russel has made a careful estimate of the actual number of the Cardinal's trophies. He adopts as his definition of a thorough knowledge of language, an ability to read it fluently and with ease, to write it correctly, and to speak it idiomatically. Judging the subject of his biography by this standard, he comes to the following result—his work giving the details at length:

1. Languages frequently tested and spoken with rare excellence—thirty.

2. Stated to have been spoken fluently, but hardly sufficiently tested—nine.

3. Spoken rarely, and less perfectly—eleven.

4. Spoken imperfectly; a few sentences and conversational forms—eight.

5. Studied from books, but not known to have been spoken—fourteen.

6. Dialects spoken, or their peculiarities understood: thirty-nine dialects of ten languages, many of which might justly be described as different languages.

This list adds up *one hundred and eleven*, exceeding by all comparison, (as is shown by the learned introductory memoir prefixed to the life,) everything known in history. Jonadab Almanar and Sir William Jones are not claimed to have gone beyond twenty-eight: Mithridates and Pico of Mirandola have been made famous by twenty-two.

We have indicated, in passing, some of the methods practised by Mezzofanti in his favourite, it might be said, exclusive pursuit. It was not, however, only from the conversational phrases of foreigners, learned and illiterate, in palaces and hotels, hospitals and confessionals, that he picked up his multifarious vocabulary. He was a painful student of grammars and lexicons, paradigms and “praxes.” He had to drudge it like the dullest of us. “I made it a rule,” he said, “to learn every new grammar, and to apply myself to every strange dictionary that came within my reach. I was constantly filling my head with new words.”

He seems to have had no order or method in his studies that would help others in following him. For years he scarcely allowed himself a reasonable amount of food, sleep, fuel, or exercise, that he might devote his utmost time and means to the one object. He attributed part of his success in quickly catching a new language to physical advantages: “In addition to an excellent memory, God had blessed me with an incredible flexibility of the organs of speech.” At another time, he said that the ear and not the eye was for him the ordinary medium through which language was conveyed. He studied a language by its rhythm, as containing the principle of its inflexions and of its changes of letters, according to the organs called into use.

The comparative ease with which he made his own way from one tongue to another, made him think less of the wonder in himself, which astonished every one else; and less of the importance of ascertaining and communicating whatever of science was in his method. "He positively assured me," says a learned writer, "that it was a thing less difficult than was generally thought; that there is in all languages a limited number of points to which it is necessary to pay particular attention; and that, when one is once master of these points, the remainder follows with great facility. He added, that when one has learned ten or a dozen languages essentially different from one another, one may, with a little study and attention, learn any number of them." But all this is very tantalizing while he keeps from us the lessons of his experience. He probably would have said to all inquirers, as he did to one, "I cannot explain it; of course God has given me this peculiar power; but if you wish to know how I preserve these languages, I can only say, that when once I hear the meaning of a word in any language, I never forget it."

In reference to the faculty of using many languages in succession without confusion, he used this illustration. "Have you ever tried on a pair of green spectacles? Well, while you wore these spectacles, everything was green to your eyes. It is precisely so with me. While I am speaking any language, for instance Russian, I put on my Russian spectacles, and for the time, they colour everything Russian. I see all my ideas in that language alone. If I pass to another language, I have only to change the spectacles, and it is the same for that language also." This illustration, Dr. Russell adds, "perfectly describes the phenomenon, so far as it fell under observation; but so far as I am aware, no one has attempted to analyze the mental operation by which these astounding external effects were produced. The faculty, whatever it was, may have been improved and sharpened by exercise; but there is no part of the extraordinary gift of this great linguist so clearly exceptional and so unprecedented in the history of the faculty of language."

He also possessed the power of thinking in his various languages in succession. That his acquisitions were principally

through memory, and not made on any communicable system, is implied in the regret he once expressed, that his youth had fallen upon a time when languages were not studied from that scientific point of view from which they are now regarded. "What am I," he would say, "but an ill-bound dictionary!" He quoted a saying ascribed to Catherine de Medici, when told that Scaliger knew twenty languages—"That is, twenty words for one idea; for my part, I would rather have twenty ideas for one word." "You have put your knowledge of languages to some purpose," said he to the author of *Horæ Syriacæ*; "when I go, I shall not leave a trace of what I know behind me."

Dr. Russell has studied the intellectual phenomenon with the aid of the few facts which exist to form an opinion, and his conclusion appears to be, that Mezzofanti's great power was mainly a gift of nature; that his faculties of perception, analysis, judgment and memory, were each extraordinary, and in a perfect balance; that his memory was that faculty in its spontaneous, intuitive exercise, rather than that of elaboration or reminiscence; that his power of analysis enabled him at once to seize upon the whole system of a language, while his ever-ready memory supplied the analogous materials out of each department of his mental stores, *ad libitum*. This being the inward process, the practical power of utterance was owing to a remarkably delicate organism of the ear and tongue, which not only assisted him in pronunciation, but in some inexplicable way suggested to his mind the secrets of the structure and philosophy of the language.

Baron Bunsen's opinion is, that "his linguistic talent was that of seizing sounds and accents, and the whole (so to say) idiom of a language, and reproducing them by a wonderful, but equally special, memory. I do not think he had ever his equal in this respect; but the cultivation of this power had absorbed all the rest."

It would be unjust to leave the impression that Mezzofanti knew nothing but words; that, according to one sarcasm—he spent his life in making keys for rooms he never entered; or, according to another—that, with all his languages, he never said anything. There is abundant evidence that his literary

knowledge, though not profound, was extensive and varied. Authors of all countries, in poetry as well as prose, grave and gay, were known to him. His English list was not confined to Chaucer, Milton, and Gray, but included Hudibras and Moore's Melodies. He read Cooper's novels. His biographer gives many incidental proofs that he was much better acquainted with the biography, history, and literature, both of the ancient and modern world, than would seem to be possible to a mind so full of the mere signs and expressions of knowledge. An eminent scientific Italian was surprised, on the incidental mention of a Hindoo treatise on mathematics, to hear Mezzofanti converse for half an hour on the astronomy and mathematics of the Indian races, "in a way which would have done honour to a man whose chief occupation had been tracing the history of the sciences."

The personal character of this remarkable man transpires through his biography in such a way as to draw to him the affection as well as the admiration of the reader. Gentle, humble, modest, humane, he seems to feel himself most at home in the seclusion of the library, or by the pallets of the sick and dying. The reader wonders how such a quiet, plain, unambitious person could have got into a path the history of which would come out in binding of scarlet and gold, stamped with the insignia of one of the proudest stations open to the envy of mortals. He was, after the manner of Rome indeed, but as it clearly appears, with a sincere heart, a devout man. "Ah, Don Ubaldo, give thyself entirely to the Lord!" if this were his exhortation to a novice in the priesthood, we may trust it was the principle of his own soul. If he spoke of the blessedness of that same friend and pupil, on his early death, as consisting in being "close to the Divine fountain, and then admitted to the hidden source of the divine oracles, to the study of which he addressed himself here with such indefatigable application," we may trust that those oracles were much more than scholastic studies to himself. "Alas! what will all these languages avail me for the kingdom of heaven, since it is by works, not words, that we must win our way thither!" this exclamation of his, in reply to a compliment to his talents, may be interpreted by Protestant charity to be as consistent with the doctrines of

grace as "not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven:" then we may trust that the paragon of languages has attained that state so appropriately designated in the motto of the great Bible-publishers of London:

Πολλὰ μὲν θνητοῖς γλώτται, μία δ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

Multæ terricolis linguæ, celestibus una.

Earth speaks with many tongues, heaven knows but one.

ART. IV.—*A Treatise on the Greek Prepositions, and on the cases of Nouns, with which these are used.* By GESSNER HARRISON, M. D., Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.

IT is a remarkable fact, and one, which the public ear may be slow to admit, that modern scholarship has done more for the philosophical exposition of the Greek language, and possesses larger and juster views of its structure, than did the Greeks themselves. With all their acumen, the ancients were poor etymologists. The best of them could derive a primitive word from one of its own derivatives: and although they had juster ideas of syntax, even those were comparatively superficial. Language was to them a practical instrument or the vehicle of art, which the spontaneous, but unanalyzed dictates of their spiritual nature disposed of with the most delicate sense of fitness; but the anatomy of what went to constitute that fitness they never comprehended. Of course, its idiomatic proprieties were felt and understood by those to whom it was native, with a degree of truth and discrimination which can never be recalled; but in as far as pertains to the structure of the language, the philosophy of its syntax, the system of its etymology, its ethnological relations, and the laws which governed its whole development, modern scholarship is instructed to a degree that certainly was never dreamed of by the greatest analyst of ancient times. Moreover, this result, though one of

progressive effort from age to age, has been chiefly effected within our own day. It belongs to the latest achievements of inductive science.

After the revival of Greek learning in the West of Europe, the first two or three generations of scholars depended upon oral instruction of native Greeks, who, themselves, had learned their language at the mouth of tradition. The contemporaries, respectively, of Petrarch and Poggio trod the beaten track of traditionary grammar, only to reach the enjoyments of literary art. For the path itself, they took it as they found it, and did little to remove its difficulties. Not the language, but its literature was their aim. And such was the proper work of their times.

The Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, one of the earliest products of the printing press, issued at Milan in 1476, laid the foundation-stone of a new structure. It was written with the view of improvement by combining the merits of preceding works: and was soon followed by a Greek Lexicon from the same press. The apparatus for study was thus thrown open to the public; and a practical knowledge of Greek having been attained by Western scholars, the treatment of its grammar subsequently passed entirely into their hands.

During the first half of the next century, the language was handled chiefly as an instrument in theological controversy, and grammarians did little more than re-state and re-arrange the precepts of the earlier teachers. Then followed the period which, of all occidental history, may be described most properly as that of erudition. Researches into the literature, antiquities, history, and mythology of the Greeks, compiled materials for a more scientific treatment of their language. And the very men who thus furnished the material, pointed the way to that use of it.

As early as 1557, the Grammar of Peter Ramus presented evidence of enlarged resources. Further improvements were attempted by Sylburgius, Vossius, and the author of the Port Royal Grammar. But this course of progress was stayed. On the continent succeeded a more self-indulgent age, which looked with dismay upon such gigantic compilations as those of the Stephenses, of Turnebus, of Gruter, and of Muretus; while in

England the dangers of a political and ecclesiastical revolution absorbed the energies of the nation. As far as attention was turned to Greek, it was less with a view to comprehend its spirit, than to reproduce the forms of its literature, or copy its treasures in the modern tongues.

Another period of Greek scholarship found its pioneer in Richard Bentley, who, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, set the example of that independent criticism, which has since, notwithstanding many extravagances, yielded results of the utmost value. It was, however, long employed in editions of the classics before systematic grammar derived much benefit therefrom. Succeeding scholars continued to expend their efforts upon the niceties of classical diction and prosody.

Subsequently, a new auxiliary arose in the science of comparative philology, which conferred unexpected resources and an unprecedented dignity upon the whole subject of grammar. A wider knowledge of the ethnological relations of Greek, added to ripened learning in its own stores, gave occasion to a more complete and scientific exposition of its structure.

The publication, in 1819, of the first volume of Buttmann's large Grammar, and of the first part of Passow's Lexicon, led the way to a method of treating the language, which has been followed up by others, with the most satisfactory results. Facilities are now furnished for the study of Greek unknown in any previous time, and the means provided of drawing from it richer stores of instruction, and of giving to them a breadth of influence upon the world, which it never has enjoyed since it ceased to be spoken by a free people. Its operation upon society, literature, and art, of the present day, is no longer confined to externals, but pertains to their spirit. And the present method pursued in its study, is calculated to promote that tendency, leading ultimately not to a bald imitation of Greek works, but to a following of Greek example, in acquiring a bold yet prudent and reverent intellectual and æsthetical independence.

We are happy to say, that the work before us is in the spirit of its time. Without being able to adopt all the author's conclusions, we have been truly gratified by the examination of his method. Not that we deem it the best for instruction. In that

light it is not to be thought of. A distinction must be made between the method which is good for an amateur of Greek, and for the instruction of a class. According to the former, one may make a nice little volume out of the virtues of a particle, which shall find its well pleased audience, fit, though few; while a class in college, which has yet to learn the radical philosophy of the language, would only be retarded in their progress, and lose their bearing, by having to delay upon matters so minute. The latter, it is our belief, can be better effected by a just and clear statement of general laws, sustained by a few pertinent examples. Profuse illustration, and still more exhaustive pursuit of a subject into all its minutest ramifications, wearies the patience, and deadens the zeal, of a class, by leaving them no room nor spirit for original suggestion. Such, however, we do not understand to be the design of the present work. It is addressed to Greek scholars; to those, who, with a cordial interest in the subject, are pleased to delay upon all the particulars wherein lie its most delicate beauties.

It is the design of this treatise to demonstrate that each preposition in the Greek language has one fundamental meaning, which, though subject to variation, is always present, as well as to show what that meaning is. And in order thereto, the author enters first into a consideration of the respective cases of the noun, and of the relations which they are intended to express. The latter he presents as it stands in connection with the verb, and with the verb and adverb. Consequently, the verb and its attendant preposition are regarded as representing only one notion, and the case of the noun which follows, expresses its own proper relation to that notion: in other words, that the case is not governed by the preposition, as separate from the verb, but by the notion which is contained in both. "Thus, for example, in the phrase *εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν*, 'he came into the city,' *πόλιν* is to be regarded as defining more exactly the notion of 'coming in, or within,' expressed by *ἦλθεν*, as qualified by *εἰς*; for the meaning of this example is, 'he came in, or within . . . as regards the city.'" Having adopted this general principle, the author is careful to add that, notwithstanding there are instances in which the case is employed to mark an object affected by the peculiar sense of the prepo-

sition itself," and alludes to "some examples of the use of ἐπί and σύν with the dative, of which he remarks, that in such instances "alone it may be allowable to say, that the case depends upon, or, as it is sometimes expressed, is governed by the preposition." Thus, the adverb and preposition are regarded as both equally belonging to the verb, with this difference, that the preposition shows its direction and the adverb its other modifications.

As respects the meaning of the different cases, the author holds that the idea of special reference lies at the basis of the genitive, that of limitation, of the accusative, and that of ultimate object, means or place of the dative, while of these relations the prepositions are employed to distinguish the manifold varieties. The second and larger part of the work consists of a detailed treatment of the prepositions one by one with a view to ascertain and classify the various modifications of their meaning.

In the main, Dr. Harrison's generalization is just, yet there is a point where it seems to us to come short. Why was it deemed necessary to subdivide the dative any more than the genitive? The philosophy of the language is as harmonious in one as the other. To make two or three cases out of either of them, after the example of the Latin, Polish or Sanscrit, is to impose upon the Greek the defective generalization of languages, which were the outgrowth of less comprehensive and less subtle thinking. It is also inconsistent with the spirit of Dr. Harrison's own work. We cannot regard the dative as merely a common termination upon which two or three different cases have accidentally fallen. For if that were so in one declension, it would be very strange should it happen in all three. It is beyond a doubt that the Greek mind intended the dative to be one. On this point, it seems to us that Jelf's theory covers the true doctrine of the Greek language. "A sentence expresses a thought or succession of notions, standing in certain relations and order to each other." To the principal notion any other "must stand in one of three relations; it must either have preceded it, or be implied in it as part of it, or must follow it; whence these three relations may be called antecedent, co-inc-

dent, and consequent. Hence, strictly speaking, no language can have more than three cases; but as the development of the original powers of the language kept pace with the requirements of a more civilized state of society, in which the various relations of things and persons were more accurately perceived and distinguished, it followed naturally that in many languages, the original relation of each case was, as it were, split into several, and the parts so separated were expressed in language by a corresponding modification of form. In Greek, however, the original number was retained," "the genitive case expressing the notion, which, in the mind, precedes the principal notion of the thought, that is the antecedent," the accusative, the co-incident, and the dative the consequent. Of course, there is no invariable order, in which those elements of a sentence are necessarily regarded by all minds, and whether an author would use the genitive or dative in certain circumstances would depend greatly upon the order existing in his own mind; but the same exception must be made whichever theory is adopted.

It is not that we reject the distinctions so carefully and justly made; but that we claim for the Greek language the comprehension of them all under a more general principle. True philosophy, at the same time, separates the ramifications of its subject, and more nearly and firmly unites them at their source. The tendency to multiply causes is as unphilosophical as that of confounding effects.

Yet this remark should not be unattended with a full statement, that the very spirit and aim of Dr. Harrison's book, as a whole, are those of the principle now alluded to. It is a genuine product of philosophical scholarship; in style, plain, clear, and unaffected, remarkably free from the hardness almost native to the subject, it spreads out the manifold, and sometimes apparently contradictory particulars, in the light of their common kindred, until the humblest intellect cannot fail to be impressed with both. A calm and sober reliance for determination of meanings upon classical usage, is another commendable feature of the work, and the more commendable where previous practice has indulged so largely in fanciful

speculation, and where even a scholar like Donaldson could lay out his strength in mere splitting of syllables, and torture of the alphabet. Etymology is an indispensable key to classification, as Dr. Harrison uses it, but a very unreliable guide to actual idiom. And without idiom the student gets only the hard machinery of a language. The etymological frame-work, no matter how beautiful in its order, how nice in its adjustments, is but the skeleton. It is the rich and varied meaning associated therewith in the usage of society, and springing from all the endless wants, and thoughts, and emotions of men, that clothes it with life, and makes it at once, history, prophecy, and poetry, as well as philosophy. And yet how often is this fact forgotten by gentlemen into whose hands the interpretation of ancient authors sometimes comes, and who seem to think that, however far an English word may follow the course of suggestion from its etymological home, in ancient languages such a thing was not to be anticipated. Certainly we do meet with renderings of ancient writings, and, we are sorry to say, not unfrequently of the Holy Scriptures, which seem to be constructed on that assumption; as if Greek and Hebrew had never indulged in following the wants of human life, but been imprisoned all their days in the narrow canals of etymology, and a grammar as stiff and invariable as the rules of algebra. And we suppose that nothing short of an occasional stumble into obvious absurdity will ever open the eyes of such persons to their error. For, as you cannot give a rule for every delicate shade of idiom, you can never convince them that it exists. Nothing but a large acquaintance, familiar, thoughtful, and genial, with the literature of the ancient tongues, can entitle any one to the honours of a critic of their idioms. We deem it the highest praise of Dr. Harrison's book, to say that its results are reached through that most scholarlike channel. Much of his material has, it is true, been obtained at second hand, as is obvious upon inspection, but he merits the high praise of having rightly estimated it.

Such scrupulous discrimination of words may appear to many a matter of little value—the trifling exactness of the pedant. It is to be borne in mind that the most beautiful

shades of thought, like those of colouring, are the most delicate, and consist of the most minutely divided elements; and that it is precisely by attention to the smallest things that the highest approaches to truth, in art as well as science, are attained. These nice distinctions are the portals alike of philosophy and poetry. It is thereby that we have access into the most sacred places of thought, and are enabled to behold the great and beautiful conceptions of Plato and of Æschylus in their true magnitude, and something like the brilliancy of their pristine colours. When an astronomer is preparing his lenses, and adjusting his levels, and screws, and pivots, and cobweb lines, an uninstructed observer might say that he is expending a ridiculous amount of attention upon small things. Why not take in the great idea of the heavens, in the gross, without these little cares? Nay, these little things are his only means of grasping true conceptions of the great. It is by the cobweb lines in his telescope, the infinitesimals in his calculations, that he measures the magnitudes of distant worlds, and tells their revolution in their spheres. So in language, the mind, which takes no cognizance of fine distinctions, is necessarily blind to much of the truth which it contains, and to all the world of its beauty.

Although in working out the system presented in this volume, and in demonstrating its correctness and universality, there was needed a nicety and fulness of detail, which is more than practical, yet the final results, thereby attained, are principles of hourly application by the scholar, which, if correct, must throw their light upon every sentence he reads.

ART. V.—*Adoption of the Confession of Faith.*

CIRCUMSTANCES have recently awakened public attention to this important subject. It is one on which a marked diversity of opinion exists, between the two portions into which our church has been divided: and as in May last a direct proposition was made on the part of one branch of the New-school body, to our General Assembly, for a union between them and the Old-school, this original point of difference was brought into view. Not only on the floor of the Assembly was this matter referred to, but it has since been the subject of discussion in the public papers, especially at the South. A passing remark made in the last number of this journal, which we supposed expressed a truth which no man could misunderstand or deny, has given rise to strictures which very clearly prove that great obscurity, in many minds, still overhangs the subject. We either differ very much among ourselves, or we have not yet learned to express our meaning in the same terms. It is high time, therefore, that the question should be renewedly discussed. We have nothing new to say on the subject. As long ago as October, 1831, we expressed the views which we still hold, and which in a passing sentence were indicated in our number for July last. Those views have passed unanswered and unheeded, so far as we know, for thirty-six years. How is it that the renewed assertion of them has now called forth almost universal condemnation from the Old-school press? They have been censured by men who adopt them, and who in private do not hesitate to admit their correctness. This does not imply any unfairness, or any other form of moral obliquity. It is easily accounted for. The proposition, that the adoption of the Confession of Faith does not imply the adoption of every proposition contained in that Confession, might mean much or little. It might be adopted by the most conservative, and is all that the most radical need claim. Still the proposition is undeniably correct. The fault of the writer, as the *Presbyterian of the West* sensibly remarked, is not in what is said, but

in what was left unsaid. This fault would have been a very grave one, had the subject of subscription to the Confession been under discussion, and had the above proposition been put forth as the whole rule in regard to it. The remark, however, was merely incidental and illustrative. To show the impossibility of our agreeing on a commentary on the whole Bible, we referred to the fact, that there are propositions in the Confession of Faith in which we are not agreed. Does any man deny this? If not, where is the harm of saying it? Are we living in a false show? Are we pretending to adopt a principle of subscription, which in fact we neither act on for ourselves, nor dream of enforcing on others? Or are we so little certain of our own ground, that we are afraid that our enemies will take advantage of us, and proclaim aloud that we have come over to them? If we really understand ourselves, and are satisfied of the soundness of our principles, the more outspoken we are the better; better for our own self-respect, and for the respect and confidence of others towards us. If the Christian public, and especially those who have gone out from us, hear us asserting a principle or rule of subscription which they know we do not adopt, it will be hard for them to believe both in our intelligence and sincerity.

The question put to every candidate for ordination in our church, is in these words: "Do you sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures?" It is plain that a very serious responsibility before God and man is assumed by those who return an affirmative answer to that question. It is something more than ordinary falsehood, if our inward convictions do not correspond with a profession made in presence of the church, and as the condition of our receiving authority to preach the gospel. In such a case we lie not only unto man, but unto God; because such professions are of the nature of a vow, that is, a promise or profession made to God.

It is no less plain that the candidate has no right to put his own sense upon the words propounded to him. He has no right to select from all possible meanings which the words may bear, that particular sense which suits his purpose, or which, he thinks, will save his conscience. It is well known that this

course has been openly advocated, not only by the Jesuits, but by men of this generation, in this country and in Europe. The "chemistry of thought," it is said, can make all creeds alike. Men have boasted that they could sign any creed. To a man in a balloon the earth appears a plain, all inequalities on its surface being lost in the distance. And here is a philosophic elevation from which all forms of human belief look alike. They are sublimed into general formulas, which include them all and distinguish none. Professor Newman, just before his open apostasy, published a tract in which he defended his right to be in the English church while holding the doctrines of the church of Rome. He claimed for himself and others the privilege of signing the Thirty-nine articles in a "non-natural sense;" that is, in the sense which he chose to put upon the words. This shocks the common sense and the common honesty of men. There is no need to argue the matter. The turpitude of such a principle is much more clearly seen intuitively than discursively. The two principles which, by the common consent of all honest men, determine the interpretation of oaths and professions of faith, are, first, the plain, historical meaning of the words; and secondly, the *animus imponentis*, that is, the intention of the party imposing the oath or requiring the profession. The words, therefore, "system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures," are to be taken in their plain, historical sense. A man is not at liberty to understand the words "Holy Scriptures," to mean all books written by holy men, because although that interpretation might consist with the signification of the words, it is inconsistent with the historical meaning of the phrase. Nor can he understand them, as they would be understood by Romanists, as including the Apocrypha, because the words being used by a Protestant church, must be taken in a Protestant sense. Neither can the candidate say, that he means by "system of doctrine" Christianity as opposed to Mohammedanism, or Protestantism, as opposed to Romanism, or evangelical Christianity, as distinguished from the theology of the Reformed (i. e. Calvinistic) churches, because the words being used by a Reformed church, must be understood in the sense which that church is known to attach to them. If a

man professes to receive the doctrine of the Trinity, the word must be taken in its Christian sense, the candidate cannot substitute for that sense the Sabellian idea of a modal Trinity, nor the philosophical trichotomy of Pantheism. And so of all other expressions which have a fixed historical meaning. Again, by the *animus imponentis* in the case contemplated, is to be understood not the mind or intention of the ordaining bishop in the Episcopal church, or of the ordaining presbytery in the Presbyterian church. It is the mind or intention of the church, of which the bishop or the presbytery is the organ or agent. Should a romanizing bishop in the church of England give "a non-natural" sense to the Thirty-nine articles, that would not acquit the priest, who should sign them in that sense, of the crime of moral perjury; or should a presbytery give an entirely erroneous interpretation to the Westminster Confession, that would not justify a candidate for ordination in adopting it in that sense. The Confession must be adopted in the sense of the church, into the service of which the minister, in virtue of that adoption, is received. These are simple principles of honesty, and we presume they are universally admitted, at least so far as our church is concerned.

The question however is, What is the true sense of the phrase, "system of doctrine," in our ordination service? or, What does the church understand the candidate to profess, when he says that he "receives and adopts the Confession of Faith of this church as entertaining the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures"? There are three different answers given to that question. First, it is said by some, that in adopting "the system of doctrine," the candidate is understood to adopt it, not in the form or manner in which it is presented in the Confession, but only for "substance of doctrine." The obvious objections to this view of the subject are:

1. That such is not the meaning of the words employed. The two expressions or declarations, "I adopt the system of doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith," and, "I adopt that system for substance of doctrine," are not identical. The one therefore cannot be substituted for the other. If there were no other difference between them, it is enough that the one is definite and univocal, the other is both vague and

equivocal. The latter expression may have two very different meanings. By substance of doctrine may be meant the substantial doctrines of the Confession; that is, those doctrines which give character to it as a distinctive confession of faith, and which therefore constitute the system of belief therein contained. Or it may mean the substance of the several doctrines taught in the Confession, as distinguished from the form in which they are therein presented. It will be at once perceived that these are very different things. The substance or essence of a system of doctrines is the system itself. In this case, the essence of a thing is the whole thing. The essential doctrines of Pelagianism are Pelagianism, and the essential doctrines of Calvinism are Calvinism. But the substance of a doctrine is not the doctrine, any more than the substance of a man is the man. A man is a given substance in a specific form; and a doctrine is a given truth in a particular form. The substantial truth, included in the doctrine of original sin, is that human nature is deteriorated by the apostasy of Adam. The different forms in which this general truth is presented, make all the difference, as to this point, between Pelagianism, Augustinianism, Romanism, and Arminianism. It is impossible, therefore, in matters of doctrine, to separate the substance from the form. The form is essential to the doctrine, as much as the form of a statue is essential to the statue. In adopting a system of doctrines, therefore, the candidate adopts a series of doctrines in the specific form in which they are presented in that system. To say that he adopts the substance of those doctrines, leaves it entirely uncertain what he adopts. The first objection then to this view of the meaning of the phrase, "system of doctrine," is, that it is contrary to the simple historical sense of the terms. What a man professes to adopt is, "the system of doctrine," not the substance of the doctrines embraced in that system.

2. Another objection is, that it is contrary to the mind of the church. The church, in demanding the adoption of the Confession of Faith as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, demands something more than the adoption of what the candidate may choose to consider the substance of those doctrines. This is plain from the words used, which, as we have seen, in their plain import, mean something more, and

something more specific and intelligible than the phrase "substance of doctrine." The mind of the church on this point is rendered clear beyond dispute by her repeated official declarations on the subject. The famous adopting act of the original Synod, passed in 1729, is in these words: "Although the Synod do not claim or pretend to any authority of imposing our faith on other men's consciences, but do profess our just dissatisfaction with, and abhorrence of such impositions, and do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority in the church, being willing to receive one another as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances, all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the kingdom of heaven, yet we are undoubtedly obliged to take care that the faith once delivered to the saints be kept pure and uncorrupt among us, and so handed down to our posterity; and do therefore agree that all ministers of this Synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this Synod, shall declare their agreement in, and approbation of the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith. And we do also agree, that all Presbyteries within our bounds shall always take care not to admit any candidate of the ministry into the exercise of the sacred functions, but what declares his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession, either by subscribing the said Confession and Catechisms, or by a verbal declaration of their assent thereto, as such minister or candidate shall think best. And in case any minister of this Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall at the time of making said declaration, declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds, and to ministerial communion, if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge his scruple or mistake to be only about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government. But if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge

such ministers or candidates erroneous in essential and necessary articles of faith, the Synod or Presbytery shall declare them incapable of communion with them. And the Synod do solemnly agree that none of them will traduce or use any opprobrious terms of those who differ from us in extra-essential and not necessary points of doctrine, but treat them with the same friendship, kindness, and brotherly love, as if they did not differ in such sentiment."

On the afternoon of the day on which the above act was adopted, the following minute was recorded, viz. "All the ministers of this Synod now present, except one,* that declared himself not prepared, namely, Masters Jedediah Andrews, Thomas Craighead, John Thompson, James Anderson, John Pierson, Samuel Gelston, Joseph Houston, Gilbert Tenant, Adam Boyd, John Bradner, Alexander Hutchinson, Thomas Evans, Hugh Stevenson, William Tenant, Hugh Conn, George Gillespie, and John Wilson, after proposing all the scruples that any of them had to make against any articles and expressions in the Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, have unanimously agreed in the solution of those scruples, and in declaring the said Confession and Catechisms to be the confession of their faith, excepting only some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, concerning which clauses the Synod do unanimously declare, that they do not receive those articles in such sense, as to suppose that the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods, with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power to persecute any for their religion, or in any sense contrary to the Protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain.

"The Synod observing that unanimity, peace, and unity, which appeared in all their consultations relating to the affair of the Confession, did unanimously agree in giving thanks to God in solemn prayer and praises."

This fundamental act, passed in 1729, has never been either repealed or altered. It has on several occasions been inter-

* The Rev. Mr. Elmer, who gave in his adhesion at the following meeting of the Synod.

preted and reaffirmed, but it has never been abrogated, except so far as it was merged in the readoption of the Confession and Catechisms at the formation of our present Constitution, in the year 1788. This important document teaches, first: That in our church the terms of Christian communion are competent knowledge, and a creditable profession of faith and repentance. The Synod, say they, "admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances, all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the kingdom of heaven." Second: That the condition of ministerial communion is the adoption of the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This is expressed by saying, "We adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith." For this is substituted as an equivalent form of expression, "agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession." That is, "all the essential and necessary articles" of the system of doctrine contained in the Confession. Third: That the only exceptions allowed to be taken were such as related to matters outside that system of doctrine, and the rejection of which left the system in its integrity. That this is the true meaning and intent of the act is plain, first, because the Synod in 1730 expressly declared, "that they understand those clauses that respect the admission of entrants or candidates, in such sense as to oblige them to receive and adopt the Confession and Catechisms at their admission, in the same manner, and as fully as the members of the Synod did, that were then present. Those members adopted the whole system in its integrity, excepting only to certain clauses relating to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. Again, in 1736, they say, "The Synod have adopted, and still do adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, without the least variation or alteration . . . and they further declare, that this was our meaning and true intent in our first adopting of said Confession." In the same minute they say, "We hope and desire that this our Synodical declaration and explication may satisfy all our people, as to our firm attachment to our good old received doctrines contained in said Confession, without the least variation or alteration." This

minute was adopted *nemine contradicente*.* Second: Not only this official and authoritative exposition of the "adopting act," given by its authors, but the subsequent declarations of the several Presbyteries composing the Synod, and of the Synod itself, prove that "the system of doctrines" was adopted, and not merely the substance of those doctrines. The common form of adoption may be learned from such records as the following, from the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Mr. Samuel Blair was licensed after "having given his assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as the confession of his faith." David Cowell was ordained "after he had adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as the confession of his faith." In 1741, the great schism occurred by the exclusion of the New Brunswick Presbytery, which being subsequently joined by the Presbyteries of New York and New Castle constituted the Synod of New York. This body, composed of the friends of the Whitefieldian revival, say: "We do declare and testify our constitution, order, and discipline, to be in harmony with the established church of Scotland. The Westminster Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, adopted by them, are in like manner adopted by us." The first article of the terms of union, by which the two Synods were united, in 1758, and which was unanimously adopted, is as follows: "Both Synods having always approved and received the Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as an orthodox and excellent system of doctrine, founded on the word of God; we do still receive the same as the confession of our faith, and also adhere to the plan of worship, government, and discipline, contained in the Westminster Directory: strictly enjoining it on all our ministers and probationers for the ministry, that they preach and teach according to the form of sound words in the said Confession and Catechisms, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto." When the General Assembly was constituted, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms were declared to be parts of the Constitution of the church, and every candidate for

* These documents may be seen in full in Baird's Collection, and in Hodge's Constitutional History, Vol. i., chap. 3.

the ministry was required, previous to his ordination, to receive that Confession, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures. From the beginning, therefore, the mind of our church has been that that "system of doctrine" in its integrity, not the substance of those doctrines, was the term of ministerial communion. For a fuller discussion of this subject we would refer our readers to *Hodge's Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. i., chap. 3. It is there shown that no exception to the Confession of Faith, touching any of the doctrines constituting that system, was ever allowed.

3. Not only are the plain meaning of the words, and the *animus imponentis* opposed to the interpretation of the ordination service now under consideration, but that interpretation is liable to the further objection, that the phrase "substance of doctrine" has no definite assignable meaning. What the substance of any given doctrine is, cannot be historically ascertained or authenticated. No one knows what a man professes, who professes to receive only the substance of a doctrine, and, therefore, this mode of subscription vitiates the whole intent and value of a confession. Who can tell what is the substance of the doctrine of sin? Does the substance include all the forms under which the doctrine has been, or can be held, so that whoever holds any one of those forms, holds the substance of the doctrine? If one man says, that nothing is sin but the voluntary transgression of known law; another, that men are responsible only for their purposes to the exclusion of their feelings; another, that an act to be voluntary, and therefore sinful, must be deliberate and not impulsive; another, that sin is merely limitation or imperfect development; another, that sin exists only for us and in our consciousness, and not in the sight of God; another, that sin is any want of conformity in state, feeling, or act, to the law of God; do all these hold the substance of the doctrine? What is the substance of the doctrine of redemption? The generic idea of redemption, in the Christian sense of the word, may be said to be the deliverance of men from sin and its consequences by Jesus Christ. Does every man who admits that idea, hold the substance of the doctrine as presented in our Confession? If

so, then it matters not whether we believe that that deliverance is effected by the example of Christ, or by his doctrine, or by his power, or by the moral impression of his death on the race, or the universe, or by his satisfying the justice of God, or by his incarnation exalting our nature to a higher power. The same remark may be made in reference to all the other distinctive doctrines of the Confession. The general idea of "grace" is that of a remedial divine influence; but is that influence exercised only by ordering our external circumstances; or is it simply the moral influence of the truth which God has revealed; or that influence exalted by some special operation; is it *praeveniens* as well as assisting; is it common without being sufficient, or sufficient as well as common; is it irresistible, or efficacious only through its congruity or the coöperation of the sinner. Does the man who holds any one of these forms, hold the substance of the doctrine of grace? It is perfectly obvious that there is no authoritative standard by which to determine what the substance of a doctrine is; that the very idea of a doctrine is a truth in a specific form, and, therefore, those who do not hold the doctrines of the Confession in the form in which they are therein presented, do not hold the doctrines. It is equally obvious, that no definite, intelligible, trustworthy profession of faith is made by the man who simply professes to hold the substance of certain doctrines. Such a mode of adopting the Confession of Faith is morally wrong, because inconsistent with the plain meaning of the words, and with the mind of the church, and because it renders the adoption nugatory.

4. This system has been tried, and found to produce the greatest disorder and contention. Men acting on the principle of receiving the Confession for substance of doctrine, have entered the ministry in our church, who denied the doctrine of imputation, whether of Adam's sin or of Christ's righteousness; the doctrine of the derivation of a sinful depravity of nature from our first parents; of inability; of efficacious grace; of a definite atonement; that is, of an atonement having any such special reference to the elect, as to render their salvation certain. In short, while professing to receive "the system of doctrine" contained in the Westminster Confession and Cate-

chisms, they have rejected almost every doctrine which gives that system its distinctive character. It was this principle more than any other cause, and probably more than all other causes combined, that led to the division of our church in 1838, and it must produce like disasters should it again be brought into practical application among us.

The second interpretation given to the question, "Do you receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures?" is, that the person who answers that question in the affirmative does thereby profess to receive and adopt every proposition contained in that Confession as a part of his own faith. The objections to this view are substantially the same as those urged against the view already considered.

1. It is contrary to the plain, historical meaning of the words. To adopt a book as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, and to adopt every proposition contained in that book, are two very different things. The book, although a confession of faith, may contain many propositions by way of argument or inference, or which lie entirely outside the system, and which may be omitted, and yet leave the system in its integrity. The words "system of doctrine," have a definite meaning, and serve to define and limit the extent to which the Confession is adopted.

No man has the right to put upon them his own sense. He must take them in their historical sense, i. e. in the sense which by historical proof it may be shown they were intended to bear, just as the phrase "Holy Scriptures" must be taken in its historical sense. By the words "system of doctrine," as used in our ordination service, as remarked on a preceding page, are not to be understood the general doctrines of Christianity, nor the whole system of a man's convictions on politics, economics, morals, and religion, but the theological system therein contained. That is the established meaning of the phrase. The Westminster divines did not intend to frame a new system of doctrines, nor have they done it. They have simply reproduced and presented, with matchless perspicuity and precision, the system of doctrines common to the Reformed churches. That is the system which the candidate professes to adopt, and

no one can rightfully demand of him either more or less. It is one thing to adopt the system of doctrine and order of worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and quite another thing to "assent and consent" to everything contained in that book, as the clergy of England are required to do. So it is one thing to adopt the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession, and quite another to adopt every proposition contained in that Confession. Many a man could do the one, who could not do the other.

2. A second objection to this interpretation of the adoption of the Confession is, that it is contrary to the *animus impo-nentis*, or mind of the church. The mind of the church on this subject is indicated and established, first, by the words employed; secondly, by the official explanations of the sense in which those words are to be taken; thirdly, by the contemporaneous testimony of the men who framed the constitution, or acted under it; and, fourthly, by the uniform action of the church. First, as to the words employed. If the church intended that the candidate should adopt every proposition contained in the Confession of Faith, why did she not say so? It was very easy to express that idea. The words actually used do not, in their plain, established meaning, express it. The simple fact that no such demand is made, is evidence enough that none such was intended. The church makes a clear distinction between the terms of Christian communion, of ministerial communion, and the condition on which any one is to be admitted to the office of professor in any of her theological seminaries. For Christian communion, she requires competent knowledge, and a credible profession of faith and repentance; for ministerial communion, the adoption of the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession; for admission to the office of a professor, she exacts the promise, "not to teach anything which directly or indirectly contradicts anything taught in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, or Form of Government in this church." Does all this mean nothing? Do these differently worded demands all amount to the same thing? This is impossible. The words have not only a different meaning, but there is an obvious reason for the different demand in these several cases. More

is in Scripture required for admission to the office of a minister, than is required for admission to church privileges; and more may reasonably be demanded of a professor than of a minister. Whatever a professor's private convictions may be as to anything not included in the system of doctrines, he is bound to avoid going counter to the standards of the church whose servant he is. He may think that ministers and ruling elders do not differ in office, but he cannot properly officially inculcate that idea. The mind of the church, therefore, as to the meaning of the ordination service, is already indicated by the words employed.

Secondly, This is placed, as it seems to us, beyond dispute, by the official explanations given of the words in question. The original Synod of Philadelphia officially declared that there were certain clauses in the Westminster Confession relating to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, which they did not adopt. This was no less true of the two Synods of Philadelphia and New York after the schism, and of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia after the union. Yet all these bodies uniformly declared for themselves, and required all candidates to declare, that they received that "Confession as the confession of their faith," or that they "received and adhered to the system of doctrines" therein contained. Every minister received, and every candidate ordained, was required to make that declaration. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the church understood the adoption of the Westminster Confession as not involving the adoption of every proposition contained in that book. Let it be remembered that the formula of adoption was not, "Do you receive the Westminster Confession, with the exception of certain clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, as the confession of your faith?" but simply, "Do you receive that Confession," or "the system of doctrine in that Confession?" It was not considered necessary to make that exception, because the language was not intended to extend to every proposition, but only to "the system of doctrine." This is the church's own official explanation of the sense of the words in question.

Thirdly, The mind of the church as to this point is determined by contemporaneous testimony. There were three forms of

opinion on the subject of confessions in our original Synod. First: There was a very small class, represented by President Dickinson, who were opposed to all creeds of human composition. They entered a protest, signed by four ministers,* against the overture for the adoption of a confession as a test of orthodoxy. On this subject President Dickinson said: "The joint acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ for our common head, of the Sacred Scriptures as our common standard both of faith and practice, with a joint agreement in the same essential and necessary articles of Christianity, and the same methods of worship and discipline, are a sufficient bond of union for the being and well-being of any church under heaven."† This small class, therefore, made no distinction between Christian and ministerial communion, requiring for the latter as well as for the former, simply agreement in the "necessary and essential articles of Christianity." Another class, represented by Mr. Creaghead, who afterward left our church mainly on account of the imperfect adoption of the Confession of Faith,‡ desired unqualified adherence to the Confession, and to all that it contained. The third class, including the great body of the Synod, insisted on the adoption of "the system of doctrine" contained in the Confession, admitting that there were propositions in the book, not essential to the system or even connected with it, which they did not receive. With this class the whole body of ministers subsequently concurred, and established this as the permanent condition of ministerial communion. Mr. Thompson, the leader of the Synod, and author of the overture for the adoption of the Confession, says, that the object of the measure was to protect our infant church from the inroads of error; "of Arminianism, Socinianism, Deism, and Free-thinking," especially, he says, from Ireland, whence the larger supply of ministers was expected. Although the Synod unanimously declared that they adopted everything in the Confession, except certain clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, yet as there was this exception, they were forced to limit

* Those ministers were Malachi Jones, Joseph Morgan, Jonathan Dickinson, and David Evans. Of these, Messrs. Jones and Evans were Welsh, and Mr. Morgan probably either Welsh or English.

† See Constitutional History, page 170.

‡ Ibid. Page 197.

the adoption to "the necessary and essential articles," or, as it is elsewhere expressed to "the system of doctrine." As, however, the words of the preamble to the adopting act, declaring that the Synod received the Confession "in all the essential and necessary articles," were interpreted by some to mean the essential doctrines of the gospel, these words became a bone of contention, and called for frequent explanations. Mr. Creaghead made them the ground of his secession, saying that the Synod had never adopted the Confession in all its articles or chapters. To him Mr. Samuel Blair replied, that the Synod did expressly adopt the Confession in all its articles or chapters, excepting only to certain clauses. On the other hand, the Rev. Samuel Harker, having been suspended from the ministry for certain Arminian doctrines, complained that his suspension was a violation of the adopting act, which required only agreement in the essential doctrines of Christianity. In his published reply to this complaint, Mr. John Blair says, that Mr. Harker takes the words cited "in a sense in which it is plain the Synod never intended they should be taken." "The Synod," he adds, "say essential in doctrine, worship, or government, i. e. essential to the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith, considered as a system, and to the mode of worship, and to the plan of government contained in our Directory. Now what unprejudiced man of sense is there, who will not readily acknowledge that a point may be essential to a system of doctrine as such, to our mode of worship, and to Presbyterian government, which is not essential to a state of grace?" "That, therefore, is an essential error in the Synod's sense, which is of such malignity as to subvert or greatly injure the system of doctrine, and mode of worship and government, contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory."* Such is the explanation of the adoption of the Confession of Faith, given by the original framers of the act, and by their contemporaries. They did not merely receive it for "substance of doctrine," nor did they

* See, "The Synod of New York and Philadelphia vindicated. In reply to Mr. Samuel Harker's Appeal to the Christian World. By a member of the Synod."

adopt all the propositions which it contains, but they received "the system of doctrine" therein taught in its integrity.

Fourthly, The mind of the church on this subject is clearly evinced by the uniform action of our church courts, from the highest to the lowest. So far as we have been able to learn from the records, no man has ever been refused admission to the ministry in our church, who honestly received "the system of doctrine" contained in the Westminster confession, simply because there are propositions in the book to which he could not assent. And no Presbyterian minister has ever been suspended or deposed on any such ground. It is a perfectly notorious fact, that there are hundreds of ministers in our church, and that there always have been such ministers, who do not receive all the propositions contained in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms. To start now, at this late day, a new rule of subscription, which would either brand these men with infamy, or exclude them from the church, is simply absurd and intolerable.

This introduces our third objection. The principle that the adoption of the Confession of Faith implies the adoption of all the propositions therein contained, is not only contrary to the plain, historical meaning of the words which the candidate is required to use, and to the mind of the church in imposing a profession of faith, but the principle is impracticable. It cannot be carried out without working the certain and immediate ruin of the church. Our Confession is a large book; beside the system of doctrine common to all the Reformed churches, it contains deliverances on many other topics relating to the church, the state, and to our social relations. No doubt the original framers of the Westminster Confession, or the majority of them, thought these deliverances both important and scriptural. No doubt also the majority of our own church have concurred in so regarding them. But this is a very different thing from making the adoption of these judgments, all and several, a condition of ministerial communion. One man may dissent from one of them, and another from another, while some may adopt them all; and to many of them they may attach very great importance, without recognizing them as terms of communion. Thus our standards distinctly teach,

that the church is bound to admit all true Christians "to fellowship in sacred ordinances." Yet there have always been, and there still are, some among us who deny this. They press so far the idea of the church as a witnessing body, that they will not commune with any Christians whose creed they cannot adopt; neither will they receive to the communion of the Presbyterian church any who do not adopt its doctrinal standards. This rejecting from our communion those whom Christ receives into fellowship with himself, is revolting to the great body of our ministers and members. Yet who would think of making departure from our standards on this point, the ground either of reproach or of judicial process. Again, our book recognizes the right of a woman to divorce her husband, as well as that of a man to divorce his wife. Some of our most distinguished men, however, hold that the Scriptures give the right of divorce solely to the husband. Our book also teaches that wilful desertion is a legitimate ground of divorce, *a vinculo matrimonii*, but many of our brethren in the ministry do not believe this. Other Presbyterians again, knowing that our Lord says, "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery," cannot bring themselves to believe that there can be any such divorce as renders a second marriage lawful. Our standards deny the lawfulness of the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife, yet it is notorious that a large portion, probably a large majority, of our ministers openly reject that doctrine. Now what is to be thought of a rule, which, if applied, would cast out of the ministry all these classes—a rule which would have strangled the church in its infancy, and which would kill it now in a week—a rule which would have deposed from the ministry the venerable Dr. Ashbel Green, and scores of men among our fathers of like standing? If the rule that no man should be allowed to exercise the ministry in our church, who did not adopt every proposition contained in the Confession of Faith, should be carried out, we verily believe we should be left almost alone. We are not sure that we personally know a dozen ministers besides ourselves, who could stand the test. We should have to mourn the exodus of our valued friends, the editors of the *Presbyterian*, and should doubtless be called to

bid a tearful adieu to the venerable "G.," of Richmond, Virginia. As we have no desire to sit thus solitary on the ruins of our noble church, we enter a solemn protest against a principle which would work such desolation.

4. There is another view of this subject. We all admit that the preservation of the truth is one of the most important duties of the church, and that she is bound to guard against the admission of unsound men into the ministry. We all admit that the Holy Ghost calls men to preach the gospel, and that soundness in the faith is one of the marks by which that call is authenticated to the church. We admit further, that the church has no right to call men to the sacred office; that the authority to preach does not come from her; that the prerogative of the church is simply to judge of the evidence of a divine call. Her office is purely ministerial, and should be exercised cautiously and humbly. She has no more right unduly to lower, or to raise unduly the evidence which she demands of a vocation to the ministry, than she has to alter the evidence of a call to grace and salvation. If she does not, and dares not, require perfect holiness of heart and life, as proof of a call to fellowship with the Son of God, neither can she demand perfect knowledge, or perfect freedom from error, as evidence of a call to the ministry. Now, who is prepared, standing in the presence of Christ, and acting in his name, to say, that so far as the Presbyterian church can prevent it, no man shall be ordained to the ministry, no man shall be a pastor, no man shall be a missionary, no man shall preach the gospel anywhere, to the poor and the perishing, who does not believe that wilful desertion is a legitimate ground of divorce? Who is ready to shut up every church, silence every pulpit, abandon every missionary station, where that principle is not maintained? There doubtless have been, and there still may be, men who would do all this, and in the mingled spirit of the Pharisee and Dominican, rejoice in the desolation they had wrought, and shout, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we." God forbid that such a spirit should ever gain the ascendancy in our church. Let us keep our hands off of God's ark, and not assume to be more zealous for his truth, or more solicitous for the purity of his church, than he is him-

self. We may well bear with infirmities and errors which he pities and pardons in his servants.

There is another great evil connected with these inordinate demands. Whenever a man is induced either to do what he does not approve, or to profess what he does not believe, his conscience is defiled. Those who lead their brethren thus to act, the Apostle says, cause them to offend, and destroy those for whom Christ died. To adopt every proposition contained in the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, is more than the vast majority of our ministers either do, or can do. To make them profess to do it, is a great sin. It hurts their conscience. It fosters a spirit of evasion and subterfuge. It teaches them to take creeds in a "non-natural sense." It at once vitiates and degrades. There are few greater evils connected with establishments, than the overwhelming temptations which they offer to make men profess what they do not believe. Under such strict requirements, men make light of professions, and are ready to adopt any creed which opens the door to wealth or office. The over strict, the world over, are the least faithful.

The third interpretation of the formula prescribed for the adoption of the Confession of Faith, is the true *via media*. It is equally removed from "the substance of doctrine"-theory, which has no definite meaning, leaving it entirely undetermined what the candidate professes; and from the impracticable theory which supposes the candidate to profess to receive every proposition contained in the Confession. What every minister of our church is bound to do, is to declare that he "receives and adopts the Confession of Faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." The words "system of doctrine" have a fixed, historical meaning. The objection that it is an open question, what doctrines belong to the system and what do not, and therefore if the obligation be limited to the adoption of the system, it cannot be known what doctrines are received and what are rejected, is entirely unfounded. If the question, "What is the system of doctrine taught by the Reformed churches?" be submitted to a hundred Romanists, to a hundred Lutherans, to a hundred members of the Church of England, or to a hundred sceptics, if

intelligent and candid, they would all give precisely the same answer. There is not the slightest doubt or dispute among disinterested scholars, as to what doctrines do, and what do not belong to the faith of the Reformed. The Westminster Confession contains three distinct classes of doctrines. First, those common to all Christians, which are summed up in the ancient creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, which are adopted by all churches. Secondly, those which are common to all Protestants, and by which they are distinguished from Romanists. Thirdly, those which are peculiar to the Reformed churches, by which they are distinguished, on the one hand, from the Lutherans, and on the other, from the Remonstrants or Arminians, and other sects of later historical origin. From the Lutherans the Reformed were distinguished principally by their doctrine on the sacraments, and from the Arminians, by the five characteristic points of Augustinianism, rejected by the Remonstrants, and affirmed at the Synod of Dort by all the Reformed churches, viz. those of Switzerland, Germany, France, England, and Scotland, as well as of Holland. What those points are everybody knows. First: The doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin, i. e. that the sin of Adam is the judicial ground of the condemnation of his race, so that their being born in sin is the penal consequence of his transgression. Second: The doctrine of the sinful, innate, depravity of nature, whereby we are indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good. Therefore there can be no self-conversion, no coöperation with the grace of God in regeneration, as the Arminians taught; and no election not to resist as the Lutherans affirmed. With this doctrine of absolute inability consequently is connected that of efficacious, as opposed to merely preventing and assisting grace. Thirdly: The doctrine that as Christ came in the execution of the covenant of redemption, in which his people were promised to him as his reward, his work had a special reference to them, and rendered their salvation certain. Fourth: The doctrine of gratuitous, personal election to eternal life; and, Fifth: The doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. It is a matter of history that these doctrines constitute the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformed churches. And, therefore, any man

who receives these several classes of doctrine, (viz. those common to all Christians, those common to all Protestants, and those peculiar to the Reformed churches,) holds in its integrity the system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession. This is all that he professes to do, when he adopts that Confession in the form prescribed in our Constitution. A man is no more at liberty to construct a system of theology for himself, and call it the system contained in the Confession of Faith, than he is authorized to spin a system of philosophy out of his head, and call it Platonism. The first argument, therefore, in favour of this interpretation of our ordination service, is that it is in accordance with the literal, established meaning of the words, and attaches to them a definite meaning, so that every one knows precisely what the candidate professes.

2. A second argument is, that such was and is the intention of the church in requiring the adoption of the Confession. This has already been proved from the meaning of the language employed, from the official explanations given of that language, from the declarations of the framers of our Constitution, and from the uniform practice of the church. No case can be produced from our annals of any man being censured or rejected, who received the system of doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith, in the sense above stated. The church, in point of fact, never has required more, and no man has now the right to exalt or extend her requirements. What is here said does not imply that the deliverances contained in the Confession relating to civil magistrates, the power of the state, conditions of church membership, marriage, divorce, and other matters lying outside of "the system of doctrine" in its theological sense, are unimportant or without authority. They are the judgments of the church solemnly expressed on very important subjects; but they are judgments which she most wisely has not seen fit to make conditions of ministerial communion. As she does not require the adoption of her whole system of doctrine as the condition of church fellowship; so she does not require the adoption of these collateral and subordinate judgments as the condition of ministerial communion. And as her receiving gladly to her bosom thousands who are not able intel-

ligerly to adopt her whole system of faith, does not imply that she does not value that system, or that she does not strive to bring all her members, even the weakest, to adopt it in its integrity; so her not making her judgments of points lying outside of that system a condition of ministerial communion, does not imply that she undervalues those judgments, or that she would not rejoice to see them universally embraced. There are many things both true and good which cannot be made the condition of either Christian or ministerial fellowship.

3. A third argument in favour of this view of the meaning of the formula used in the ordination service, is, that it is the only one consistent with a good conscience, and with the peace and union of the church. To make every minister affirm that he adopts as a part of his faith every proposition contained in the Confession of Faith, would make the vast majority of them profess an untruth, and what those demanding the profession know to be untrue. This is a dreadful evil. And it is a very great evil for any portion of our brethren to represent the great majority of their fellow ministers as guilty of a false profession. This is done by every man who asserts, that to adopt the system of doctrine contained in the Confession means to adopt every proposition in the book. He thereby asserts that every minister who does not believe that desertion is a scriptural ground of divorce, or that every true Christian should be received to sealing ordinances, or that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister, is guilty of a breach of his ordination vows.

Does not the doctrine concerning subscription here advocated answer all desirable or practicable purposes? We can agree, and to a wonderful extent, to an extent greater than in any other age, in so large a communion, we do agree as to "the system of doctrine." Our ministers hold the faith of the Reformed churches in its integrity. This they are bound to do, and this they do with exceptions so few that it would be difficult to point them out. If we are not satisfied with this, we shall soon split into insignificant sects, each contending for some minor point, and all allowing "the system of doctrine" to go to destruction. If there is any dependence to be placed on the teachings of history, the men who begin with making the

tithing of anise and cummin of equal importance with justice and mercy, are sure in the end to cling to the anise, and let the mercy go.

As so many of our brethren have taken exception to the remarks in our last number, we deem this extended exposition of our views on the matter of subscription, due to them no less than to ourselves. We are confident there is no real disagreement between us on this subject. It is a misunderstanding, as we hope and believe, due to the absence of all explanation or limitation of a passing remark, which, although true in itself, and true in the sense intended, was capable of an application wide of the truth.

ART. VI.—*The Revised Book of Discipline.*

THE General Assembly of 1857 appointed Drs. Thornwell, James Hoge, R. J. Breckinridge, E. P. Swift, A. T. McGill, and Charles Hodge, with Judges Sharswood, Allen, and Leavitt, a Committee to revise the Book of Discipline. That Committee met at the call of the chairman in Philadelphia, on the first Thursday of August last. All the members were present, except Messrs. Leavitt and Allen, who, to the great regret of their associates, were unable to attend. The Committee in a good degree represented the different phases of thought and theory which prevail in our church. Their cordial agreement in any doubtful point may, therefore, afford ground to anticipate a like agreement in the church. The plan of conducting the revision, proposed by the chairman and adopted by the Committee, was to read over the present Book, chapter by chapter, and section by section, and discuss each point until an agreement was arrived at. In the great majority of cases the decisions were unanimous. In some the form adopted was a compromise; and in a few the majority had to decide. This was necessarily a slow process. It took a good while for the Committee to understand each other; still more to produce

mutual conviction. Fundamental principles, underlying these questions of detail, were constantly brought into view, and it was in reference to those principles the greatest diversity of opinion and difficulty of adjustment were experienced. We may be allowed to say, that we never passed a pleasanter week under similar circumstances. Courtesy, mutual deference, kind feeling, sincere desire to meet each other's views, and to arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to all parties, marked the discussion from beginning to end. We believe the Committee separated with increased respect, confidence, and fraternal affection, so that the meeting was at least edifying to themselves, even should their labours prove unprofitable to the church. The severest part of the work fell to the lot of the chairman, the Rev. Dr. Thornwell. He had not only to preside, but to take the initiative, to keep the records, and to reduce to writing the amendments agreed upon. This was a laborious task, and we are sure that every member of the Committee feels under no small obligation to him, for the courtesy, skill, and diligence, with which he discharged the irksome duties of his position. The Committee have a common responsibility for the report adopted. All agreed to it. There was no formal dissent, or minority report as to any point. This, however, does not render it improper for any member to have his preferences. A man may vote against the adoption of his own recommendations, if he has new or clearer light. We propose in the following pages to indicate, at least, the more important changes proposed, and, as far as we understand them, the reasons for them. In so doing, however, we speak only for ourselves; we do not pretend to speak for the Committee.

The Committee proceeded on the assumption that the Assembly intended that they should revise the old Book and not make a new one. They therefore made as few alterations as possible, and endeavoured to retain, as far as consistent with higher objects, the language with which our church courts have become familiar. The objects aimed at were, first, condensation. The old Book contains a good many sections which are merely hortatory, and in many instances rules are repeated, or principles amplified, where the whole that is important appeared to admit of being stated in better order, and in fewer words.

Secondly, perspicuity of arrangement, and precision of statement. Thirdly, where experience had shown that the modes prescribed in the present book, are cumbrous or unintelligible, simpler and plainer rules have been suggested. Fourthly, in a few cases where the principles hitherto recognized seemed at variance with justice or expediency, not only new modes of proceeding, but new principles have been introduced. These changes are not novelties, so far as the suggestion of them is concerned. The appointment of the Committee is a proof that serious objections were felt to the present Book, and numerous suggestions as to the alterations which are desirable, have for years, under one form or another, been presented to the church. We presume, therefore, that little surprise will be felt at the changes proposed by the Committee.

CHAPTER I.

This chapter has been reduced from seven sections to three, and from forty-three lines, to twenty-three. The design of the chapter is to state, first, The nature of discipline; secondly, Its grounds; and thirdly, Its subjects. The word *discipline* is used in different senses. It sometimes has the general sense of training, whether of the mind, heart, or life. In this sense, it includes all instructions, exhortations, admonitions, and directions. Sometimes it means a mode of government, as when we speak of the Methodist discipline. Sometimes the word is taken in the restricted sense of punishment; and a Book of Discipline, when distinguished, as it is with us, from "the Form of Government," is a book which gives direction for the administration of discipline in the restricted sense of the term. It concerns, not teaching, but the administration of justice, and exercise of authority. It is therefore defined to be, "the exercise of that authority, and the application of that system of laws which the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed in his church. Its ends are the rebuke of offences, the removal of scandal, the vindication of the honour of Christ, the promotion of the purity and general edification of the church, and the spiritual good of offenders themselves." It appears from this, that discipline, as here used, includes the ideas of oversight and punishment.

The second point which this chapter is designed to settle, is

the grounds of discipline, or the occasions which call for its exercise. What are those things which the church is authorized and bound to visit with ecclesiastical censures? In other words, what is an offence, in the ecclesiastical sense of that word? The answer given to this question in the second section of this chapter is, 1. That an offence is something "in the faith or practice of a professed believer contrary to the word of God." An offence, therefore, is something contrary to the word of God. This is a very important provision; no man and no church has the right to alter the terms of Christian communion; or to prescribe any new conditions on which we may maintain our church and standing unquestioned. We may think many things—drinking wine, for example—to be wrong, because inexpedient, but unless drinking wine is forbidden in the word of God, it cannot be made an ecclesiastical offence, or ground of discipline. We may reason with a man, or exhort him, or admonish him, who, as we think, is acting in a way which injures the cause of Christ; but unless the thing done be forbidden in the word of God, we have no right to arraign him before a church court, or to interfere with his full enjoyment of church privileges. The reason of this is plain. His acting in a way which we regard as inexpedient, may be compatible with his being a true Christian. His views of expediency may differ from ours. His views may be right, and ours wrong. He has as good a right to his opinion as we have to ours. Expediency can never be made the ground of determining the terms of church communion; because expediency depends on circumstances, and is a matter on which men may honestly differ. Uniformity and security depend on our adhering to the rule, that nothing shall be regarded as an offence but what the word of God forbids. If we abandon this principle, we shall be at the mercy of every new theory and every form of fanaticism which for the time gains ascendancy. Matters of dress, modes of living, meats and drinks, fasts and festivals, and a thousand other things about which God has left us free, will be made terms of communion, or grounds of church discipline.

2. Among us, as Presbyterians, nothing can be regarded as an offence which is not contrary to the Westminster Confession

of Faith or Catechisms. No man has a right to interpret the Scriptures as a rule of discipline for others than himself. He may think that the Scriptures condemn certain forms of opinion, or certain modes of conduct, but he has no right to make his private judgment the rule of faith and practice to others. We have agreed among ourselves to take the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as a faithful exposition of the system of doctrines and rule of duty taught in the Bible, and by that recognized exposition, and not by our own private judgment, we are bound to act in the administration of discipline. One man may think that the Bible forbids slave-holding, or the use of intoxicating liquors. Another, with equal honesty, may regard these opinions as not only contrary to Scripture, but subversive of their authority, by putting another rule in their place. The abolitionist, or the ultra-temperance man, cannot make his opinions the rule of discipline; nor can his opponent. We have agreed to abide by our own standards in the administration of discipline. Outside of that rule, so far as our church standing is concerned, we may think and act as we please. Every man, therefore, in joining the Presbyterian church, knows beforehand what he has to expect, and by what standard of faith and practice he is to be judged.

3. But although nothing is an offence which is not contrary to the Scriptures, it does not follow that everything contrary to the Scriptures is an offence. The words *offence* and *discipline* are relative terms. An offence is anything which is a proper ground of discipline. If, therefore, you take the word discipline in its wide sense, every sin is an offence; but in the restricted meaning of the word discipline, nothing is an offence, which is not incompatible with the terms of Christian or ministerial communion as laid down in our standards. An offence bears to ecclesiastical law, the same relation that a crime does to the civil law. It is something for which a man may be legally prosecuted, and if convicted, punished. Hence in our Book, both in its present, and in its revised form, it is said nothing is to be regarded as an offence "which does not involve those evils which discipline is intended to prevent." A church member may be admonished, or rebuked on account of his want of proper zeal, or for lukewarmness, or for his covetous-

ness, pride, despondency, and the like, but he cannot, on these grounds, be arraigned before a church court, unless they are of such a character as to prove that he is not a Christian. These, in their ordinary form, are not the evils which discipline, in the restricted sense of the word, is designed to prevent. The end of discipline is to secure conformity on the part of members and ministers to the terms of Christian and ministerial communion. And as our church does not pretend to demand perfection of Christian character and conduct as a condition of church-fellowship, nor perfect knowledge or entire freedom from error, as a condition for ministerial fellowship, so every shortcoming from the standard of perfection in either case, is not to be regarded as an offence. Nothing is an offence, but what, if persisted in, would justify either suspension from the privileges of the church, or from the office of the ministry. The importance of this distinction between a sin and an offence, will be at once perceived. No minister or church member would ever be safe from prosecution, and no judicatory could ever know whether they were called upon to prosecute or not, if every sin were an offence, or a just ground of judicial process. Minor evils are to be corrected by admonition, instruction, and the ministry of the word. It is only those evils in the faith or practice of a church member which bring disgrace or scandal on the church, as tolerating what the Bible declares to be incompatible with the Christian character, which can be a ground of process. Such is not only the theory but the practice of the church. We never hear of any professing Christian being arraigned and put on trial, unless for some immorality, or some such denial of the truth, or such neglect of his duty as a professor of the religion of the Lord Jesus, as affords good ground for calling the sanctity of that profession into question.

Thirdly. Such being the nature and grounds of discipline, who are its subjects? To this question the natural answer is, church members. But who are church members? Some say only communicants. This answer is founded on the assumption that the church is, as it is defined by Independents, a body of believers united by covenant for the purpose of worship and mutual watch and care. Those only, therefore, who have entered into this covenant are members of the church,

and consequently the proper subjects of discipline. Others say that the visible church consists of all those who profess the true religion together with their children. Therefore, all baptized children, as well as those who make a personal profession of religion, are the subjects of discipline.

Others again say, that although baptized children, so long as they are, in the church sense of the term, minors, are members of the church, and therefore under its watch and care, yet when they become adults, unless they personally profess faith in Christ, they forfeit their church standing, and are not the subjects of discipline in the strict sense of that word.

According to this last mentioned theory, the visible church consists of those only on whose conversion the church has pronounced in charity a favourable judgment, in receiving them to the Lord's table, together with their infant children. According to the other view, we are bound to regard and treat as members of the church all baptized persons, who have not renounced their baptismal vows, are free from scandal, and acknowledge themselves to be amenable to the authority of the church.

In our present Book, the question, Who are the subjects of discipline, is answered in these words: "All baptized persons are members of the church, are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of church members." This is founded on the last of the views of the nature of the visible church mentioned above. In the revised Book the answer proposed is: "All baptized persons, being members of the church, are under its government and training, and when they have arrived at years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of members. Only those, however, who have made a profession of faith in Christ, are proper subjects of judicial prosecution." This answer does not seem to differ in principle from the old one. It admits that all baptized persons are members of the church, and, therefore, subject to its government and training. But it makes a distinction between baptized and professing members; declaring the latter alone to be the subject of judicial process. This section bears on its face evidence of being a compromise,

and, as is apt to be the case with compromises, it does not hang well together. We voted for it, however, and share the responsibility of recommending its adoption, although we prefer the old form. The fact that we never knew of any baptized person, not a communicant, being made the subject of judicial process, reconciled us to the adoption of the rule as it is reported. So long as it is admitted that all baptized persons are under the government of the church, the principle involved in the case is saved.

CHAPTER II.

The object of this chapter is to classify offences. In the present Book they are distinguished as private and public; here the discrimination is carried further. They are distinguished, 1. As personal, when committed against one or more individuals; such as acts of defamation, or defrauding. 2. As general, when they have no such relation to individuals, as drunkenness. 3. As private, when known only to a few persons. 4. Public, when they are notorious. These distinctions are important, as they become the grounds of different modes of proceeding.

CHAPTER III.

In the present Book, chapter ii. and iii. are devoted, the one to private, the other to public offences. In the revised Book, the different classes of offences having been briefly stated in the second chapter, the third is devoted to determining the parties in cases of process, and specifying their responsibilities and duties.

1. In the case of a personal offence, the injured party is bound to take the steps prescribed in Matt. xviii. 15, 16, before bringing the matter into court. In the case of private offences the same course is to be pursued.

2. General offences may be brought before a church court, either by an accuser, or by common fame. An effort was made to have this latter provision stricken out. It was urged that in no other church, and never in any state court, is a man arraigned unless charged with a specific offence, by some responsible accuser. He must be presented by some person or

persons who will undertake to establish the charge. The Committee, however, thought that such is the indisposition on the part of even good men to assume the invidious office of accuser, that many offences, bringing scandal on the church, would be allowed to pass without censure, if our courts were required to wait until a prosecutor should voluntarily present himself.

3. Charges are not to be taken up on the ground of common fame, if there is hope, in any other way, of removing scandal and of bringing the party concerned to repentance.

4. Defines what common fame is. It is not any and every vague rumour. It must be specific, serious, notorious, and generally believed.

5. A person against whom an evil report is circulating, may demand a judicial investigation, should the church-court not see fit of its own motion to institute process.

6. In cases of prosecution on the ground of common fame, the judicatory *may* appoint some one to represent common fame, and to conduct the prosecution. Such prosecutor must be a member of the church, and subject to the same court with the accused. The appointment of a prosecutor is thus left optional with the court. It seems to us that it should be obligatory wherever it can be done; because in case of appeal, some one must appear before the higher court to sustain the charge.

7. The only parties to a trial are the accuser and the accused, and in appellate courts, they appear as appellant and appellee. This is a very important section. It simplifies greatly the whole process of trial. The lower court does not appear before the higher, in cases of appeal, as an accused party called upon to defend its decision. If a man is charged before the session with any offence, the session decides in favour of the accuser or the accused. If either party be dissatisfied, he appeals to the Presbytery, and they, i. e. the accuser and the accused, plead their cause there, and the Presbytery decides. If still not satisfied, they plead it before the Synod, and then before the Assembly. The parties are the same from first to last. We are done, it is to be hoped, for ever with the puzzle about "original parties." This matter, however, will be brought up in a subsequent chapter.

8. The eighth section directs that great caution should be exercised in entertaining charges presented by malignant, disreputable, or interested parties.

CHAPTER IV.

This chapter relates to actual process. The corresponding chapter of the present Book contains twenty-three sections, which are here reduced to fifteen. This chapter directs, 1. What is to be done at the first meeting of the judicatory, which has determined to institute process against an accused person. The trial may proceed at once by consent of parties. If either party is not prepared, copies of the charges shall be given to the accused, together with the list of the witnesses *then known*, (not, as before, all the witnesses,) and citations are to be issued to all concerned, to appear at the next meeting of the judicatory to have the case heard and decided. Ten days are to intervene between the date of the citation and the day of trial. At the second meeting the accused is to plead in writing to the charges; and if he fail to do so, at the third meeting they shall be taken as confessed, provided he has been duly cited. This seems to be a new provision. It does not contemplate a case of contumacy, or refusing to answer a citation, for which a different provision is made in a subsequent section. We are not sure that we understand this clause, but presume the intention was to provide for the case in which an accused party should refuse or fail, when arraigned, to answer the charges against him. If he fail to plead not guilty, it is to be assumed that he acknowledges himself guilty. In which case there is no need of a trial. In the case of contumacy, the trial is to proceed.

2. Citations to be issued by the moderator or clerk in the name of the court.

3. Charges to be specific as to time and place, so as to give the accused the opportunity to prove an *alibi*.

4. If the accused refuse to appear after a second citation and due warning, he is to be suspended from the communion of the church, and the case proceeded with as though he were present. The court may appoint some one to represent the accused, which representative, if a member of the court, shall

not sit in judgment on the case. The representative of the accused party need not be a member of the court.

5. The time between the second citation and the trial is left to the discretion of the court; but should be sufficient to allow of the citation being served and answered.

6. Judicatories to be careful that their citations are duly served.

7. Trials to be fair; the witnesses to be examined in the presence of the accused, and he to have the privilege of cross-examination. This, of course, supposes that he has answered the citation, and put himself on trial.

8. If found guilty the accused may be admonished, rebuked, or suspended from church privileges.

9. The judgment to be recorded; parties to be allowed, at their own expense, copies of the whole proceedings; if the case be carried up to a higher court, an authenticated copy of all the proceedings is to be sent up with it.

10. The publication of the judgment left to the discretion of the judicatory.

11. In extreme cases excommunication may be resorted to.

12. A church session may debar an accused person access to the Lord's table, until his case is decided. If an accused person evades citation, he may be suspended from church privileges.

13. No professional counsel shall appear and plead before a church court. But an accused person may be represented by any communicating member of the church, who is subject to the court before which he appears. A man cannot, however, be a judge in a case in which he is an advocate.

14. Questions of order arising during a trial, are to be decided by the moderator; if an appeal be taken from his decision, the appeal is to be decided without debate. His decisions are to be recorded, if either party demand it.

15. The record in judicial cases shall contain the charges, the specifications, the sentence of the court, the testimony, and all the circumstances which influenced the judgment. And nothing not contained in the record shall be taken into consideration, in reviewing the proceedings in a higher court.

CHAPTER V.

This chapter relates to process against a minister. As the general principles which regulate the trial of a minister are the same with those prescribed for the conduct of the trial of a private member of the church, its contents are therefore substantially the same as those of chapter iv. Very little change is proposed in the revised Book. The first four sections are the same in both Books. They prescribe great caution in entertaining charges against a minister; require that he must be tried by the Presbytery to which he belongs; if the offence charged was committed without the bounds of that Presbytery, the testimony may be taken by the Presbytery within whose bounds the offence is said to have been committed. If the offence is known only to a distant Presbytery, that body is to send notice to the Presbytery to which the offender belongs, who are then to proceed as above directed. Section 5 requires that process shall not be commenced against a minister (unless the scandal be notorious,) except charges are presented by one or more persons. To this is added in the new Book, "Nevertheless, each church court has the inherent power to demand and receive satisfactory explanations from its members concerning any matters of evil report."

6. Section sixth is unchanged. It directs that if any one knows a minister to be guilty of a private fault, he is to warn him in private; and if the fault be persisted in, he is to advise with some other member of the Presbytery.

7. In section seventh, instead of saying that the accuser shall be censured should he fail to establish the charges made against a minister, it is proposed to say, "if he fail to show probable cause of the charges."

8. At the first meeting, unless by consent of parties, nothing shall be done but read the charges, issue citations, &c., as directed in the case of a trial before a session.

9. This section corresponds with the tenth of the present book, the ninth being omitted. It is considerably modified in the revised form. The section as proposed, directs that when the trial is entered upon, the charges shall be read to the accused, and he be called to say whether he is guilty or not.

If he confess, the Presbytery shall deal with him according to their discretion; if he plead and take issue, the trial shall proceed. If found guilty, the Presbytery shall award what ecclesiastical censure they see fit.

10. If a minister, accused of atrocious crimes, refuse to obey a second citation, he shall be suspended; if he refuse to answer a third citation, he shall be deposed, and suspended or excommunicated from the church.

11. Relates to heresy and schism, and is the same as section thirteen of the present book.

12. Is the same as section fifteen of the present form, and directs that if the offence charged is not serious, the Presbytery shall endeavour to correct the evil.

13. If a minister be deposed for scandalous conduct, he is not to be restored until public sentiment demands his restoration.

14. When a minister is deposed, his congregation shall be declared vacant; if he is suspended, it is discretionary with the Presbytery so to declare it or not.

CHAPTER VI.

This is a new chapter, and provides for cases in which the necessity of a trial is precluded. Section 1. directs that if the offence be committed in open court, or if the accused party confess, the judicatory may pass judgment without process. This seems to be a dictate of common sense. The end of a trial is to ascertain the facts of the case; if these be confessed, or if they are patent to all concerned, there can be no use in a trial. We presume our courts have felt at liberty to act on this principle, when occasion calls for it. We have known it to be done in several instances. It is well, however, to have it distinctly recognized in our book of discipline. 2. Should an appeal be taken from such summary judgment, some communicating member of the church shall be appointed, subject to the jurisdiction of the same court with the appellant, to defend the sentence, and shall be the appellee in the case. 3. If a communicating member of the church shall declare that he is persuaded, he has no right to come to the

Lord's table, and desire to withdraw from the communion of the church, his name shall be struck from the roll, provided he has committed no offence. This provision we trust will find general favour. No man should be coerced to violate his conscience; nor should he be visited with ecclesiastical censure simply for believing that he is not prepared to come to the Lord's table. The church is so far a voluntary society, that no one can be either made to join it, or required to remain in it, against his will. The principle involved in this rule is constantly acted on. Hundreds of cases are occurring from year to year, of members silently withdrawing from the communion of the church. They move away, are soon lost sight of, and their names are dropped from the rolls.

CHAPTER VII.

Relates to witnesses. The first three sections concern their competency and credibility. According to the revised Book, nothing is to be considered a sufficient ground for the exclusion of a witness as incompetent, except the denial of the existence of God, or of a future state of reward and punishment. In the present Book, several other grounds are admitted, such as near relationship to one or other of the parties, want of any of the senses essential to the knowledge of the fact to which he is called to testify, weakness of understanding, infamy of character, being under church censure for falsehood, and "various other considerations which cannot be specified in detail." All these specifications, and others of a like kind, are transferred, in the new form, to the head of credibility. They serve properly to affect more or less the weight due to a man's testimony; but do not render him incompetent to testify. For the same reason, the parties themselves are to be admitted as witnesses. This is a principle recently introduced into the jurisprudence of England, and of several of the States in this country. It seems to be eminently wise. No one can be so competent to testify to the facts in a contested matter, as those who were parties to the transaction. That they are personally interested may affect their credibility, but affords no sufficient reason why they should not be allowed to tell their own story.

4. A husband or wife shall not be compelled to bear testimony against each o'her, in any judicatory. This rule is not founded on the assumption that the husband is not a competent witness against the wife, or the wife against the husband, but upon a regard to the sacredness of the conjugal relation. It is better that a guilty party should escape conviction, than that the harmony of the marriage relation should be endangered. Some think the rule should be carried further, so as not to allow a husband or wife to testify the one against the other. To this, however, it may be objected, that in some cases an injured wife would have no protection, if not allowed to testify to the violence or ill-conduct of her husband.

5. The testimony of more than one witness is necessary to establish any charge, unless similar acts can be proved against the accused, or unless confirmatory circumstances are established. 6. No witness to be present while others are examined, unless he has already given his testimony. 7. This section relates to the order in which the examination is to be conducted, and is unchanged. 8. Prescribes the form of the oath to be administered to witnesses. The following provision is added: "If, however, at any time, a witness shall present himself before a judicatory, who, for conscientious reasons, prefers to swear or affirm in any other manner, he shall be allowed to do so." 9. Questions to witnesses to be recorded if either party demand it. 10 and 11. Testimony taken in one judicatory, when duly authenticated, to be valid in any other judicatory. 12. Testimony, when necessary, may be taken by commission. 13. Parties shall be heard after the testimony is taken, 14. A member of the judicatory may be a witness, and judge in the same case. 15. A member of the church refusing to bear testimony, when duly cited, is liable to censure for contumacy. 16. The testimony to be signed by the witnesses. 17. If new testimony, deemed important, be offered in an appellate court, the case shall be remitted to the lower judicatory for a new trial, or, with consent of parties, the appellate court may take the testimony, and decide the case. This provision is in lieu of the whole of the ninth chapter, including seven sections of the present Book.

CHAPTER VIII.

This is a long chapter, divided into four parts, besides the introduction. It relates to the different methods in which a cause may be carried from a lower to a higher judicatory. The word *cause* in this connection is not to be understood in the limited sense of a case of process, but includes all acts and decisions, or matters proposed for the action or decision of a church judicatory. Our judicatories are not merely courts for the administration of justice. They unite in themselves, as does the Senate of the United States, legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The word legislative is used in two senses. It may mean the power to make "laws to bind the conscience." In this sense our standards deny to the church all legislative authority. This is a Protestant principle, and stands opposed to the Romish assumption of the right to make things to be sins or duties, which the word of God does not forbid or enjoin. Legislative power, in a wider sense, is the power to enact laws or rules for the conduct of affairs. This is expressed in the Westminster Confession, by saying the church has power "to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and for the government of his church." Chap. xxxi. § 2. Our whole Book of Discipline is a system of such rules. This form of legislative authority does belong to church judicatories; a power which, under our constitution, is exercised under certain prescribed forms and limitations. This distinction between the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of our church courts is important, because it determines not only our nomenclature to a certain extent, but the modes of redress and revision. A judicial act, according to our system, is not a mere act of a judicatory, for in that case every act of a church court would be judicial. It is an act of a judicatory when sitting as a court of justice. To ordain a licentiate, to divide a congregation, to dismiss a pastor from his charge, are executive, not judicial acts. These remarks are made, because in the subsequent parts of our Book of Discipline the expression "judicial cases" frequently occurs; and it has often been misinterpreted. A judicial case, in the sense of our Book, is a case of process or trial for some offence.

The introduction to this chapter consists at present of two paragraphs which remain unchanged in the revision. The first states the importance of the principle of review and control; and the second says that any and every kind of decision (i. e. whether legislative, executive, or judicial) may be carried up for the review of a higher judicatory, in one or the other of the four following ways, viz. general review and control, reference, appeal, or complaint. To these paragraphs or subsections, it is proposed to add a third, in these words, viz. "When a matter is transferred in any of these ways, from an inferior to a superior judicatory, the inferior judicatory shall, in no case, be considered a party; nor shall its members lose their right to sit, deliberate, and vote, in the higher courts." This is, perhaps, the most radical change proposed in the new Book. The rule, as it now stands, makes every inferior court a party as the cause goes up. The objections to this mode of proceeding are so serious, and consequently the reasons in favour of the proposed change are so strong, that we trust the amended rule will meet with universal approbation. In the first place, it is a false and derogatory principle that a judge becomes a partisan by the exercise of his prerogative of judgment. This is assumed in our present Book. The lower court is arraigned, as for an offence, before a higher, and is put on its defence. It is turned out of the house, and judgment is passed upon it. This surely is derogatory. A session's deciding that a professing Christian has been guilty of falsehood, or a presbytery's deciding that a minister is a heretic, is no offence, even if the judgment be not borne out by the testimony. It may be an erroneous judgment, but it is not a crime; and, therefore, furnishes no good reason for making the lower court a party in the future conducting of the case. It is of great importance that it should be assumed that judges are upright, and to have the contrary assumption engrafted into our very laws is a great evil. In the second place, there is no reason for the present rule. A man's having tried a cause once is no disqualification for his trying it again. To say that he has prejudged the case, and is not fit to participate in the rehearing, is to say that he is prejudiced, or influenced by corrupt motives, or that he is so opinionated as not to be open to conviction.

These are all gratuitous, and generally false assumptions. Besides, the lower court may be nearly equally divided; why should the appellant, or complainant, be deprived of the votes of those who agree with him? The Book turns both parts of the lower court out of the house, and treats both as wrong doers. In the third place, this is contrary to the usage of all other courts. In no civil government are the judges of a lower court made parties in an appellate court. They are not arraigned before the higher court, and made to defend themselves for having given a certain judgment. On the contrary, when an appeal is taken, the original litigants carry up the cause, and it is reheard either by a new set of judges, or by the same judges associated with others. Often the appeal is from a single judge to a full bench. Thus the cause has the advantage not only of the learning and skill of other minds, but of being reconsidered by those already familiar with the case. In the fourth place, our present plan is cumbrous and almost impracticable. A session may decide that a certain man was intoxicated on a given occasion. The man appeals to the presbytery. The session and the accused appear at the bar of that court, and plead their cause. The presbytery decides in favour of the session. An appeal is taken to the synod. Then the presbytery, the session, and the accused, are parties before the synod. The synod may confirm the action of the presbytery, and the case be carried before the Assembly. There the parties are the synod, the presbytery, the session, and the accused. They all have a right to be heard; they are all on trial at one and the same time. When the original parties are called for, they are uniformly lost in the crowd. Nobody knows who they are. In the case supposed, who are the original parties? The accused may be one, but who is the other? Is it the session? or common fame? Such is the confusion, complication, and prolixity, attending the present mode of process under the most favourable circumstances. We have supposed a case in which all the inferior courts come to the same conclusion. It often happens otherwise. A session may find a man guilty. The presbytery may reverse that decision. The session appeals to synod. Here the session and the presbytery are the parties. The

accused has nothing to do with the case. The synod may reverse the judgment of the presbytery. Then the presbytery appeals, and the synod and presbytery become the parties before the Assembly. Thus we have court accusing and arraigning court, all the way up, and all about what? Often about the merest trifle—some petty neighbourhood quarrel, in which no general interest of either truth or holiness is involved. This upas tree will be cut up by the roots at one blow, if the church sees fit to adopt this little section of three lines and a half. There is another objection. If we refuse to let the lower court sit and vote in the appellate court, we often change essentially the character of the latter body. A synod may consist of three presbyteries; one may be larger than the other two combined. If an appeal be taken from the large presbytery, it is determined in the synod by a minority of the lawful members of that body. The action of the General Assembly may be, and doubtless often has been, determined by the presence or absence of a particular synod. If one synod is excluded the Assembly votes one way; if another is shut out, the vote is exactly opposite. This is surely unreasonable and unfair. We trust, therefore, that the important change proposed by the addition of this paragraph will be unanimously adopted.

CHAPTER VIII.—SECTION 1.

The first section of this chapter relates to General Review and Control. No change is proposed in any of its provisions. Sub-section 1. directs the annual review of the records of an inferior judicatory, by the one next above. 2. States the objects of that review, viz. to see whether the proceedings have been regular, whether they have been wise and equitable, and whether they have been correctly recorded. 3. The strictures of the superior judicatory may be recorded simply in its own minutes, or also in those of the inferior judicatory, and in cases of serious irregularities, the inferior judicatory may be required to revise and correct its proceedings. 4. No judicial decision can be reversed on mere review of records. 5, 6. If an inferior judicatory neglects its duty, or is guilty of unfaithfulness to the constitution, it may be cited before the higher court to give an account of its doings, and, if found to have acted im-

properly, the matter complained of shall be remitted by the higher to the lower court with directions.

CHAPTER VIII.—SECTION 2.

In this section no change is proposed, except the omission of the sixth paragraph, which becomes unnecessary if the proposed new paragraph is added to the introduction of the chapter. 1. Defines a reference to be a judicial representation by an inferior judicatory, of a matter not decided, to a superior. 2. States the cases in which references are proper. 3. These references may be either for advice, or for decision. 4. In the former case, the reference suspends the action of the lower judicatory; in the latter, its action is superseded. 5. It is in general desirable that each judicatory should exercise its own judgment, instead of referring cases to a higher court. 6. The higher court may either decide the cases referred, or remit them with or without advice. 7. References as a general rule are to be made to the next superior judicatory. 8. When a case is referred, all the documents requisite for its decision should be sent up with it.

SECTION 3.

It is in this section, relating to appeals, that the Revised Book differs most from the old one. To this the greatest labour was devoted by the Committee; and, if this should be ultimately adopted, it matters comparatively little what becomes of the rest of their recommendations. It is here, and in the following section, on complaints, that the principle that an inferior judicatory can never be made a party in an appellate court comes into play.

In our present Book an appeal is defined to be, "The removal of a case already decided from an inferior to a superior judicatory, by a party aggrieved." In the revised Book it is declared to be, "The removal of a case already decided, from an inferior to a superior judicatory, the peculiar effect of which is to arrest all proceedings under the decision, until the matter is finally decided in the last court." These definitions are essentially different. In the former an appeal is distinguished from a complaint, by its source. It must be made

“by a party aggrieved.” In the latter it is correctly distinguished by its effect. Its peculiar effect is “to arrest all proceedings under the decision.” The former is really no definition at all, because an aggrieved party, according to our present Book, can complain as well as appeal, or complain and appeal at the same time and for the same thing. And, therefore, so far as this definition goes, there is no difference between the two. Another objection to the present definition is that it confines the right of appeal to “an aggrieved party.” This is very well in judicial cases, but in non-judicial cases, others than “parties” in the ordinary sense of that word, have the right of appeal. After stating what an appeal is, the revised Book goes on to specify the cases in which this mode of redress is allowable; that is, in what cases it is allowable to arrest all proceedings under a given decision. Those cases are, “1st. In all judicial cases, by a party to the cause, against whom the decision is made. 2d. In all other cases, when the action or decision of a judicatory has inflicted an injury on any party or persons, he or they may appeal; and when said action or decision, though not inflicting any personal injury or wrong, may nevertheless inflict directly, or by its consequences, great general injury, any minority of the judicatory may appeal.” These are very important provisions. A cloud of obscurity rests on the present Book, both as to the cases in which an appeal is allowable, and as to the persons authorized to appeal. From the necessity of the case, from the uniform practice of the Scottish church, and of our own for the first hundred years of its existence in this country, appeals have been allowed in other than judicial cases; i. e., in other than cases of process. But as appeals are most common in cases of trial for an offence, much of the language of the book contemplates such cases, and would seem inapplicable to any others. Hence, of late years, the ground has been assumed, and in one instance received the sanction of the Assembly, contrary, as just stated, to all usage, as well as to the necessities of the church, that an appeal can only be taken where a party has been put on trial. This obscurity is now removed by an express distinction of two classes of cases in which appeals are allowed, the one judicial and the other non-judi-

cial. This distinction is of importance on another ground. These cases differ not only in their nature, but in the mode in which they are to be conducted. In an appeal from a judicial sentence, the whole form and order of a trial must be observed in the prosecution of the appeal. The testimony is to be read, the parties heard, the sentence judicially pronounced. In non-judicial cases, there is no testimony, no accuser and accused, no judicial sentence to be rendered. Hence the importance of distinguishing between cases which are essentially different, a thing which our present book does not do.

The specific nature of an appeal is, that it arrests the operation of the decision appealed from. This determines at once the class of cases in which it is to be allowed, and the persons who have the right to avail themselves of this power. There are certain evils which must be arrested, or they admit of no redress. If a man is sentenced to be hung, it would avail him little to have a superior court decide that he had been illegally condemned, unless the execution of the sentence can be stayed. So in church matters there are many decisions which, if carried into effect, cannot be redressed. It is this class of evils which appeals are designed to meet. There are other evils, in which all that is desirable is to have an erroneous decision pronounced wrong, or censured, so that it may not be drawn into a precedent, or be allowed to pass as of authority. For this class complaints are the appropriate remedy. This being the nature of an appeal, it is clear, that when a man is on trial for an offence, if pronounced guilty, he has the right to arrest the execution of the sentence, until the question of his guilt be decided in the court of last resort. Or if he be pronounced innocent, the accuser, if still satisfied of his guilt, has the right in behalf of the church, to prevent the sentence of acquittal taking full effect, until the matter is finally decided. The right of appeal is, therefore, properly given in judicial cases, to "the party in the cause, against whom the decision is given," and to him alone, whether the accused or the accuser. The party in whose favour the decision is given, has no occasion to appeal; and a member of the judicatory cannot appeal from the decision of a court of which he was a member. He may complain of it, if he regards it as unjust, or as unconstitutional; but he

has no right to arrest its operation. There are, however, other than judicial cases, in which the evil would be incapable of redress, unless the execution of the decision of the judicatory were arrested. If a pastor, for example, should be dismissed from his congregation against his own will, or the will of the people; if the decision of the presbytery could not be arrested by an appeal, the pastor might be dismissed, the congregation be declared vacant, another minister called and installed, no matter how great the injustice or hardship, before the case could be reviewed in a higher court. So also if the proposition be to divide a congregation. Should the division be effected, two churches constituted, pastors called and settled, neither complaint, nor review and control affords any redress. Here again the right of appeal is secured to the aggrieved party, and to it alone. They only are exposed to injury by the execution of the decision of the judicatory. It would be unreasonable to give to a captious member, to an impracticable minority of a court, the right to prevent, in cases of this kind, the execution of the will of the majority. When, therefore, there are two parties interested in a case, as in the dismissal of a pastor, or division of a church, either party, whose interests would be injuriously affected by the decision, has the right to interpose with an arrest of the proceedings by an appeal. There are, however, cases in which there is, properly speaking, no aggrieved party, where the decision of a court would work irreparable injury if carried out; injury, not to particular individuals, but to the church in general. Should a presbytery, for example, from party, or other corrupt motives, resolve to ordain one, five, or ten men, *sine titulo*, who were unsound in the faith, it is clear that unless such action could be arrested, irreparable injury might be occasioned. Such men in times of conflict might decide the fate of the church. Things very like this have been done. It is for such emergencies the right of appeal is recognized as belonging to "any minority of the judicatory." It is not on every occasion, nor from every decision of a church court, that the minority have the right to appeal. This would be a power too liable to abuse. Any one member may tie the hands of a session or a presbytery for a year, and from one year to another. It is only when the act contemplated, if done,

cannot be undone, or its evil consequences remedied, that the right exists. On account of the liability of this power of a minority to arrest the action of the majority, to be abused, it was strenuously urged in the Committee, that the right of appeal should be confined in all cases to aggrieved parties. We are not sure that this would not have been the wiser course. We were strongly in favour of extending the right, from the idea, that by "aggrieved parties" would be understood parties decided against in a judicial process. As, however, the Book as revised distinctly recognized the right of appeal in non-judicial cases, we are now inclined to think, that the church will coincide with the brethren of the Committee, who were in favour of confining appeals to aggrieved parties. The extreme cases in which the right would be of importance to minorities, are, perhaps, of too rare occurrence to need special provision.

2. The second subsection is altered so as to read, "In cases of judicial process, those who have not submitted to a regular trial, are not entitled to appeal." In the present Book it is in the affirmative form, "All persons who have submitted to an inferior may appeal to a higher judicatory."

3. States the reasons which justify an appeal, and is unchanged. The sub-section numbered four in the present Book is omitted. It only says that the appeal may be taken from a part of the proceedings, or from the definitive sentence; which is a matter of course.

4. Notice of the intention to appeal, and the reasons therefore, are to be given to the judicatory within ten days after its rising. They are to be lodged with the Moderator or *Stated Clerk*, (the latter words are added,) if the judicatory be not in session.

5. Appeals are generally to be from a lower judicatory to the one next above.

6. Notice of the appeal, and the reasons, to be lodged with the clerk of the higher court, before the close of the second day of its sessions, "and the appearance of the appellant and appellee shall be either personal or in writing." This is an additional clause. It is intended to provide for cases in which the personal attendance of parties might be attended with inconvenience. As the ends of justice do not require a personal

attendance, it is enough that the parties signify in writing their desire that the appeal be duly presented.

7. "In taking up an appeal in judicial cases, after ascertaining that the appellant, on his part, has conducted it regularly, the first step shall be to read all the records in the case from the beginning; the second to hear the parties, first the appellant, then the appellee; thirdly, the roll shall be called, and the final vote taken. In all appeals in cases not judicial, the order of proceeding shall be the same as in cases of complaint, substituting appellant for complainant.

8. The parties denominated appellant and appellee are the accuser and accused who commenced the process. The appellant, whether originally accuser or accused, is the party which makes the appeal; the appellee, whether originally accuser or accused, is the party to whom the decision appealed from has been favourable."

This is a great improvement on the old mode of proceeding. In the first place, a broad distinction is made between judicial and non-judicial appeals, demanded by the essential difference between the cases; the neglect of which is the source of endless embarrassment under the present system. In the second place, the whole process is simplified and shortened. According to the present plan, the higher court after the reading of the record, must hear the original parties, and then the inferior judicatory. Members are appointed to defend the synod before the Assembly, or the presbytery before the synod, or the session before the presbytery. The original parties (if you can find out who they are) and the lower judicatory are on trial at the same time. You have to hear first one and then the other. You have to go over and over the same ground, and the uniform result is confusion and prolixity. On the proposed plan all is simple and comparatively brief. A man is arraigned for some offence before the session. Charges are tabled either by an accuser or on the ground of common fame. In the latter case some one is appointed to conduct the prosecution. These two persons, the accuser and the accused, plead the cause before the session, and the session deliberate and decide. If either party is dissatisfied, he appeals to presbytery. The same men now appear as appellant and appellee before the

presbytery, the session having nothing to do in the matter except as it is represented in the presbytery. If either party be again dissatisfied, the same persons plead their cause before the synod; and if they choose to go farther, they again appear before the Assembly; the accuser and accused, therefore, are the only parties before each successive court. The session is present by the pastor and elder in the presbytery, the presbytery is present in the synod, the synod is represented in the Assembly; and thus the lower judicatory has in every case the opportunity of explaining and vindicating the grounds of its action.

Every one feels and acknowledges that our judicial system is the weak point in our form of government. The difficulties or objections to it are, first, that every insignificant neighbourhood quarrel, may be made to occupy the time and attention, first of the presbytery, then of the synod, and then of the General Assembly. The scandal is thus multiplied and diffused a thousand fold. Secondly, the time required to hear and decide these cases is more than can reasonably be given to them; and more than courts can, in many instances, be induced to sacrifice. A trial may, and often has, taken up ten, twenty, and even fifty days before a presbytery, and when brought to the synod or Assembly, those bodies in utter despair sometimes refuse on any plausible pretence to take it up, or if forced to go into the matter, have to devote several days to the subject, to the neglect of other important business. Every one remembers the Brown case in Kentucky, the Skinner case in Virginia, the Scott case in Louisiana, and many others even within the last few years. This expenditure of the time of hundreds of ministers and elders is an enormous evil. Another difficulty is, the inherent unfitness of a numerous body, such as a Synod or General Assembly, for judicial business. Any sensible man would rather be tried by twelve men, than by two hundred. At least the cause of truth and right would have a much better chance in the one case, than in the other. To meet these difficulties, various plans have been proposed. Some would stop all appeals from the session at the presbytery, and those from the presbytery at the synod. Others would have a commission appointed by the appellate

court, to hear and decide all judicial cases. Judge Sharswood, of Philadelphia, proposed, in the public papers, a plan, which would, in a great measure, meet the difficulty, if the church could be induced to adopt it. He suggested that the decision of the lower court should be final as to the facts of the case, as the verdict of a jury. If an appeal be taken, it must be in the nature of a bill of exceptions, as in civil courts. This would carry up for the decision of the appellate court simply the regularity of the proceedings and the justice of the judgment. If the decision of the higher court should be, that any unfairness, or serious error, prejudicial to either party, such as the refusing to receive proper, or admitting improper, testimony, had been committed, the case would be remitted for a new trial. Thus, if a man be found guilty by a session of intemperance; the decision would be final as to the fact that he was thus guilty; but the fairness of the trial or justice of the sentence could be reviewed in the higher court. Or if a minister were found guilty of holding unsound doctrines by his Presbytery, that finding would be final as to the fact he did hold the opinions charged, but whether they are sound or unsound, and whether they merited the sentence pronounced, could be carried up to the higher courts. This, as we understand it, is substantially the Judge's proposal. It would be an immense relief. There would be no new trial, no reading of volumes of testimony, no hearing of parties, but only the specific points presented in the appeal would be discussed before the higher courts, and decided on their merits. This or something equivalent, or the appointment of commissions, we are persuaded, will ultimately be demanded by the general voice of the church. In the mean time we trust that the recommendations of the Committee will be approved and adopted as a great improvement on our present plan.

9. This subsection corresponds with number 10 in the present Book, and is unchanged. 10 in like manner corresponds with 11, and is the same in both books. Numbers 12 and 13 of the present Book are omitted from the new. The former denies to the members of the lower judicatory the right to vote in the higher court on any question connected with the appeal; and the latter states when the lower court

shall, and when it shall not be censured for its decision. Both of these sections are precluded if the lower court be no longer regarded as a party in cases of appeal.

11. Relates to the case of the exhibition of an unchristian spirit on the part of an appellant, and is unchanged. It corresponds with number 14 in the present Book. 12. Corresponds with number 15, and is the same as before. It states that when the sentence appealed from is suspension or excommunication from church privileges, or deposition from office, it shall be considered as in force until the appeal be issued. This is analogous to the usage of the state courts. If a man is found guilty of murder, an appeal suspends the decision of the question as to his legal guilt or innocence, and arrests the execution of the sentence, but the man is detained in prison. So in the cases specified in the above rule. Though the appeal arrests the decision of the question whether the party is to be cut off from the church or not, yet for the honour of religion, he is provisionally debarred from the Lord's table, or from the exercise of his office. There is an ambiguity in this section which ought to be removed. It is said that during the pending of an appeal from a sentence of suspension or excommunication from church privileges, or of deposition from office, the sentence shall be considered as in force until the appeal is issued. But how is it when the sentence is one of suspension from office? As that is not expressly specified, it would seem not to be included in the excepted cases; and yet analogy would lead to the opposite conclusion. If both suspension and excommunication from church privileges are excepted from the ordinary operation of an appeal, why should not suspension as well as deposition from office be excepted? In a well known case, which occurred a few years ago, this point, as many of our readers will remember, gave rise to no little doubt.

13. This subsection states that it shall always be deemed the duty of the judicatory, whose judgment is appealed from, to send up a full copy of their records, and of the testimony relating to the case, to the appellate court, and that the neglect of this duty shall subject them to censure. 14. In *judicial* cases an appeal shall, in no case, be entered except by one of the original parties. The insertion of the word *judicial* in this

clause is necessary to bring this provision in harmony with other provisions of the Book.

CHAPTER VIII.—SECTION 4.

1. The fourth method by which a decision of a lower court may be carried before a superior is by complaint. 2. Any body has the right to complain of the action of an inferior judicatory. The right is not limited to members of that judicatory, nor to the members of the church. "Any person or persons," it is said, may complain of any act of the inferior court, which in their opinion is irregular or unjust. According to this, a member of another denomination may summon one of our lower courts before a higher, to answer for its acts. This is not unreasonable. It not unfrequently happens that difficulties arise about ecclesiastical limits, or the reception by one church of the dissatisfied members of another denomination, which involve the honour of the body to which the church belongs. In such cases it is well that the acts of an inferior court should be reviewed by a higher court. 3. "The cases in which complaints are proper and advisable, all those cases of grievances, whether judicial or not, in which the party aggrieved has declined to appeal; and cases in which the party complaining is persuaded that the purity of the church, or the interests of truth and righteousness, are injuriously affected by the decision complained of." This short section takes the place of a long paragraph of nineteen lines in the present Book.

4. Notice of a complaint must be given before the rising of the judicatory, or within ten days thereafter.

5. "In taking up a complaint, after ascertaining that the complainant has conducted it regularly, the first step shall be to read all the records in the case; the second to hear the complainant; and then the court shall proceed to consider and decide the case." This is perfectly simple and satisfactory. There is no complication arising from the lower judicatory being made a defendant. Being always represented in the higher court, and a constituent part of it, they have full opportunity of vindicating their decision, or of reconsidering it. It will be remembered, that appeals in nonjudicial cases are to be

conducted in the same way as complaints. In such cases, after reading the records, the appellant and appellee will plead their cause before the judicatory, which then considers and decides the case. There is no formality of a trial, no arraignment of the lower court, no calling of the roll, as in judicial cases, but a simple decision of the point in dispute between the appellant and appellee.

6. "The effect of a complaint, if sustained, may be to reverse the decision complained of, in whole or in part, and to place matters in the same situation in which they were before the decision." The whole of the corresponding section in the present book, except this sentence, is omitted.

7. "In a judicial case, a complaint shall be admitted only where an aggrieved party has declined to appeal, and in such cases an aggrieved party shall not be allowed to complain." This is a new provision. The aggrieved party has his appropriate mode of redress by appeal; if he does not choose to avail himself of it, he cannot adopt another method of carrying the cause any higher. But though he may not choose to trouble himself further in the matter, others may think that substantial wrong has been done, and they have the right to have the case reviewed. This they can effect by a complaint, which, however, must be of some specific wrong; for according to the above provisions for conducting a complaint, it is not to be laid as an appeal. The complainant can merely present the grounds of his complaint, and the higher court decides whether they are valid or not.

CHAPTERS IX. X. XI.

The first relates to Dissent and Protests; the second to Jurisdiction; and the third to Limitation of Time. In neither of which is any change recommended.

SHORT NOTICES.

Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Numbers; Designed as a General Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction. By George Bush, late [qu. lately?] Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York City University. New York: Ivison & Phinney. 12mo. pp. 475.

We can confidently recommend this volume as the best help in the language to the study of the Book of Numbers. In addition to the author's own grammatical remarks upon the meaning of the words and their construction, which his habits as a student of the Hebrew text entitle to respectful attention, he enables the reader to compare the ancient versions with a frequency almost excessive, quotes abundant illustrations from geographers and travellers, and adorns his text with many sparkling gems from Bishop Hall and Matthew Henry. His own devotional and doctrinal remarks, so far as we have noticed, are in perfect harmony with these authoritative Calvinistic writers. It is, indeed, a striking psychological phenomenon, that one who has so long been not only a member, but a leader of the "New Church," an editor, translator, and devout admirer of the Scandinavian prophet, and a most successful imitator even of his style and diction, should be able to resume his exegetical labours at the very point where he suspended them, perhaps a score of years ago, and now continue them precisely in the old strain, with the same characteristic merits and defects, the same eloquence, and the same diffuseness, but with scarcely a discoverable trace of his new notions, or a taint of the bad English, which appears to be regarded as a necessary vehicle or channel of the "Heavenly Doctrine." It is not the will but the capacity to do this that surprises us. We can readily conceive of one enlightened by the Swedish revelation condescending to accommodate his exoteric teachings to a lower stage or sphere of spiritual life, in which a knowledge of "the letter" may be useful, if not necessary, as a preparation or a substitute for loftier attainments. But the question is, how such accommodation is subjectively conceivable or possible. Is Swedenborgianism, then, a garment which can be completely laid aside on leaving home, and donned with equal ease when

the proprietor re-crosses the threshold of the New Jerusalem? Without attempting to explain this riddle, which, on any supposition, must reflect the highest credit on the author's versatility of talent, we accept the palpable result with pleasure, and are thankful that the gifted and accomplished writer has been able, even at his present altitude of mystical experience, to produce a book which can be safely put into the hands, not only of the chosen few who bask in the intense light of the "New Church," but of the many who still cherish the delusion that "the Old is better."

A Manual of Church History; by Henry E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle. Translated from the German, by William G. T. Shedd, Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. (Ancient Church History, comprising the first six Centuries.) Andover: W. F. Draper. 8vo. pp. 422.

It is now just a quarter of a century since Guericke appeared as a historian, though previously well known as a teacher, and the author of some valuable monographs in this department. The appearance of no less than eight editions, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the author's principles and style, is a sufficient proof that the work met a real and a widely felt necessity. We believe we are entitled to the credit, whether great or small, of having introduced the work to the acquaintance of American readers. In the number of this journal for October, 1834, (vol. vi. pp. 407-416,) we gave a succinct statement of its merits as a full, but compendious exhibition of Neander's system, and the fruits of his prodigious labours, so far as they had then been carried, with an original continuation to the date of composition, and with a doctrinal and practical tendency more in accordance with our usages and standards. We also pointed out the fitness of the work for use among ourselves, and discussed the question whether a translation was desirable, suggesting the difficulties springing from the stiff pedantic German method, the obscure and awkward style, and the author's ultra-Lutheran prepossessions, with their natural effects upon his estimate of other churches. The conclusion which we then reached and announced (p. 416) was, "that a work of about the same dimensions, founded upon this, and embodying all its valuable matter, yet without adopting all the author's sentiments, or retaining his expressions, would be a welcome addition to the stores of our theological literature." Those convictions are unaltered by an intimate acquaintance with the work in its more recent forms, and with the author's last improvements. We sincerely wish that such a writer as Professor Shedd could have taken the same view of the matter, and

enriched our literature with a work at once original and borrowed, in the best sense of both expressions. Though disappointed in this wish, we gratefully acknowledge the good service rendered to the cause of truth and sound historical learning, by the elegant volume now before us, but at the same time cannot dissemble our conviction, that the work is still unfit for use as an exclusive text-book in our institutions, and that the style of the translation, although far superior to that of the original, has not entirely escaped contamination.

Hymns of Worship; Designed for use especially in the Lecture-room, the Prayer-meeting, and the Family. Selected and Arranged by a Pastor. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1858.

The title of this book intimates its peculiar characteristics, which the respected author more fully and explicitly sets forth in the preface. The special collections of hymns for use in the free and familiar services of the lecture-room, the prayer-meeting, and the family, have usually been constructed for the specific purpose of furnishing a larger supply of hortatory or other hymns expressive of pious feelings, and of the various phases of Christian experience, but which, at the same time, are not formally and immediately addressed to God, than are found in the standard collections of church psalmody, prepared for the public services of the house of God on the Sabbath. But this is a collection specifically of *Hymns of Worship*, for the more free and familiar religious services of Christians in the lecture-room and elsewhere. The distinctive feature of the collection is, that the compiler has ruled out, as far as practicable, all hymns in which the Most High is not directly, expressly, and chiefly addressed. Another principle which has guided him in the collection is, that praise in the family and the church is a social and collective act of a plurality of persons. "It is the voice, not of the separate and independent *I*, but of the collective and united *we*. The Divine Head of the church bids us say, 'Our Father.' The heavenly choirs invite us to sing, 'Unto him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood,' " p. 5. This principle has excluded from the collection all hymns having in them the pronoun *I*, so far as we have observed, without a solitary exception. "The former," says our author, "touches hymns of a purely didactic character. Admirable as they often are as a means of instruction, they are too indirect as a means of worship. They are therefore not numerous in this collection. Where admitted, an attempt has been made to give them an upward bearing—a look towards God; to render them, to some extent, the utterance of prayer and praise, as well as of doctrine."

With reference to another class of hymns, he adds, "This principle is still more exclusive. In religious acts, it is as incongruous to sing to creatures as to pray to them. We condemn the Papists for the one, with what consistency can we practise the other? A glance, however, into almost any existing collection, will discover a large number of hymns addressed wholly to creatures; now to saints, and now to sinners; sometimes to the living, and sometimes to the dead. . . Such compositions are here omitted. Whatever their merits in other respects, they do not meet the idea of divine worship."

We do not doubt that the author, who is pastor of one of the most important congregations of our church, has aimed at the correction of a serious evil. This may safely be admitted without requiring us to go all lengths with him, either in his theoretical views or practical methods. Much undevout prose, much unspiritual poetry, much that offends sound taste, whether spiritual or literary, has crept into many of the popular books of psalmody. This is especially true of the collections that have been made for lecture-room and other like services. Many of these compilations consist largely of the common-places of exhortation put in metre. They are painfully barren of those hymns which fill the soul with all the fulness of God, and lift it up to him in strains which at once utter and excite reverence and awe, confidence and gratitude, wonder and adoration, love and praise. Some of these compositions are weak and drivelling in every point of view, and others not devoid of strength, minister to fleshly excitement, as much as to pure and genuine spiritual emotion.

Not wholly disconnected with this, is the perversion of the ordinance of singing, which has so long and widely prevailed, to the damage of religion, and the offence of pious souls, that it has become intolerable, and is now enforcing its own cure. We refer to the limitation of the singing in public worship to the choir, and its disuse by the congregation. If the main object of singing be regarded not as the offering of praise to God *by* the people, but as a didactic or hortatory address or performance directed *to* the people, for the purpose of more effectually awakening certain views and feelings, then a natural consequence is, that it is not the appropriate work of the people to sing praise to God, but of certain persons to sing to them, for the purpose of impressing them. Hence the choir feel called upon to try to interest and impress the congregation by novel tunes, artistic flourishes, and all sorts of devices for exhibiting their musical skill. Hence they feel justified in rejecting tunes with which the congregation are, to any extent,

familiar, on the ground that if any portion of the congregation sing, it mars the harmony and effectiveness of their own performance. Hence the feeling, for a long time so rife, that fine music must be provided in order to attract young people. Hence the correlative feeling of many of the young, that they could not be expected to attend churches that did not entertain them with rich music; thus setting the sanctuary in competition with the opera, and bringing in opera performers, and organists figuring with operatic touches and marches, if nothing worse, to conduct this part of divine service.

We rejoice in the reaction, which these abuses are so rapidly accelerating, towards congregational singing, and that choirs and organs are fast assuming their proper function of guiding and assisting, instead of extinguishing this part of public worship. It is a natural consequence of this movement, that the standard, simple, devotional church tunes should resume their place in the sanctuary from which they had so long been excluded. Of course, the reform must reach the hymns sung, restoring to their due prominence those songs of praise which are fullest of holy breathings towards God, and excluding more and more those compositions which are not "hymns of worship."

While this is so, it by no means follows that the criteria of fitness in hymns, proposed and adopted by our author, are not too narrow. A hymn may be none the less a hymn of worship because it is doctrinal, or puts some great Christian truth into a metrical form suitable for public singing. The matter and substance of all hymns of praise to God, must of course be some truth pertaining to God. All hymns expressive of pious feeling, in any of its varieties, must have a strong and principal aspect towards God, since he is the ultimate and chief object of such feeling, whether it be penitence, humility, zeal, brotherly love, or faith, gratitude, adoration. If a metrical composition, suited for singing, expresses Christian truth and feeling, it must have some, nay, a chief "look towards God." Have the celebrated hymns beginning, "Sin, like a venomous disease," "Not all the outward forms on earth," any the less of a devotional character, because they are especially designed to teach and impress the doctrines of sin and regeneration, while they prostrate the soul in dependence on a sovereign God? When, in our author's collection, God is declared the "undivided three, the great and glorious One," p. 93, and the Holy Ghost as "the consubstantial breath of God, the co-eternal one," p. 164, are not the sublimest mysteries stated with the scientific exactness of the Athanasian creed? But is

this language any the less an expression of adoring wonder for this? On the other hand, are not the creeds of the church sometimes constrained to use metaphor and poetry, in order to set forth mysterious truths with adequate didactic precision, as in the image "light of light" to express the mysterious truth that the Son is the only begotten of the Father, yet consubstantial with him? A doctrinal hymn is indeed liable to be dull and heavy; but so is one of any other sort. This objection is good against dry and lifeless hymns, but not against didactic ones as such. But on this point we have authority above all argument. The apostle surely charges us to "teach and admonish one another in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs; singing with grace in our hearts to the Lord." Col. iii. 16.

This, moreover, seems to settle the question, whether it is proper to use hymns addressed to men, in which they are in some form "taught and admonished to render unto God the glory due to his name. Surely this is one form of singing to God, when in our songs we invoke others, to glorify him. This principle is recognized in many of the hymns of this book, as in the hymns," p. 108, beginning, "Joy to the world, the Lord is come," and p. 140, "Come, let us join our songs of praise." Whatever may be true of this volume, we know that it is abundantly recognized in the Book of Psalms, which constantly summons men to the work of serving, and worshipping God. Nor is it always requisite that there should be a formal address to God, in order that he should be the chief object of praise. This is evident enough from what has been already said, and from the instances already produced. Will the first Psalm bear this or some other tests of legitimacy offered by our author?

Still less weight do we attach to his objection to the use of the first person singular in public singing. Are such psalms as the twenty-third and thirty-second to be interdicted in the public and social singing of God's people? Are such hymns as, "Lord, I am thine, entirely thine." "A charge to keep I have, a God to glorify," to be banished from social worship for such a reason? It will be long, we apprehend, before the people of God give their verdict for this. Who does not see that the social character of such hymns is preserved, because every worshipper is presumed to adopt the sentiment expressed for himself, while he utters it in unison with the great congregation? This form only gives a little more intensity of self-application; so far as the social element is concerned, it remains unimpaired.

While, therefore, we do not accept the author's theory in full, because truth is not always at the contrary extreme from error, we nevertheless appreciate his effort to contribute to the correction of a serious evil. And, according to the standard he set before himself, his work seems to us exceedingly well done. The number of hymns in the collection is between six and seven hundred. We know not where else to find, within the same compass, so large a number of standard hymns, that have been dear to the church in all ages, and are fitted to awaken pure and deep devotional feeling—so rarely interlarded with anything offensive to a refined and intelligent Christian mind. If the principle he has adopted has served to winnow out some wheat, it has, doubtless, winnowed out a larger amount of chaff. While we give only a partial acceptance to his theory, we welcome his work as a valuable contribution to our hymnology.

A Consideration of the Sermon on the Mount. By Major D. H. Hill, Professor of Mathematics in Davidson College, North Carolina. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1858.

Religious books written by laymen are seldom of medium quality. So far as our observation extends, they are among the best or the poorest in our religious literature. The non-professional writer, in any department, is liable to overlook some things which are essential to any adequate treatment of the subject, and thus to produce a one-sided, superficial, perfunctory work. If, however, he masters his subject sufficiently to surmount this danger, he is apt to display a freshness and force in handling it, which are rare with routine writers of the profession. This book of Major Hill is decidedly of the latter kind. We have had cause to know that he is a man of mark in his own department. His power does not forsake him, when he passes into the sphere of Christianity.

This volume unfolds the doctrinal and practical teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. It is critical and exegetical only so far as is incidental and subservient to its main design. Without adopting every minute point in the author's interpretations, we are free to say, that he has evolved the solid doctrinal and practical import of our Saviour's discourse with great justness and force. His analysis of the varied topics that arise is lucid and vigorous, his discussions of experimental casuistical points are able and terse, his enforcement and application of truth is searching and pungent. We have seen few recent books of this class, containing more than this, that is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

We take occasion to notice a form of statement relative to the function of conscience, which has had considerable currency among a class of writers, who, like our author, in the main hold correct views of the subject, and are aiming to express an important truth, in the very phraseology to which we except. The truth which they aim to express is, that conscience is liable, like other faculties, to be misguided through negligence, or wilful inattention to the light within our reach: that the erroneous judgments it thus forms do not alter the inherent quality of moral actions performed under their influence; that they cannot make or unmake right or wrong; that hence men are culpable for wrong acts done with the sanction of a misguided conscience, and that the true seat of their culpability lies in their neglect, refusal, or unwillingness, to see the light which would correct their error. In this sense, and within these limits, it is true that conscience is not an infallible guide. And there is scarcely any truth of greater importance.

This, however, is one thing. To say as our author says, p. 106, "Conscience is not a moral guide," is, in our view, quite another. If conscience is not a moral guide, what is it? What other faculty for moral guidance have we? The judgments of conscience are simply judgments of the mind that certain actions are right or wrong, that we ought to do or not do them. Can a man do or be the reverse of what he judges he ought to do or be, without sin? Never. If he can, then sin is impossible. If conscience is misguided, the subject of the delusion, is, in the language of the late Dr. Alexander, "in a deplorable dilemma." If he obeys its dictates, he does wrong, he sins. If he disobeys its dictates, he sins, for all disobedience to conscience is and must be sin. He has placed himself in this dilemma by his sinful refusal to enlighten his conscience. His only remedy lies in coming to the light, as Paul did at his conversion.

It is perfectly true, that the Bible is the only infallible rule of right. To this then we are bound to repair for the due enlightenment of the conscience. But how can we see and judge this to be our duty until the mind, opening itself to the evidence of their divinity and infallibility, judges that we ought to repair to the Holy Oracles, and submit to their guidance? And must not conscience, i. e. the mind judging on moral subjects, be "our moral guide," in indicating this to be our duty, and impelling us to perform it? The truth is, it is only through the conscience as a "moral guide," that we can see our obligation to guide it by any superior light or authority. Whatever other guidance we ought to adopt, still conscience must be our

moral guide to that guidance. In no fair meaning of the terms can we adopt the broad proposition, "conscience is not a moral guide," while it is a fundamental truth, that without the light of revelation, it is a wholly inadequate guide. But even then we sin in disobeying it, for to disobey it is to do what we are convinced we ought not to do. That there is sin in this, is intuitively evident. It seems to us, that the doctrine, that conscience is not a moral guide, at once dethrones it from its supremacy over the man, which all feel that it possesses *de jure*, if not *de facto*: that it lends sanction to that disregard of the dictates of conscience which saps the very foundations of religion and morality; and that it is by no means requisite in order to maintain the fallibility of conscience when the due means of enlightening it are neglected, or to support the infallible authority of the Scriptures as a rule of life. Men may err and commit sin indeed, in obedience to the behests of a blinded conscience. But the spinal cord of religion and morality is paralyzed, when they abjure fealty to conscience as their moral guide. What we object to in the mode of statement upon which we have animadverted, is not so much what we understand is intended to be said, as the mode of saying it.

A Poor Fellow; By the author of "Which: the Right or the Left?" New York: Dick & Fitzgerald. 1858.

The title of this book does it injustice. It raises the impression that it is of a vulgar and trivial character. From the partial examination we have been able to give it, we find it quite otherwise. It is one of those religious dramatic stories, which few will begin to read without reading to the end. Through a variety of characters, all of which have their numerous representatives in the real life of our great commercial cities, it gives us an impressive exhibition of the power of evangelical truth and piety, as the effectual and only cure of scepticism, vice, avarice; of the arrogance, heartlessness, and cruel pride, generated by immense wealth suddenly and dishonestly acquired; as the only spring of enduring and effective philanthropy, and of genuine relief from the miseries induced by sin, social, individual, temporal, and eternal.

The Model Merchant; or Memoirs of Samuel Budgett. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Mr. Budgett's life and character were, we believe, first brought into public prominence in Mr. Peter Bayne's work on the Christian life, which also first made its author, (now editor of the *Edinburgh Witness*,) known to the American public.

This was one of the few characters portrayed in that book, in illustration of the workings of spiritual life in different spheres of action. It was used to show how Christian piety develops itself in a merchant of the highest grade. The energy, system, and order, which prevailed in his immense establishment, were inspired and regulated by Christian principle, as much as by the desire of that gain which they signally promoted. The Christian integrity and fidelity exercised and enforced between himself and all his agents and servants; the efforts made to promote vital religion among them, which transfused the Christian life into all the ramifications of his vast business, conduced to the same result. They proved it a reality, that godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. While, in all business transactions, he was rigidly exact, and counted every farthing, in all other relations he showed a munificent liberality. The cause of Christ, the poor, the afflicted, the destitute, the tormented, found unfailing succour in his unstinted bounty, and his benign ministries of love. He in turn found ample time to attend to all the private duties, and public calls, of religion and charity. His whole career was a signal illustration of the blessed results, for time and eternity, of seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness. The Board have done well in publishing this sketch of his life and character, as furnishing a model example to the Christian merchant. The commercial crisis of the past year has revealed a state of things, which shows the need of a large infusion of Christian morality into our American mercantile life. The wreck of fortune has followed swiftly and widely upon the wreck of integrity. At this very time, the financial articles of our metropolitan journals allude to the fact, that directors of railroads, in which millions of the small savings of labourers, and of the dependence of widows and orphans are invested, purposely adopt measures injurious to the property with which they are entrusted, in order to make money by speculations based upon the prospective fall of the stock. They not only mention these facts, but state them without comment or rebuke, as if they were matters of course. Such is the moral degradation to which the love of money sinks men. We should greatly prefer the unduly severe standard of the old Dutch merchants, who made bankruptcy *ipso facto* evidence of fraud, to that moral, legal, and financial atmosphere, in which colossal gamblers win the property of widows and orphans, who break all faith, violate the most sacred trusts, desolate innumerable homes, and regard not God or man, are suffered to breathe freely, luxuriating in palatial mansions, and bewitching and

debasing the young with the glare of their "shabby splendour."

The Sinlessness of Jesus an Evidence of Christianity. By Dr. C. Ullmann. Translated from the sixth German edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1858. Pp. 323.

Dr. Ullmann belongs to the Schleirmacher school; an amiable man, and a polished writer. This work has gradually grown to its present size, from an article in the *Studien und Kritiken*, published 1828. It has, doubtless, done good in Germany. Its chief interest in this country or in England, arises from the insight which it affords into German philosophical theology.

A New Latin-English School Lexicon; On the Basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of D. C. F. Ingerslev. By G. R. Crooks, D. D., Late Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College, and A. J. Schem, A. M., Professor of Hebrew and of Modern Languages in Dickinson College. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858. Pp. 982.

The Lexicon of Dr. Ingerslev is one of the most generally esteemed works of the kind, as we understand, in Germany. The authors of the present work have endeavoured to preserve the excellencies of his plan, while they have modified and enlarged its details. The work is designed to meet the necessities of students, and not the wants of masters. References to authors seldom read in schools are therefore omitted. The etymology of the words, the logical arrangement of their meanings, and their combinations with other words in phrases or idiomatic expressions, are carefully given. The quantity of each syllable is marked, and different type is used to aid the eye in discriminating the words defined from the definitions themselves. The book is neatly printed, and strongly bound, and seems in every respect admirably adapted to the end which it was designed to answer.

The Sheepfold and the Common, or, The Evangelical Rambler. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 530.

This is the republication of a work originally printed thirty years ago, under the title, *The Evangelical Rambler*, of which some sixty thousand copies were circulated in England. In the present edition, the work has been thoroughly revised. Its design is to afford instruction and amusement by the narration of the events of every day life. Some of the events are imaginary, but far the most are records from the author's own history. His great object is to convey evangelical truth in the dramatic

rather than in the didactic form. The great success of the work is proof of adaptation to the public taste and necessities.

Christian Hope. By John Angell James. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1859. Pp. 333.

This Christian grace is discussed under all its aspects, its nature, grounds, object, author, effects, &c., &c., in the pious edifying strain which distinguishes the writings of the venerable author, with which the religious public has been so long familiar.

Of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, in Connection with some recent Proposals for its Revision. By Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D., Dean of Westminster. Redfield, 34 Beekman street, New York. 1858. Pp. 184.

The object of the distinguished author of this work is neither to advocate a revision of the authorized version of the New Testament, nor to dissuade from it; but to consider the actual worth of our present translation, its strength and its weaknesses, and the arguments for and against a revision. His own mind is inclined to the opinion that a revision is desirable, and that it will ultimately be made. As to the mode of effecting it, he suggests that by authority a commission be appointed representing all classes of the British public, who adopt the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, to suggest emendations, and to give the reasons for them. These suggestions should then be printed and circulated, until they had gradually worked their way into public confidence, and then they could be introduced one or more at a time into the common text. We trust it will be a long time before such an attempt shall be made. The English version of the New Testament, although not faultless, satisfies ninety-nine hundredths of the Christians who speak the English language. It is the great bond which binds them together. It is their common heritage and property. The evils to be dreaded from a revision are far greater than the benefits which can reasonably be expected from the attempt. What Greek text is to be assumed as the standard? What is to be done with 1 Tim. iii. 16, Acts xx. 28, 1 John v. 7? How are all denominations to be brought to unite in such a work and to acquiesce in the scheme? If, however, a formal revision is to be made, let it be done by persons appointed for the purpose, representing not the Christians of England only, but of all other countries using the English Bible. Do not let us have an English Bible, and an American Bible, an Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist Bible. We believe that all which is really desirable may be effected by those gradual, un-

perceived changes, which creep into any version, much in the same way that changes in orthography are introduced. Such changes might be entrusted to the authorities which control the printing of the Bible in Great Britain, acting in concert. It being understood that any change against which a serious protest should be made by any respectable body of Christians using the English version should be retracted.

The Voice of Christian Life in Song; or, Hymns and Hymn-Writers of many Lands and Ages. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. Pp. 303.

This is a scholarly and most interesting book. It gives specimens of the early Greek and Syriac hymns, and then of those Ambrosian and Mediæval periods, and subsequently those of the Reformation, and the German, Swedish, and English, with some account of the writers. Much the larger part of the work is taken up with historical matter. The translations are original, except in a few cases, and seem to us to be skilfully executed. It is, of course, impossible to preserve in a translation the peculiar aroma of the original. It is hardly fair to the author to select as a specimen his version of one of the most exquisite verses Paul Gerhard ever wrote, but it will make the Christian's heart glow, notwithstanding:

“And when at last thou ledest me
 Into thy joy and light,
 Thy blood shall clothe me royally,
 Making my garments white;
 Shall place upon my head the crown,
 Shall lead me to the Father's throne,
 And raiment fit provide me;
 Till I, by Him to thee betrothed,
 By thee in bridal costume clothed,
 Stand as a bride beside thee!”

This is far short of Gerhard's own words:

Wann einstens ich soll treten ein
 In deines Reiches Freuden,
 So soll dies Blut mein Purpur sein,
 Darein ich mich will kleiden.
 Es soll sein meines Hauptes Kron',
 In welcher ich will vor den Thron
 Des ew'gen Vaters gehen,
 Und dir, dem er mich anvertraut,
 Als eine wohl-geschmückte Braut
 Zu deiner Seite stehen.

The author is an Episcopalian, but with a heart large enough to know that a man is a man, however he may be dressed; a Christian a Christian, by whatever name he may be called.

The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results. In a Series of Letters from Alexander Duff, D. D., LL.D., Calcutta. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 408.

These letters were addressed to the Rev. Dr. Tweed, Convener of the Free church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee, and published from time to time as they were received. They have since been collected in a volume in England, and the Messrs. Carter have republished them in this country. The subject and the author's name preclude all necessity of recommendation of such a book. The letters are instinct with the fervour and strength of the ablest and most vehement men of modern times. Though written at the spur of the moment, they reveal views and convictions which are the fruit of thirty years' experience and observation on Indian ground. That they are free from extreme statements, or from views due to the status of the writer as a Scotch missionary, is not to be expected. It is enough that they are the production of one of the greatest and best men the church has to bless God for.

The Earth and the World; or, Geology for Bible Students. By S. R. Patison, F. G. S. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. New York: Standford & Delisser. 1858. Pp. 139.

The author assumes the absolute authority of the word of God, and the absolute truth of geological facts, as far as yet ascertained. Where he sees their harmony, he rejoices in its manifestation; where he is unable to reconcile the two records, as at present understood, he humbly waits, assured that their full consistency will ultimately be made to appear.

The Progress of Philosophy in the Past and in the Future. By Samuel Tyler, of the Maryland Bar. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1858. Pp. 232.

This volume includes two contributions of the author to the periodical press. The former of the two was published in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, November, 1856; the latter in the *Princeton Review*, October, 1855. Both have been revised and modified. Mr. Tyler is second to no American metaphysical writer of the present generation. The two articles above mentioned have attracted much attention both in Great Britain and America; and their republication in the present form, by rendering them accessible to a larger class of readers, is a valuable service to the cause of sound philosophy.

Life of a Risen Saviour. By Robert S. Candlish, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858. Pp. 410.

"I have endeavoured," says the distinguished author, "in these discourses, to illustrate the line of argument pursued by

the apostle in the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians. It is not, as I apprehend it, an argument about the resurrection generally. It has respect to one particular view of the resurrection—its bearing on the believer's spiritual and eternal life." Such a subject, in the hands of a man of so much genius, guided by a reverence for the word of God, as Dr. Candlish, will doubtless prove a rich treat to the Christian reader.

Sermons. By the Rev. John Caird, M. A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 398.

The celebrity attained by Mr. Caird's sermon on "Religion in common life," preached before Queen Victoria, has led to the publication of other productions of his pen, marked by the same general characteristics.

Memories of my Life's Work. The Autobiography of Mrs. Harriet Cooke. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. Pp. 356.

This is the record of the labours and experience of a religious woman and successful teacher, dedicated to her co-labourers and pupils.

Luther still Speaking. The Creation: A Commentary on the first Five Chapters of the Book of Genesis. By Martin Luther. Originally published in Wittenberg, A. D. 1544, now first translated into English. By Henry Cole, D. D., of Clare College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1858. Pp. 474.

Any one who has once listened to the trumpet tones of Luther's writings will be glad to hear them again. With the exception of his polemical writings on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is scarcely anything he ever wrote which might not be read with profit by Christians of our day. He was a great believer, and we might catch something of his strength by communing with his spirit as bodied forth in his writings.

Sketches for You: By S. S. Egliseau, author of *Gleanings from Real Life*, &c. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A series of sketches, written in a lively and entertaining style, suited to impress various duties and obligations upon the reader.

Bridget Sullivan; or, The Cup Without a Handle.

How to Die Happy.

Fanny the Flower Girl; or, Honesty Rewarded. By Selina Bunbury.

Ragged Tommy; or, The Boy and the Bishop.

The foregoing are late issues of our Board of Publication, increasing their excellent stock of works for juvenile reading, and Sunday-school libraries.

The Coming and Reign of Christ. By David M. Lord. New York: Franklin Knight, 138 Nassau street. 1858. Pp. 430.

Anything which an able and good man writes is worth reading, whether we agree with him or not. We do not know that the reader can find anywhere in so convenient a form, an exhibition of the writer's principles of prophetic interpretation, and of the conclusions which he derives from the application of those principles to the unfulfilled predictions of Scripture.

The Bud, Blossom, and Fruit; or, Early Piety permanent and progressive; Illustrated by some Incidents in the Life of Emily J. Goodhue. By Rev. John Pike. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath-School Society, No. 13, Cornhill.

This work was written with the design of confirming and spreading the conviction, that children may be converted very early, and walk with God for years before they die.

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